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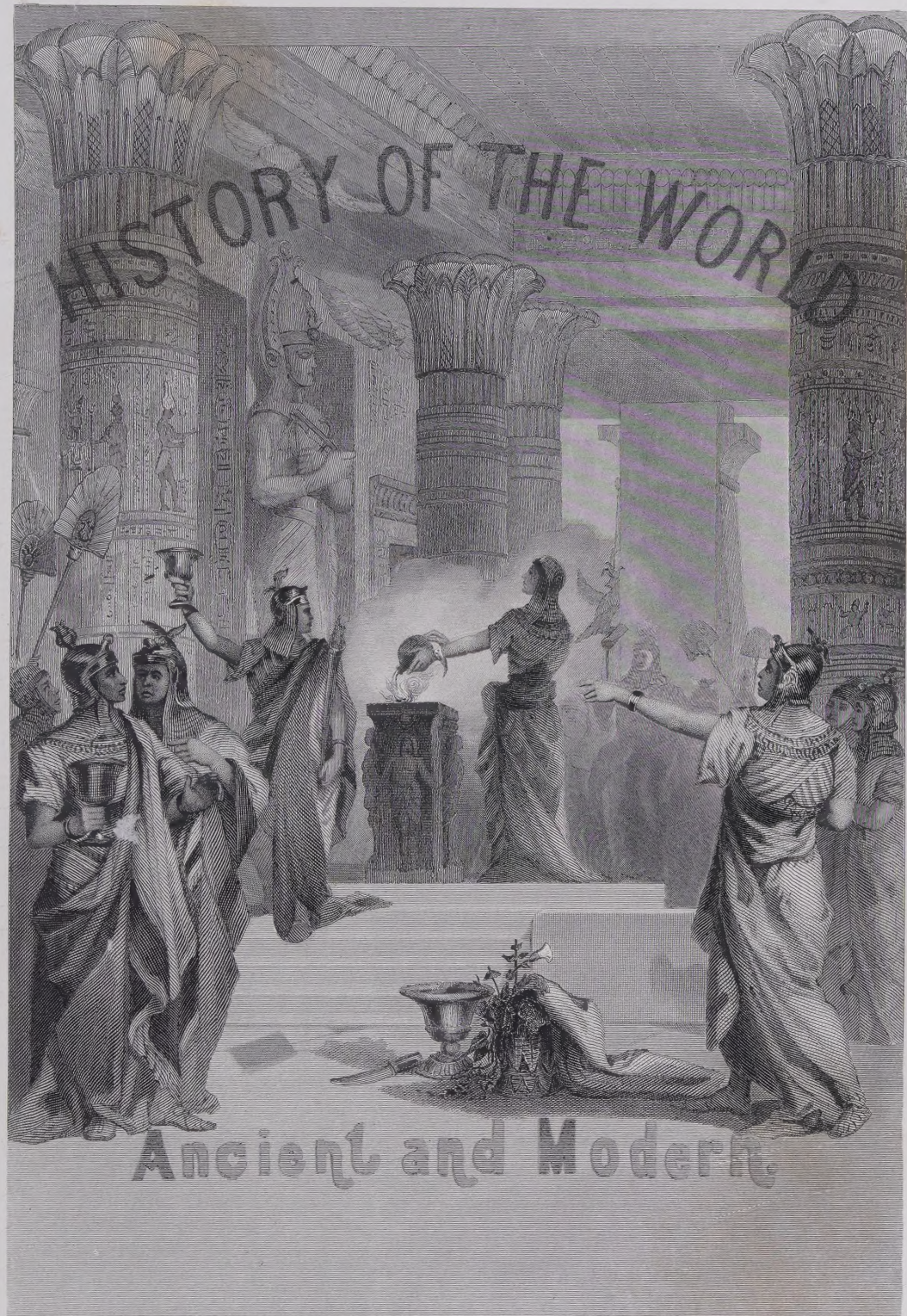
*Engraved according to an oil of progress A.D. 1863, by Johnson, Fry & Co. in the artist's office at the distance of 1000 years from the event.*

## CONVERSION OF THE EMPEROR CONSTANTINE.

*From the original painting by Chappel in the possession of the publishers.*

Johnson, Fry & Co. Publishers, New York.





Painted by

OFFERING OF PSAMMETICHUS.

Alonzo Chappel

NEW YORK,

JOHNSON, FREY & COMPANY.

27 BEEKMAN STREET.

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HISTORY  
OF  
THE WORLD

FROM THE  
EARLIEST PERIOD TO THE PRESENT TIME.

*COLLECTED AND ARRANGED FROM THE BEST AUTHORITIES.*

BY  
EVERT A. DUYCKINCK,  
AUTHOR OF "NATIONAL PORTRAIT GALLERY OF EMINENT AMERICANS," "CYCLOPEDIA OF AMERICAN  
LITERATURE," ETC., ETC.

Illustrated with Highly Finished Steel Engravings  
OF  
HISTORICAL EVENTS AND PORTRAITS OF EMINENT MEN  
*FROM ORIGINAL PAINTINGS BY ALONZO CHAPPEL, PAUL DE LA ROCHE, GEROMÆ, COPLEY, WEIR,  
POWELL, AND OTHER EMINENT ARTISTS.*

VOLUME I.

New York:  
JOHNSON, FRY AND COMPANY,  
27 BEEKMAN STREET.

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Entered according to the Act of Congress, in the year 1869.

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1869  
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## P R E F A C E .

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THE plan of the following work is very simple. It is to present in a condensed form, yet sufficiently copious for the general reader, a History of all the principal Nations of the world, from the pens of eminent scholars of the present day. Beginning with what is relatively termed the East, the scene of the earliest traditions of the history of the human race, it follows the geographical outline through the great continental divisions of the world, thus describing the circle of human action in a course generally parallel with the progress of civilization.

Westward the course of Empire takes its way ;  
The first four acts already past,  
The fifth shall close the drama with the day ;  
Time's noblest offspring is the last.

Without appropriating exclusively for America this prophecy of Bishop Berkeley, or arrogating to ourselves a supremacy of intellect and virtue which may yet receive other and far more extended developments in the future of the ancient nations, in new circuits of the world, we may recognize a general truth and a convenient deduction of the grand historic epochs.

Commencing with the extreme verge of Asia, with the Empire of China and kindred Japan, the narrative successively takes up Central India and Babylon ; the great nations of the ancient world—Persians, Medes, Babylonians and Assyrians ; Arabia, and its Mohammedan conquests ; the political history of Palestine and the States of Asia Minor, at once the connecting link of Greek civilization of the East and the more permanent Jewish influence with the West.

The history of these nations is continued through modern times to the records of our own day, an arrangement which is, upon the whole, for the purposes of convenient reference and uniform treatment, preferable to a synchronous exhibition of events continually interrupted in passing from country to country.

Africa follows next in the order of the great divisions, the narrative starting with Egypt, to which considerable space is given, commensurate with its importance in its influence upon early civilization. The temporary Empire of Carthage follows in order, with the northern provinces bordering on the Mediterranean, the limited records of Nubia and Abyssinia, with the modern discoveries and settlements developed by commercial progress along the vast Atlantic border of the Continent.

The chronicle of Europe begins with the master civilization of Greece, succeeded by

the great inheritor of its achievements, the far extended military Empire of Rome, continued through its Eastern sovereignty to its great conquerors in the Ottoman rule in Turkey; its home successors in the government of Italy, the Papal States, Naples, Venice, Florence, Lombardy, and the rest, with the outlying, and frequently controlling vast German Empire beyond, with the great development of the Protestant Reformation. After a survey of Spain, Portugal, Russia, Holland, Denmark, and the other northern nations, France is assigned a large space in the record, proportionate with its great part in mediæval and modern development, followed in a natural association in their early history by England, the story of whose wide sovereignty closes the European division.

To the early discovery and conquest and colonial progress of America, succeeds its great political divisions from the northern to the southern extremity of the continent. Ample space is given to the United States, corresponding to the home interest in the subject in a work adapted to popular circulation in the country. Mexico, Central America, the West Indies lead to South America with its vast territorial divisions. The Island systems of the Pacific and the new empires of English settlement in Australasia, complete the grand geographical course of the work.

In the general descriptions which precede each of the great divisions, will be found an account of the geographical and physical conditions which have determined much of their historical position. This basis of science, in the consideration of climate, geology, the influence of mountains and rivers, involving capacities of production, and the means of supporting the population by agriculture and commerce, must at the present day be regarded as the necessary preliminary in all true historical exposition. Studies of this kind are in fact the keys of history.

With the exception of the portion relating to America, this work is largely indebted to the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. The last edition of this work presents the results of nearly a century of study and research, by some of the most accomplished scholars of Great Britain during that period. The most important portions of the historical articles of that work are here brought together in one comprehensive view, occasionally reënforced by contributions from other sources, and the narrative of additional events continued to the present year. The history of the United States, embracing a large part of the concluding volume, is from the pen of the Rev. J. A. Spencer, D.D., who has edited the entire portion of the work relating to America. The arrangement of the whole is under the direction of Evert A. Duyckinck, author of the "National Portrait Gallery of Eminent Americans," the "Cyclopedia of American Literature," and other works.

A large outlay has been incurred by the publishers in the Illustrations accompanying this work. To those derived from such sources as the historical paintings of Copley, Delaroche, Gerome, and other eminent foreign artists, a series has been added of new designs from the pencil of Mr. Alonzo Chappel, with others by Wier and Powell; together with an extended series of Portraits drawn from the best authorities expressly for this work.

# HISTORY OF THE WORLD.

## INTRODUCTORY.

THE first and most difficult problem of universal history is to fix the point of its beginning—the time of the first appearance and activity of man on this planet. The unaided condition of the human race, now, as regards this problem, is analogous to that of a man trying to fix the date of his birth by his own recollection. He cannot do so. He may work his memory back to within a few years of his birth; but the date of his birth and the circumstances of his infant years he can know only from external information. It is very much so with the race as a whole. Regarding the commencement of the existence of humanity on the earth, and the subsequent period of what may be called its infancy, the mere memory of humanity is necessarily at fault. Two kinds of external information are depended on for filling up the blank—the information contained in the Biblical records of the creation and beginning of the race; and any collateral information to be derived from geological researches. In short, history, at this its first stage is merged in theology and geology; and the historian must have his conclusions given to him from beyond the field of his own science. Even so supplied, the conclusions are not numerous. Hitherto scientific geology has not even professed to be able to determine anything precise respecting the epoch at which the earth was first inhabited by man, or respecting the conditions of its first human inhabitants. And though the Hebrew Scriptures narrate the story of the creation of mankind, and of

the fortunes of its first generations, with an exactness not offered by any other record—telling of the creation of an original pair on one part of the earth's surface, tracing the descent of successive generations from that pair, and describing a great catastrophe or deluge which destroyed all these generations, with the exception of a single family, who were left to repeople the world—commentators have found the utmost difficulty in settling the dates of these events, and in casting the whole narration into a chronological form. No fewer than two or three hundred different chronological schemes have been proposed, all based on calculations from the durations of the lives of the patriarchs, and other numerical data furnished by the Biblical text. The shortest of these fixes the date of the creation of man at the year B.C. 3483; the longest at the year B.C. 6984—a discrepancy of more than 3,000 years. The cause of these differences is the difference existing in the passages supplying the data, between the Hebrew text of the Old Testament and the Samaritan text and the Septuagint version. The chronological scheme commonly adopted in British tables of history, during the last two centuries, is that of Archbishop Usher, which fixes the epoch of the creation at B.C. 4004, and that of the deluge at B.C. 2348.

Even after passing beyond this first stage in the history of the world, and assuming whatever date for the deluge he considers most probable, the historian still encounters a large tract of time, respecting which, unless



he proceeds implicitly on the information given in the Scriptures, he must remain totally silent. Availing himself, however, of those parts of the Mosaic record which relate to the repeopleing of the world after the deluge, he is able to impart a specific character to this portion of universal history which would otherwise be wanting. He can conceive it as the period of the dispersion of mankind over the earth, and of their division into nations, tongues and peoples. And here, whatever collateral light elucidating the Mosaic account he can bring to his assistance so as to vivify his idea of human activity during this tract of time, must be derived, not as before from the science of geology, but from the so-called science of ethnology. The object of this science is to trace the affinity of existing nations and tribes on the earth, by the study of their physiognomical and physiological differences and analogies, the differences and analogies of their mental characteristics, and the analogies and differences of their languages—so as to exhibit their genealogical descent, and, if possible, refer them back to several original stocks, springing from one root. So far as this science has yet gone, its great doctrine is that, whatever independent reasons there are for believing in the original unity of the race, yet, for historical purposes, we must conceive to ourselves humanity at the dawn of the remotest age to which its own unaided memory can penetrate, as consisting, not of one perfectly homogeneous mass aggregated on one spot, but of several distinct masses already distributed more or less densely over the various quarters of the earth, and each broken into minor subdivisions. In accordance with this general doctrine of ethnology, various schemes have been proposed. One of the most distinct and convenient is that which avers that, as far back as ordinary records carry us, we find the earth, as now, divided out among three great stocks or varieties of mankind,—the Negro variety having the African continent, or the greater part of it, for their home; the Mongolian variety spread over Northern, Central, and Eastern Asia,

and possibly also expatiating in America; and the Caucasian variety, possessing Western Asia, Europe, and the Mediterranean margin of Africa, and subdivided conspicuously into—(1.) the Semitic or Syro-Arabian family, clustered together in the Western region of Asia, between the Tigris and the Mediterranean, and in the adjacent parts of Africa; and (2.) the Japetic or Indo-European family, more widely distributed in the remaining Caucasian parts of Asia and Africa, and over all Europe. According, then, to ethnology, the business of the historian proper commences at that point of time at which, so far as we have information, the whole or the greater part of the earth's surface can be conceived as overspread by human inhabitants of one or other of the three main types still existing—Negroes, Mongolians, or Caucasians;—these human inhabitants thinly dispersed perhaps in some parts as mere loose and roaming tribes, but in others showing a tendency to aggregate themselves into those larger consolidations which we call nations. Accepting the common chronology, he may fix this point, if he pleases, at about B.C. 2000. At that far distant period it does appear as if the earth had been tolerably well overspread by human beings arranged very much as they now are—Negroes in Africa, south of Mount Atlas; Mongolians in Central, Northern, and Eastern Asia; and Caucasians in Western Asia, Northern Africa, and Europe; and as if already at these points these human beings had begun to form themselves into compact national masses.

It is now with communities and nations that the historian has to deal; and not till the earth furnishes him with, at least, one such community or nation on which he can fasten his attention, does his work properly commence.

Now, here again, there are differences among historians. Some believe that, by means of records and monuments, we can carry back the histories of certain ancient nations as far as B.C. 2000, if not farther; others, more sceptical, doubt if we can go as

far back as B.C. 1000, or even B.C. 800, and regard the traditions of events and the lists of kings, etc., by means of which certain of the ancient nations pushed the retrospect of their own respective histories beyond that point, as nothing more than mythology and legend. Of late this historical scepticism has certainly been exaggerated; and the researches of archaeologists seem gradually to be verifying the belief that, though on the whole the period between B.C. 2000 and B.C. 800 is the domain of mythology, yet even in that period we can lay down, as it were, a causeway of solid fact respecting certain individual nations.

Without entering on the controversy, let us enumerate those nations which, by general consent hitherto, have been reckoned as the most ancient in the world, and, as such, the objects of the historian's solicitude: 1. In the great expanse of negro humanity, conceived as possessing Southern and Central Africa from time immemorial, the only native consolidation that presents itself in early times with even a possible claim on the separate attention of the historian is that of the so-called Ethiopians, of whom we hear as a very ancient nation lying far inland beyond Upper Egypt. 2. Glancing over the vast Mongolian tracts of Asia and America, the historian encounters glimpses here and there at an early period of nations or aggregates of tribes under the vague names of Scythians and the like; but the only permanent and important consolidation, whose antiquity, as maintained by itself, he feels bound to investigate, is the Chinese. The Mexicans and Peruvians of America do not come into view till comparatively modern times; so that, to all intents and purposes, America is excluded from ancient history. 3. Passing to the Caucasian regions of Western and Southern Asia, Northern Africa and Europe, the historian is struck by the difference which these regions present. Here, instead of one nation looming into view, he finds a number of distinct nations contemporaneously or in swift succession competing for his notice.

First, far to the east, and to a great extent isolated from the rest, are the Indians, a primeval mass of the Japetic or Indo-European race, at least claiming a high antiquity which, like that of the Chinese, requires to be investigated. Next, clustered together in what we have defined as the Semitic or Syro-Arabian portion of the general Caucasian area—*i. e.*, in Western Asia, between the Mediterranean and the Tigris, and in the adjacent parts of Africa—are a group of Semitic nations, among which the most conspicuous are the Egyptians, the Hebrews, the Phœnicians, and the Assyrians and Babylonians. Lastly, in the remaining Indo-European portions of Asia, a little later in point of time, Japetic nations, such as the Medes and Persians of the Iranian table-land, and the Lydians of Asia Minor, are discerned rising into importance; while, if the attention is extended into Europe, the beginnings of such nations as the Greeks, the Etruscans, etc., are at the same time visible.

The first portion or division of universal history, therefore, is that which collects and narrates all that can be ascertained respecting the origin and early transactions of these primeval consolidations of mankind on the earth's surface, up to that point at which their histories cease to be separate, and appear to become involved, to some extent, at least, in one general movement, the tracing of which may more properly be made the business of the remaining parts of history. Now there can be no difference of opinion as to the geographical region in which this general movement presented itself—the first heavings, as it were, of humanity in its efforts to assume that common course which it was to maintain throughout all time. It was not in Negro Africa, it was not in Mongolian Asia, it was not Japetic Europe; it was, beyond all question, in that portion of Western Asia, adjacent Africa included, which we still think of most when we speak of the "Oriental nations," and in which, as we have just stated, a cluster of distinguished Semitic nations was in contact with one or two Jap-



etic ones, or rather with the elements of such. Every schoolboy knows that the Indians and the Chinese, whatever their antiquity and importance, stand apart and isolated, to a great extent, from the regular course of ancient history, so far as we can trace it; and that the true beginnings of "world-history," as such, are to be sought for among the mutual conflicts of those famous nations clustered together in smaller masses in that portion of the East beyond or near the Levant, where, as Napoleon alleged, the human soul had ever throbbed most powerfully—the Egyptians, the Hebrews, the Phœnicians, the Assyrians and Babylonians, the Medes and Persians. When we attempt to fix, however, the date or epoch at which we are to account the mere separate histories of these nations to have ended, and the general movement to have begun, there is greater room for difference. From the earliest times of which we have any glimpse, these nations, or at least the Semitic ones, were warring with each other and making conquests. We hear of early Egyptian conquests, of early Assyrian conquests, and even of early Ethiopian conquests. The Assyrians, in particular, stand forth in our schemes of universal history as the first people who pursued a regular and known career, aiming at the subjugation and political combination of the elements that lay around them. In our traditional schemes of universal history we have presented to us three successive Assyrian monarchies—the first, beginning shortly after the period assigned to the Deluge, and ending somewhere about B.C. 2000, when a conqueror, Ninus, extended it immensely so as to form a great empire with Nineveh for its capital; the second, beginning at the date of this Ninus, and lasting till the death of a luxurious monarch called Sardanapalus, B.C. 876, when the empire was dismembered; and the third, a monarchy of lesser dimensions, founded amid the ruins of the second, and lasting till the destruction of Nineveh, B.C. 606, by its subjects the Medes and Babylonians, under the Babylonian viceroy Nabopolassar. After

this event, according to the same schemes of history, the unity of historic interest is centered in the so-called Babylonian Monarchy, founded by Nabopolassar, and maintained and extended by his son Nebuchadnezzar and other successors, till the year B.C. 538, when the Medes and Persians, who had in the meantime risen to a position of some importance, captured Babylon, and began a new Oriental rule. Now the historian, after due investigation, may, if he chooses, date the commencement of world-history as such, either from the last Assyrian Monarchy, or from the Babylonian Monarchy which succeeded it. For many reasons, however, in the present state of our knowledge, it seems to us that it would be better to regard the general political movement of the human race as beginning rather at the point where for the first time the mastery is seen transferred to a nation of the Japetic or Indo-European race—*i. e.*, at the overthrow of the Babylonian empire by the Medes and Persians, B.C. 538—and the establishment of that Medo-Persian empire, which, in the hands of Cyrus the Great (died B.C. 529) and his successors Cambyses (B.C. 529–521) and Darius (B.C. 521–485), became organized by farther conquests, in which the Lydians were included, into the vast combination known as the Persian Empire. According to this view, Cyrus is the first hero of universal history as such; and the Persians are the first to lead the march of the general historic evolution. The best arrangement, then, for the purposes of universal history, is to constitute, in the first place, a great division by itself, under the name of Primeval Ancient History; assigning to this division the duty of stating what can be ascertained respecting the beginnings of those early consolidations of the race which we have enumerated, and of narrating their several histories, either in parallel lines where they keep separate, or otherwise where they commingle, on to that point (say the reign of Darius) where they merge in the authentic unity of the Persian empire.

Beyond this, the historian's course is so clear that it may be indicated briefly. The Persian monarchy, including all Asia from the Indus to the *Ægean*, precipitated itself upon Europe, thus determining that the world's pedigree should be continued through the Japetic nations of the West. When Darius (B.C. 490) attempted to conquer the Greeks, the earth changed its historic centre. The Greek and Hellenic race, already so nobly prepared for its honorable office, was inaugurated into that office at the battle of Marathon; and for a considerable period onward the main thread of universal history has to be traced in the history of Greece. This history, of which the Graeco-Macedonian dominion of Alexander the Great and his successors may be viewed as a prolongation under different conditions from those which existed while the Athenians, the Lacedæmonians, the Thebans, etc., acted as separate or as confederate states, closes with the appearance of the Romans as a conquering people out of Italy. Transferring its regards to this imperial people, the universal historian has a clear path in Roman History, as far as the fourth or fifth century of our era; at which point, by general consent, Ancient History closes, in the disintegration of the Roman empire by the Northern races, and the commencement of a new order of things.

Onward from this point there is no theoretical difficulty, though the complexity of the movement, arising from the multitude of the nations taking part in it, may occasion a practical one to the historian. Modern History, commencing say at the year 395 of the Christian era, when the Roman empire, on the death of Theodosius, was permanently divided into the two empires of the East and the West, consists as we all know of two parts,—Medieval History, which carries on the general movement from A.D. 395, at which time the empire of the West was already tottering before the attacks of the Goths and other Germanic peoples, to A.D. 1453, when the taking of Constantinople by the Turks put an end to the long-surviving empire of

the East; and Recent Modern History, carrying on the movement from A.D. 1453 to the present time. Under both these heads, by keeping up with due skill the distinction between the History of the West and the History of the East, the historian is able to include everything in its proper place. Thus, under Medieval History, the "History of the West," commencing with a survey of the Roman empire of the West at the period of its decay, then passes on to an account of the Germanic peoples who were to be its destroyers, details the actions of these peoples in disrupting the empire, and forming the new societies of France, Italy, Spain, Britain, Germany, etc., and conducts the conjoint story of these societies through the eras of Charlemagne, Hildebrand, etc., to the era of the Reformation; while the History of the East includes the history during the same period of the Byzantine empire, the related histories of the Arabs, Tartars, and Turks, and to some extent that of the Slavonian Nations. So, under Recent Modern History, there may be assigned to the department of the West all the transactions, national and international, of the occidental nations of Europe since 1453, including, as an important part of the story, an account of their colonizing energies as exhibited in Africa, Asia, and above all in America—now for the first time added to the theatre of history; while to the department of the East may be assigned the narration of Turkish domination, and of interrupting Persian conquests, together with the necessary survey up to the present hour of the rest of native Asia.

The main sources of history may be arranged, in the order of their importance, as follows:—1. Written or otherwise registered laws and treaties; in which are embodied in their order, the deliberate determinations of nations with respect to the successive exigencies, internal and external, through which they passed. This source is available chiefly for the history of modern nations; only scraps of the laws and treaties of the ancient nations remaining to us in their original form. 2.



Public-contemporary registers of notable occurrences. These, in the express documentary form, are also most numerous for modern nations; but, for ancient times, facts may be often ascertained, and dates may be fixed, from monumental inscriptions, coins, medals, etc. 3. More general accounts of national transactions, given by those who have recorded them, and especially by contemporaries and eye-witnesses. A large proportion of what are called the "original materials" of all histories consists of such accounts, which are to be examined and checked by each other. 4. Authentic accounts of the physiognomies, lives, and characters of eminent men, and especially of eminent public men, visibly connected with national transactions. 5. Remaining works of art, and the whole surviving literature of a nation, for the period concerned, both as exhibiting the national tendencies and modes of thinking, and also as embodying incidentally particles of historical fact. 6. All miscellaneous sources of information respecting customs, costumes, food, furniture, occupations, etc., etc.; under which head, if not under some of the preceding, might be included busts, portraits, topographical views, engravings, and the like. One may also note here the occasional possibility that there is of rendering a narrative of past actions more vivid by actually visiting remarkable localities, buildings, etc., or museums of antiquities. Here the historian can communicate through his senses with actual remnants of the past. A battle-field is a portion of the earth's surface, retaining, as it were, the scar of the action which passed over it; an old castle or street is, as it were, the shell once filled with an old form of life; a suit of armor with a bullet-hole in it suggests more accurately the warrior who moved and fought within it. The most extensive use of this help to history is in travelling over countries which were the scenes of great events, so as to realize the permanent features of their scenery, whether geological, botanical, or artificial.

Passing our eye along the course of uni-

versal literature, we may enumerate those who, according to the general judgment of their own and of other nations, have distinguished themselves most in the department of history, and may therefore take their places in the list of the chief historians of the world:

I. PRIMEVAL HISTORIANS.—Here the sacred historians of the Old Testament stand alone; and it is from them, in conjunction with the retrospective narratives of some of the Greek historians, especially Herodotus, and in conjunction also with archaeological research, as in the investigation of the monuments of Egypt, and of those recently disinterred at Nineveh (and probably the same process may be yet applied to many others of the famous sites of ancient Oriental civilization), that all our historical knowledge of primeval times is to be derived.

II. CLASSICAL HISTORIANS.—(1.) *Greek Historical Writers*.—This list is headed by Herodotus, the "Father of History," and a man whose name the whole human race is bound to hold in reverence, as that of one of the truest men of genius that ever lived. Then come, in order, Thucydides, Xenophon, Polybius, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Diodorus Siculus, Arrian, and Plutarch; to whom may be added the Jewish historian Josephus, and the ecclesiastical historian Eusebius. (2.) *Latin Historical Writers*.—The most illustrious names in this list are those of Salust, Julius Cæsar, Livy, Suetonius, and Tacitus; but other minor names might be added. Livy and Tacitus are pre-eminently the Roman historians.

III. MEDIEVAL HISTORIANS.—(1.) *Latin Historians of the Western Nations*.—A vast proportion of the medieval history of the western nations is buried in the legends or lives of the saints; but each nation had its independent chroniclers of political and ecclesiastical events, some of whom rose to the dignity of historians. Among these Gregory of Tours, who lived in the Merovingian times of the Frankish monarchy, and wrote an *Ecclesiastical History of the Franks*, de-

serves mention. There were also some notable chroniclers and biographical writers in the age of Charlemagne; and France produced some good contemporary historians of the Crusades. No country, however, was richer in historical writers during the middle ages than England. The venerable Bede, in the eighth century, was a man of true historical genius; and to the twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, belonged a series of able Latin chroniclers, of whom the most distinguished are Geoffrey of Monmouth, William of Malmesbury, Matthew Paris, Higden, Knighton, and Walsingham. The Scottish historian Fordun belongs to the fifteenth century. (2.) *Byzantine Historians*.—Under this name is included a considerable series of rather petty writers, natives of the Greek or Eastern Empire, from its separation from the West to its final destruction by the Turks. Among these were Procopius, Agathius, Menander, John of Ephiphania, Theophylactus, Simocatta, and the well-known Anna Comnena, daughter of the Emperor Alexius Comnenus. (3.) *Oriental Historians*.—In the remarkable development of the literary genius of the Arabs, consequent upon the impulse given to the race by Mohammed, history was not neglected. The Spanish Arabs had their special historians; and Turkish and Persian historians of the middle ages are also mentioned. Of Indian and Chinese historians we can say nothing, though these were not wanting.

IV. MODERN HISTORIANS.—Since the rise of the vernacular literatures of the various modern nations of Europe, we are able to count a number of distinguished men in each, who have devoted themselves, some exclusively, others in part, to historical writing, and have there won their literary laurels. (1.) *English Historical Writers*.—Among these, passing over such valuable early chroniclers as Holingshed and Stow, and such metrical historians as Barbour and Wyntoun, may be mentioned—Knollys; Sir Walter Raleigh, in virtue of his *History of the World*; Bacon, in virtue of his *History of the Reign of*

*Henry VII.*; and Shakspeare himself, in virtue of his historical plays, called, by himself and his contemporaries, *Histories*. Next (passing over minor names) may be mentioned the party-historians Clarendon and Burnet; succeeded by the splendid series of British historical writers of the eighteenth century—Swift, Defoe, Hume, Smollett, Warton, Lord Lyttelton, Lord Hailes, Dr. Henry, Dr. Robertson, and Edward Gibbon. All in all, Gibbon, in virtue both of the immensity of his task, and of the admirable industry and art with which it was executed, has the highest place assigned to him among British writers of history; and he is in many respects, though not in all, the type of a great historian. After the time of Gibbon no man had a more powerful influence on the historical literature, not of Britain alone but of all Europe, than Sir Walter Scott; all the efforts of whose genius were, in a sense, historical, and some of whose works, though not his best, were expressly histories. Historical writers contemporary with Scott, and each having characteristic excellences, were James Mill and Mackintosh; and coming down to our own generation, what a constellation in our historical literature (we shall not attempt to classify the stars according to their magnitudes) is represented by the names of Tytler, and Arnold, and Alison, and Napier, and Macaulay, and Carlyle, and Thirlwall, and Grote and Milman, and Hallam, and Merivale, and Froude. Belonging to the same constellation, in virtue of the language in which they write, are the American historians, Washington Irving, Bancroft, Prescott, and Motley. (2.) *French Historical Writers*.—In this list, which may be considered to begin with De Ville Hardouin and De Joinville in the thirteenth century, the greatest names in times anterior to the Revolution, are those of the vivid and picturesque Froissart, Philip De Comines, Thuanus (who, however, wrote in Latin), D'Aubigné, Brantome, Perefixe, Sully, the Jesuit Daniel, Vertot, Rollin, the illustrious Bossuet, Basnage, Fleury, Rapin, St. Simon, Du Cange, Voltaire, Montesquieu,



Raynal, and Rulhières; to whom, since the Revolution, have been added, besides many of inferior note, such men as Sismondi, Barante, Guizot, Capefigue, the two Thierry's, Mignet, Michaud, Thiers, Michelet, Merimee, Lamartine, and Louis Blanc. In no department of literature has France recently been so prolific as in history; and perhaps, on the whole, no other country has such a cluster of eminent living historians. At the head of what is perhaps the most characteristic school of French historians—*i. e.*, those who are distinguished by their passion for historical generalization, as well as their mere powers of narration—stands M. Guizot. (3.) *Italian Historical Writers.*—Of these the chief are, in the sixteenth century, Macchiavelli and Guicciardini, with some lesser men, such as Varchi, Bembo, Sarpi, and Davanzati; and in more recent times, Davila, Maffei, Muratori, Tiraboschi, Botta, Micali, Bossi, Colletta, and Pignotti. (4.) *German Historical Writers.*—Passing the Magdeburg centuriators and other ecclesiastical historians of the sixteenth century, who wrote in Latin, we have to come down to the eighteenth century for any German historical writers of importance. To that century belong Heyne, Schwekh, and other contributors to a *Uni-*

*versal History* then published; to whom have succeeded such men as Eichhorn, Müller, the great Niebuhr, Heeren, Schlosser, Rotteck, Menzel, Lappenburg, Von Hammer, Raumer, Neander, Ranke, Bunsen, Curtius, and Mommsen. In “learned” history, and in patient research, the Germans are unparalleled. (5.) *Spanish Historical Writers.*—Among their chief historians the Spaniards reckon Palencia, Bernal Diaz, Pedro Martyr, and Valera, in the sixteenth century; Morales, Mendosa, Mariana, Herrera, La Puente, and De Solis, in the seventeenth; since which time Spain has produced as little in history as in other kinds of literature. (6.) *Historical Writers of the Scandinavian Countries.*—The Danes count among their eminent historians Gram, Holberg, Malling, Moller, and Grundtvig; the Swedes count among theirs Tegel, Dalin, Botin, and Silferstolpe. (7.) *Slavonian Historical Writers.*—Among the most celebrated *Russian* historians, after Nestor, a monk of the twelfth century, are Tatischeff and Karamsin. The *Poles* have had not a few eminent historians; and Palacky is the greatest historian of the *Bohemians*. (8.) *Greek Historical Writers.*—Of modern Greek historical writers the most distinguished is Tricoupi.

# ASIA.

## A GENERAL VIEW.

THIS division of the globe is distinguished by its vast extent ; by the striking character of its interior geography ; above all by the stupendous revolutions of which it has been the scene ; and, lastly, by the high antiquity of its civilization, of which we can still faintly trace the precious remains. Stretching from the southern hemisphere into the northern regions of perpetual winter, it comprises within its bounds the opposite extremes of heat and cold ; an immense variety consequently of the animal and vegetable tribes ; and that still more interesting variety which the irresistible law of climate impresses on the human species. The surface of Asia, towering to its height far above the regions of perpetual snow, presents, when superficially examined, a confused mass of lofty mountains, diverging into an endless variety of inferior ridges, apparently without plan or system. But a more attentive survey discloses, amid the bold irregularities of nature, the same order and unity of design in the structure of this great continent, as in all the other works of creation.

Asia was the earliest abode of the human race ; and, when all the other parts of the world were either uninhabited or sunk in barbarism, it was the seat of great empires and of flourishing and splendid cities, of commerce, of literature, and of all the arts of civilized life. But its early prosperity was blighted by the ruthless devastations of war ; its populous cities were utterly destroyed, so that the spot on which many of

them stood is now only marked by masses of ruins ; their arts and literature have perished ; and in such fragments of their writing as still survive, the meaning is buried under the almost impenetrable veil of an ancient and unknown character.

The name of Asia was at first applied by Homer and others of the ancient poets and historians to a small district of Lydia, occupied by a tribe called Asiones, who inhabited a city of the name of Asia. The Greeks, gradually enlarging their discoveries in those eastern countries, still retained the original name, until it embraced the whole of Asia Minor and the countries to the east, and it was at last applied to all the vast regions which subsequent discoveries have brought to light.

The limits of Asia are in some cases marked out by nature, and admit of no dispute ; in other parts they are not very clearly defined, and have been differently settled by geographers, according to their own notions of propriety or distinctness.

The continent of Asia extends over 77 degrees of latitude, or one-fifth of the periphery of the globe, and in the latitude of the Dardanelles, over 128 degrees of longitude, or very nearly one-third of the circumference of the globe under that circle. Asia is bounded in the north by the Arctic Ocean, in the east by Behring's Strait, which separates it from America, and by the Sea of Kamtschatka, the Sea of Okhotsk, the Sea of Japan, the Yellow Sea, and lastly, the Tong



Hai, or East Sea. But the Japanese and several other groups of smaller islands, being appurtenances of the continent, it is evident that the North Pacific Ocean is the real eastern boundary of Asia. The southern limits are the Chinese Sea, the Strait of Malacca, the Gulf of Bengal, the Arabic Sea, the Gulf of Oman, and the Gulf of Aden; the latter four being limbs of the Indian Ocean. The great Indian islands, the Philippines, Borneo, Sumatra, Java, Celebes, the Spice and Sunda islands, and all those smaller ones which, dotting the Sea of Banda, extend as far as the shores of New Guinea, are now generally reckoned to Asia, with which, indeed, they are so intimately connected by ethnological, religious, commercial, and political ties, that we are bound to consider them as appurtenances of that great continent. Asia consequently extends in the south-east to the very threshold of Australia, or Oceanica, but there are no natural limits separating them into two distinct portions of the globe. In physical geography, all or most of those islands form one vast volcanic group with the other islands along the east coast of Asia, the peninsula of Kamtschatka included. The limits of Asia in the W. are, the Red Sea, which separates it from Africa, the Mediterranean, the Dardanelles, the Sea of Marmora, the Bosphorus, and the Black Sea, on the side of Southern Europe; and the Ural and the Caucasus, on the side of Eastern Europe.

Asia contains a larger area than any of the other divisions of the globe, viz., including its islands, 17,000,000 square geographical miles; the area of America being 15,000,000, that of Africa about 14,000,000, and that of Europe 3,775,429.

The surface of this vast continent is exceedingly varied. In some places it towers in stupendous mountains, forming four great chains, with subordinate branches, of different names. It often exhibits vast plateaux or elevated table-lands, of prodigious extent; in other points it stretches in plains little elevated above the level of the ocean; while in certain points it presents enormous hollows

or depressions that are lower than the surface of the Black Sea. Humboldt computes the superficies of all Asia at 1,346,000 geographical square leagues. Of this a large proportion is mountainous, or raised in elevated plains.

The northern portion of Asia consists of a series of plains divided by mountains of small elevation, forming the comparatively low land of Siberia, intersected by several large rivers, and occupied often by extensive swamps. This region is estimated at about 400,000 square leagues. The central part of Asia, still imperfectly known to Europe, was till lately conceived to be one vast table-land, of irregular form, buttressed on every side by lofty mountains; but it now appears, on the contrary, to be traversed by long mountain chains.

Asia presents to the eye such a compactness of conformation, and its outlines are at the same time so diversified by deep indentures of the sea, forming gulfs and peninsulas of every shape and dimension, that neither Africa can be called more compact, nor North America more diversified. Every prominent feature of this vast continent is on a gigantic scale; and the aggregate of its mountains and rivers, its low plains and its elevated plateaux, surpasses those of the other divisions, not only in magnitude, but also by its contrasting variety. Its mere steppe rivers approach the size of the Don and the Dniepr; and the second of its salt lakes, the Aral, is still larger, by 6,400 square geographical miles, than Lake Superior; the largest sheet of water in America; while the combined superficies of all the American lakes would not suffice to cover the area of the Caspian. Its Indian Archipelago forms a world by itself, with which the West Indian Islands can be compared neither for extent nor importance; its mountains rise higher into the regions of eternal snow than the far-famed Chimborazo; it has its deserts of burning sand, and of frozen swamps, alike destructive to the human race. Nowhere is there such an exuberance of animal and vegetable life,

not only spread over the whole continent, but also displaying itself within the narrowest limits, as the traveller rapidly descends from the crest of the Himalaya into the plain of Bengal. The same variety, the same contrasts, appear in its history. Asia, the cradle of mankind, the mother of religion, the nurse of civilization, where arts and letters were cultivated in the remotest times, contains within her inaccessible mountain forests numerous descendants of her primitive inhabitants, who still continue that brutish life which their forefathers led when the first vine was planted, the first hieroglyphic character carved in the rock.

Nature has divided Asia into six portions, of which each is so vast and so distinct from the other as almost to present a world by itself. These are Central, Western, Northern, Southern, Eastern, and Oceanic Asia. We place Central Asia at the head, because it is not only the nucleus of the whole continent, comparable to a huge citadel situated in the centre of a fortress, of which the other divisions are the bastions and ramparts, the peninsulas and islands the outworks; but also because the nations by which it is inhabited have exercised, from the remotest times, a most powerful influence on those of the other divisions, so that most of the great revolutions by which Asia has from time to time been convulsed since the very dawn of history, and which affected even Europe in such a degree as to change the whole ethnographical and political aspect of that continent also, can be traced back to commotions among the forefathers of those barbarous tribes of shepherds, who still wander in the cold and dreary steppes over which the Bogdo Ula towers in awful, majestic solitude.

Central Asia, the greatest and highest table-land on the globe, extends between the Himalaya in the south which separates it from India, and the chain of the Altaï.

The four chains of the Himalaya, the Kuen-lun, the Thian-shan, and the Altaï, are, in the whole, parallel to each other, and divide the table-land of Central Asia into

three plateaux of decreasing elevation and different dimensions, namely, Tibet, High Tartary, and Mongolia.

The highest terrace is Tibet, between the Himalaya and the Kuen-lun, and the Bolor and China. The level of Tibet is not equal, its surface showing numerous and extensive depressions, with steppe rivers flowing into salt lakes without outlets; the valleys of the Indus, the Dzangbo and the Yang-tse-kiang (in Kham), especially that of the Dzangbo, are also much below the general level. The highest plateaux are around the culminating point of the Himalaya, the Hindu Koh, the Bolor Dag, and the Kuen-lun, on the borders of Turkistan; and Ritter thinks that the plateaux around Lake Kuku-nûr are quite as high. Their elevation is not accurately known, but they are both higher than the plateaux stretching from the sources of the Sutledj east towards the sacred mount Kailasa, which rise 16,800 feet above the sea, increasing in height further east. The average height of the other Himalaya plateaux is about the same. Mount Purkyul or Tash-gong, on which Lieut. Gerard reached, in 1818, an altitude of 18,210 feet, is 21,300 feet high; but the highest known peaks of the Himalaya do not lie on Tibetan territory. According to all appearance the peaks which rise above the high table-land on the borders of Turkistan, and those around Lake Kuku-nûr, probably equal in elevation the highest peaks of the Himalaya. In Kham, also, which is intersected by numerous valleys encompassed by precipitous Alpine rocks, there are mountains of stupendous height, and mountain passes lying 18,000 feet above the sea, over which, however, the Chinese more than once penetrated into Tibet with armies of 100,000 men. The climate of Tibet is very severe, the winters being almost insupportable, but the summer season in the lower valley of the Dzangbo is genial, the country producing grapes, peaches, and other choice fruit, in abundance. Tibet contains the sources of the Indus, the Dzangbo, the Yang-tse-kiang, and the Hoang-ho, the latter two



begin in Tangut. The largest lakes, which are all surrounded by vast and excellent pastures, are Kuku-nûr in Tangut, and Tengri-nûr in Tibet Proper. Our scanty knowledge of Tibet has lately received a valuable addition in the journal of the Rev. Mr. Puch, a French missionary, who proceeded from Peking, through Mongolia and Tangut, to L'Hassa, the capital of Tibet, which he left for China by the road through Kham. An English translation of his MS. journal was recently published under the auspices of Lord Palmerston.

The slope of the second terrace, which comprises Chinese Turkistan, the western portion of the desert Gobi, and the southern portion of the Chinese government Kan-fu, is from the high plateaux of the Bolor Dagh, east towards the desert Gobi. Its highest tracts lie in the Bolor Dagh, the Thianshan, especially around the Bogdo Ula, the Tsung-ling and Kuen-lun, and in the far east in Kan-fu, along the snowy Tangut range, the slope of which towards the Gobi seems to be very rapid. There the province of Kan-fu penetrates edgewise into Mongolia, extending north and west towards the Altaï Proper. The central and eastern portions of High Tartary are occupied by the southern Gobi, which lies much below the general level of the terrace. The elevation of this terrace is considerably lower than that of Tibet, as appears from the genial climate of Chinese Turkistan, which is said to produce grapes, pomegranates, peaches, and other choice fruit of southern climes. The river Ta-rim, swelled by numerous affluents descending from the Bolor, the Tsung-ling and the Kuen-lun, traverses the whole of Chinese Turkistan from west to east, and empties itself into the steppe lake Lob, on the borders of the Gobi, after a course of about 1,000 geographical miles. The climate of Chinese Turkistan is exceedingly dry, rains being rare phenomena, whence all cultivated fields are watered by artificial irrigation. The winters are very severe. The original inhabitants of the extensive tracts watered by the Ta-rim were Tadjiks,

a nation akin to the Persians, and who are also, but erroneously, called Bokharians, because they are very numerous in Bokhara. The Tadjiks were conquered by the Turkish tribe of the Usbeks, who established several small principalities, gave their name to the country (Turkistan), and ruled over it till they were subjugated by the Chinese in 1757. Thence the European name of Chinese Turkistan. The Chinese themselves call it Thian-shan-nan-lu (the province along the southern foot of the Celestial Mountains). It is a portion of their "Si-yu," or "West Country." There are also many Mongolish tribes in the country.

The most elevated plateaux of Mongolia, which are over-topped by some of the loftiest peaks in Asia, lie in the south, in the In-shan, on the borders of China, and the Thian-shan, on the borders of Chinese Turkistan. They slope gradually down towards the Altaï, and the desert of Gobi, which occupies the central parts of Mongolia. The level of the terrace, consequently, varies very much, but measurements have only been made in Songaria, along the Altaï, and along the great caravan road which leads from Peking to Kiakhta, on the frontiers of Siberia. On ascending the plateau from Peking, the traveller is almost suddenly transported from a southern clime to a cold, dreary table-land, resembling Siberia much more than China. The point where the road crosses the great Chinese wall lies about 5,100 feet above the sea, and marks the beginning of the desert of Gobi; the level of Zaghan-bal-ghassu, further north, is 4,200 feet; near Zakil-dakhan begins a sandy desert dotted with salt lakes, which lies much below the plateaux to the south and north of this tract, and seems to be the dried-up bed of an inland sea. It extends as far as Durma, where the soil changes from sand to a hard salt clay, producing saline plants, and strewn over with large fragments of rock, mostly porphyry and jasper, while in other places the steppe is literally covered with chalcedonies and agates. This tract is about 2,400 feet above the sea, and the dreariest of the whole Gobi.

Gobi is a Mongolian name signifying a country without trees and water, the same as the Chinese Shamo, and no less appropriate than the well-known terms Sahara and Ah-kaf. It occupies the central portions of both the second and third terrace of Central Asia. The Gobi is one of the most desolate tracts on the face of the globe. The utter absence of fresh water, the deceiving salt lakes glittering in the midst of inhospitable solitudes, the whirling clouds of dust and the myriads of gnats which pursue the weary traveller in the summer, combined with the intense cold, the icy blast of hurricanes, and the all-burying snow-storms of the winters, are phenomena no less redoubtable than all the horrors of the Sahara. But the Gobi also has its oases of luxuriant pastures around most of its salt lakes and along the steppe rivers, where the wandering Mongols pitch their tents of felt, and rear large herds of cattle, sheep, camels, and horses. The part occupied by the Chinese province of Khan-fu seems to be the least desolate; it is watered by two considerable steppe rivers, the Thola and the Bulon-ghir, and contains many settled inhabitants as well as some towns of importance. Our scanty knowledge of southern Mongolia has lately received most valuable additions through the journal of Mr. Puch.

From the Guntui Mountains, in the territory of the Khalkhas Mongols, the Khing-khan, a high range, runs east towards Mantchuria, and another, under various names, towards the Altaï in the west; and between the two curves lies an immense longitudinal tract, divided by northern branches of the Guntui and Tangnu into three basins. In the eastern basin are the head waters of the Amur; in the central one, those of the Selenga, which, after having crossed lake Baikal, assumes the appellations of Angara and Upper Tunguska, under which name it joins the Yenissei, of which it is the principal affluent; the western basin, finally, is watered by the upper course of the Yenissei, which rises here. The political frontiers of Russian and Chinese Asia have been fixed across the

tract without any consideration of natural boundaries, so that the northern portion belongs to Siberia, and the southern to Mongolia. It is inhabited by various Mongolian tribes. This circumstance, together with the abundance of water, the luxuriant pastures, the wooded mountains, and the comparatively genial climate, have given this tract the title of *Mongolia Felix*, a name not inappropriate, considering the contrast it offers to the adjacent Gobi. Western Mongolia, also, which is watered by the great steppe river Djabagan, which flows into Lake Ike Aral, is, comparatively speaking, a good country.

The westernmost part of Mongolia, or the plateau of Songaria, lies between the Altaï and the Thian-shan, along the western slopes of a high chain connecting those great ranges in a direction from north to south. In its highlands there are peaks covered with eternal snow, and in the north lies the Bielukha, the highest peak of the Altaï, to which Mr. Gebler, who visited the country in 1833, assigns an elevation of 11,723 feet. Songaria is a thriving Chinese province, with a motley commercial, agricultural, and nomadic population of Mongols, Turks, Tadjiks, and Chinese, most of the latter being exiled or transported criminals.

Western Asia contains Turan or Turkistan in the north; Iran or Persia, Afghanistan, and Beluchistan, in the east and south; the Caucasus, the Armenian table-land, and Asia Minor, in the west; and Arabia with Syria in the extreme west and south west.

Turan or Turkistan, a vast tract, comprehends the original seats of the Turkish race. It is partly a salt steppe, partly a grass steppe, the latter characteristic prevailing on the side of Siberia, into which it gradually merges. Low offshoots of the Altaï fill its northern parts. It contains a great number of salt lakes and steppe rivers. The Khirgises, a Turkish tribe, call themselves Kazaks or Cossacks, and are divided into three Hordes (a corruption of "ordu," tribe); namely, the Great Horde in the east, under the nominal



supremacy of China and the Kham of Khokan, and the Little and Middle Hordes over which Russia has obtained a protectorate, which is more and more assuming the character of sovereignty. The fortified line of the River Ural is still the principal boundary of the Russian empire towards the steppe of the Khirgises, but forts garrisoned by Russian Cossacks have of late been erected along the lower course of the Sihûn, and the materials of three schooners having been conveyed on wagons from Orenberg to Lake Aral in 1847-48, that inland sea is now navigated by Russian vessels manned by Russian sailors.

The surface of Turkistan Proper shows a greater difference of level than that of any other known country, the highest peaks of the Bolor and Hindu Koh, together with the table-lands over which they rise, vieing with those of the Andes and the Himalaya; while the level of the Caspian lies below that of the Black Sea, and a large tract around it is also below the level of the ocean.

The Aral, a large gulf called the Little Aral included, contains many islands, but only a few good harbors, and receives no rivers besides the Sihûn and the Djihûn; the supposition that the Djan Daria reaches the lake having not yet been substantiated. Its water is salt, though less so than that of the ocean, and near the mouths of the rivers so little brackish as to be drinkable.

The plains of Turkistan rise very gently towards the Bolor and Hindu Koh, the whole western slopes of which are a high, Alpine country, well wooded, and abundantly watered by the feeders and affluents of the Djihûn and Sihûn. The climate of Turkistan, which lies between the isotherms of the rainless regions, is exceedingly dry, whence all cultivation ceases where there is no running water, or such as is obtained from the numerous canals of irrigation. But wherever fresh water is found, the land is well cultivated, and yields an abundance of grain and fruit of most excellent quality: the grapes, melons, peaches, oranges, and other exquisite

fruits are renowned in Asia. The waterless districts are either salt steppes or sandy deserts, especially near the Caspian, and between the Aral and its two tributaries. A great proportion of the settled population of Turkistan are Tadjiks.

The country contains the independent Khanats of Khiwa, Bokhara, Kunduz, and Khokand; the two latter of which occupy nearly the whole tract of the western slopes of the Bolor Mountains, the high plateaux of the centre along the whole of the range being inhabited by tribes of Karakalpaks and other Khirgises, who are but little dependent on the neighboring princes.

A western continuation of the Hindu Koh, the range of Khorassan, and the Damani Koh, separates Iran from Turan, and decreases in height as it approaches the south-eastern corner of the Caspian. There the lofty chain of the Albors or Elburz rises suddenly, and trending west, connects the system of the Himalaya with the Caucasus and the Taurus. The northern part of Afghanistan is very mountainous; and the table-land of Kabul is about 6,000 feet high. To the west of it there is a great salt desert, in the midst of which are the fertile oases of Herat and Kandahar. On the plateau of Afghanistan are the sources of the steppe rivers Murghab, which flows north into the plain of Turkistan; Heri Rud, which waters Herat and Meshed; and Hilmend, the most considerable of the three, which empties itself into Lake Hamun, on the borders of Persia. Beluchistan is a plateau the interior of which is but imperfectly known. The slope of the plateau of Afghanistan towards the plain of the Indus is very abrupt, the mountain chains having in many localities the appearance of steep rock walls. Persia is a plateau from 3,500 to 4,000 feet above the sea, and nearly on all sides encompassed by lofty and rugged chains, through which narrow mountain passes lead into the interior. But it is open towards Western Turkistan and Central Afghanistan. Between Abushehr (Bushire) on the Persian Gulf, and Shirauz, there are no less than

seven terraces. A large portion of the interior of Persia is occupied by a great salt desert, diversified in some places by highly fertile oases. On the whole, the interior of Persia is a miserable country, resembling the central parts of Arabia, and lying like them within the rainless region. But Mazanderan, the narrow district between the Elburz and Caspian, has a moist climate, in which trees and plants of every description grow most luxuriantly. In the West, also, the slopes of the Kurdistan Alps, and the Pushli Koh, towards the Tigris, and the extremity of the Persian Gulf in Khuzistan, are well watered and highly productive. The latter chain is a portion of Mons Zagros of the ancients. The peak of Rowandiz, to the south of Lake Urumiyeh is of enormous height. But the highest portion of Persia is the province of Azerbaijan, which, however, belongs to the plateau of Armenia.

The Armenian plateau occupies a large tract between the Anti-Taurus and the Caspian, and the plains of Mesopotamia and the Caucasus. It is of great elevation; the plain of Ezrûm being 6,114 feet above the sea, which is about the average height of the whole plateau. Above this basis, a great number of peaks are covered with eternal snow, among which the Ararat is the highest (17,266 feet). The climate is very dry, but much less so than that of Iran and Turan; and there being an abundance of running water, cultivation is carried on with success on plains which otherwise would be barren. Deep valleys encompassed by steep rocks furrow the table-land in every direction; there the settled population accumulates, the nomadic tribes, chiefly Kurds, preferring the uplands. On the Armenian plateau are the sources of the Tigris and Euphrates, which flow into the Persian Gulf through a common channel; the Aras or Araxes, and the Kurtwa tributaries of the Caspian; and the Tchörük and the Kizil Irmak, which empty themselves into the Black Sea. Among the lakes, two belong to the largest in Asia, namely, Urumiyeh or Azerbaijan, and

Lake Van on the Turkish territory. Mr. Layard supposes the latter to be the real source of the Tigris, issuing from it through a subterranean channel.

The lofty chain of the Caucasus, which divides Asia from Europe, extends 600 geographical miles, between the Black Sea and the Caspian, in a direction from north-west to south-east. The Caucasus is celebrated for the sublime wildness of its scenery. It shelters hardy tribes of mountaineers, who have long maintained their independence.

Syria is a link between Asia Minor and Arabia, its lofty mountains being connected in the north with the Taurus, and in the south with Mount Sinai, and the coast range of Northern Hedjaz. The principal southern portion of the Syrian mountains is the Libanon, which the valley of the Orontes, the Cœle-Syria of the ancients, divides into Libanus, and Anti-Libanus. The highest peak is Djebel Sheikh, or Great Hermon, the southernmost buttress of the Anti-Libanus, which rises abruptly over the plateau of Northern Palestine. Its summit is covered with eternal snow.

Arabia is a table-land, except in the extreme north, where it slopes down to a low sandy desert. The whole north and centre of Arabia are within the rainless regions, but the southern portions are refreshed by tropical rains; the volume of which is, however, far from being the same everywhere, much depending upon local causes.

Siberia was originally the name of a Turko-Mongolian Khanat, comprehending a large tract between the Ural and the Ob, and extending south over a portion of the steppe of the Khirgises. It was one of the fragments of the huge empire of Zinghis Khan, and took its name from the capital Sibir, of which some remnants are still visible near Tobolsk. The Kossack Yermak conquered Sibir in 1581, for his master, Ivan IV., surnamed the Terrible, Czar of Muscovy; and the Russian dominion having gradually extended itself over the whole of North Asia, the name of Siberia became the general designation of



that vast region, as being the most prominent among the several territorial divisions of that part of Asia. The south of Siberia is a mountainous country occupied by the Altai system except a tract towards the steppe of the Khirgises. Its greater western portion between the Altai, the Ural, the Polar Sea, and the River Lena, is an immense plain of but little elevation above the sea; but Eastern Siberia, between the Lena and the seas of Okhotsk and Kamtschatka, is a mountainous country, except along the shores of the Polar Sea. The chain of Ergik Targak runs east toward the Baikal, and as far as that lake the system is called Western Altai. The Baikal has salt or rather brackish water, and is surrounded on all sides by spurs of the Altai.

Both the western and eastern chains are rich in various metals, and the gold mines yield precedence only to those in California and Australia. The great peninsula of Kamtschatka is a volcanic country, traversed from north to south by a lofty range, the southern portion of which is distinguished by a countless number of extinct volcanoes, situated along its western slopes. The southern tracts of Siberia, those which belong to *Mongolia Felix*, as well as the valleys of the Altai, and the plains along its northern foot, are a fertile country; and although the winters are very severe, the summers are hot, and the soil yields abundant crops. But the steppes in the centre, and still more those in the north, have a very different character.

The Ural extends from the shores of the Arctic Ocean, to the middle course of the river Ural. The main and central portion consists of a principal western chain, from which many spurs branch off towards Russia; and two parallel chains on the Asiatic side, the easternmost and lowest of which is the Irmel, which rises abruptly over the steppes of Siberia. The Ural is rich in minerals, and its gold and platinum mines are the richest in the Old World.

Southern Asia comprehends Hindustan, Burmah, Siam, Laos, and Cambodia, and

though not in extent the largest, it is in many respects the most important portion of Asia.

It is not easy to give the extent of Hindustan with precision, from the extension given to the appellation by geographers; but if we carry a straight line from Cape Comorin, its southern point, to the northern boundary of Cashmere, its extreme length may be stated at  $27^{\circ}$  of latitude, or about 1,890 English miles. The form of Hindustan is an irregular triangle. It has an exceedingly varied surface, and contains a very mingled population. The northern and western portions are diversified by mountain ranges, often exceedingly steep and rugged; especially in the northern provinces, where they may be considered as spurs of the vast Himalaya chain; and also in the less lofty range which skirts the western coasts of the Indian peninsula, distinguished by the name of Western Ghauts, which in some points attain an elevation of from 4,000 to 5,000 feet. The mountains of the eastern side are far less elevated. A great portion presents extensive valleys, or vast plains, watered by noble rivers; but in a few places there are wide deserts, as on the eastern side of the Indus; and where water is deficient, as on portions of the eastern coast, there are sandy wastes. But in the plains traversed by the Ganges and its numerous affluents, by the Bramahputra, the Ganga, the Nerbudda, and the Kristna, the soil is of surpassing fertility, and often presents scenes of varied beauty. Where nature has denied the usual means of irrigation, art has often supplied the deficiency by artificial canals, and an enormous population finds the means of subsistence. These riches are not without alloy. Wherever water stagnates, especially in the midst of thick jungle, that locality becomes the chosen abode of malignant fever and of spasmodic cholera; scourges that annually carry off multitudes in every part of India. The mountain streams for ages have afforded golden sands; eclipsed, however, in latter times by the riches of the Ourals, of Cali-

fornia, and Australia. The central part of Hindustan affords diamonds; and for ages the only locality of that gem was believed to be Golconda.

The population of Hindustan consists of various races. The original inhabitants are said to be still represented by some mountain tribes, that may yet be distinguished from the Hindus, the Malaysans, and the Cingalese; and the less swarthy Mahometan population are descendants of Arabian, Persian, and Tartar immigrations.

The country now known under the name of Burmah comprehends the kingdoms of Ava and Pegu. Its northern boundary is the mountains of Assam; its western, British India and the Gulf of Bengal; the southern, the Malayan peninsula; and the eastern is Siam. The northern portions are mountainous, and afford gold, silver, sapphires and rubies; but the principal part is a vast plain, watered by the noble Irawaddy and its affluents. The lower portions, about Rangoon and Pegu, are low and swampy. The whole is the seat of a warlike people that have twice braved the armies of British India with more than Eastern courage.

Malaya or Malacca is a narrow peninsula extending into the Indian Ocean, with a length of about 700 English miles, and a mean breadth of 150; and it has numerous fine harbors. On the coasts are some European settlements, one of which, Singapore, belongs to Great Britain. The interior is a longitudinal mountain chain, from which various arms descend on either hand. The interior is imperfectly known to Europeans. The native Malays are an enterprising, restless, vindictive race, much given to navigation and to piracy. In former times, they appear to have spread themselves over a considerable portion of the Pacific.

Eastern Asia comprehends Cochin-China, Tunkin, and the Chinese empire.

Cochin-China or *Southern China* is a narrow mountainous tract. It has many good harbors along its extensive coasts, of which Turon is the best known. Staunton repre-

sents the country as fertile and well cultivated, the people as industrious and civilized. They, as well as the Tunkinese, are of Chinese descent. Their coasts abound with the edible birds' nests, formed by a species of swallow.

The vast empire of China presents an area computed at 1,297,999 square miles, according to Staunton, and a population of 333,000,000, being the most densely peopled region of the earth. Its enormous surface is much varied, producing the vegetable riches of every climate. Chinese Tartary is very mountainous; and chains of granite mountains traverse China in various directions; but the great chains generally run from west to east, and send the principal rivers in that direction through fertile plains of enormous extent. The principal of these rivers are the Amur, in the north; the Hoangho and Kian-ku in the central districts.

Oceanic Asia embraces all the Asiatic Isles properly so called.

Asia, extending from the equator to the Arctic Sea, necessarily possesses great variety of climate. But though here, as in every other country, the climate is regulated by the distance from the equator, this general law is modified by accidental causes, which it is curious to trace. In the wide extent of Asia great peculiarities of temperature occur, which cannot be very clearly explained. To such inquiries some uncertainty will always attach, and anomalies may appear of which we can offer no solution. Facts are our only sure guides; and to these, therefore, in the following observations, we shall endeavor to adhere.

The height of the land above the level of the sea is as sure a cause of cold as distance from the equator; and countries are not only cold in proportion to their height, but a mass of cold air is accumulated above them, which, being dispersed, is carried towards the equator, and extends the dominion of cold into the regions of heat. Land and water, also, are the causes either of heat or cold, according to their situation. The great mass of



the ocean is little affected by the changes of the seasons; and it consequently preserves the medium temperature of the whole year. Hence the vicinity of the ocean cools the temperature of the equinoctial regions; and in higher latitudes it moderates the extremes both of heat and cold, being in winter of a higher temperature, and in summer of a lower temperature, than the superincumbent air. The surface of the earth, again, imbibes heat or cold much more readily than the ocean; and it is only at considerable depths that it is found to give the medium temperature of the year. The vicinity of land, therefore, in the polar countries, is the cause of cold, while in the southern regions of the equator it is an equally powerful cause of heat. Thus Africa, which extends so far to the south, and which contains a greater proportion of land within the tropics than any other division of the globe, is a vast store-house of heat, from which it is dispersed far and wide, and even reaches the shores of Europe in hot and parching winds; while, on the other hand, the breadth and extent of the American continent towards the north sufficiently accounts for the coldness of its climate—the northwest winds which sweep across its frozen wastes extending their inroads into the regions of heat as far sometimes as Mexico or Vera Cruz. The influence of the ocean in moderating the severity of the winter is exemplified in the climate of Great Britain, where no such intense cold ever prevails as in corresponding latitudes on the continent of Europe, and more especially on that of Asia. The climate of a country is also affected by the direction of the winds; and hence the eastern shores of America, owing to the trade-winds, which blow from the east, and are cooled in their passage across the Atlantic, have not the same sultry heats as the opposite shores of Africa, where the same winds are heated to an intense degree in their passage over the burning deserts of the interior. The northern frontiers of Asia, and its prodigious elevation towards the centre, necessarily consign the greatest

portion of it to the dominion of cold. Among the central mountains perpetual winter reigns; and from these snowy deserts the influence of cold is widely extended over the high plains of the interior. In Tibet, which is about the same latitude as Northern Africa or Arabia, there is a continuous and severe winter of three months, which is of such uniform severity that at its commencement the inhabitants kill their meat, and it is kept perfectly fresh for three months. To the west, along the whole range of elevated country that extends into Persia and to the Caspian Sea, the climate is modified by the elevation of the ground. In the countries of Balk and Bokhara, which lie on the northern declivity of the great ridge of the Hindu Koh Mountains, in the same latitude as the South of Europe, and all along the banks of the Oxus, the climate is remarkably severe. For three months the winter is intensely cold, the wind being dry and piercing, and the snow lying deep on the ground. The rivers are all frozen over, and the Oxus during all that period is passable for caravans. The summer, again, is equally hot. Persia, in like manner, being nearly in the same latitude as Arabia, the hottest part of the earth, and having an excessively hot summer, has in the northern and central parts the severe winter of a northern climate, with drifting snow, which lies deep on the ground for three months; and this is owing entirely to its elevation, which is estimated to be 4,000 feet above the Caspian Sea. The lower valleys and exterior plains of Asia, which lie to the south of the Himalaya Mountains, including Arabia, the southern and flat parts of Persia, Hindustan, and India beyond the Ganges, constitute the tropical and warm regions of this continent, of which the climate, though it agrees in general with their position on the globe, still varies from local causes. Hindustan, for example, and India beyond the Ganges, though they approach nearer to the equator, are not nearly so hot as Arabia or the adjacent countries. The



course of the seasons is also more constant ; and it is here that we meet with those remarkable winds, the monsoons, which blow six months in opposite directions, from the southwest and northeast, with some slight variations, and which extend their influence over all the countries which lie between the mouth of the Indus and the Chinese Sea. The southwest monsoon sets in about the beginning of June in all the islands of the Indian Ocean, and traverses the southern plains, until it is turned towards the west by the central mountains, and finally arrested in its progress. It is ushered in with the most tremendous thunder and lightning, with tempests of wind and floods of rain. This is the commencement of the periodical rains through all the tropical regions of Asia, which are at their height in July, and gradually abate about the end of September, departing amid thunders and tempests as they came. Before the setting in of the monsoons there is a clear sky, with a hot, parching wind, succeeded by sultry calms, under which all nature seems to droop. The rains effect a sudden and total change in the aspect of the country : the rivers are swollen, the air is pure and refreshing, the sky varied with clouds, and the earth covered with the most luxuriant verdure. Such is the climate of Southern Asia, from China to the southern coast of Africa. But the peninsula of Arabia is not subject to the influence of the monsoons ; and in place of the tropical rains, it has generally, in the mountainous parts, the winter and the spring rains. The climate during summer is hotter than in any other part of the world, the thermometer frequently rising to  $110^{\circ}$ , and even, it is said, to  $120^{\circ}$ , in the coolest and shadiest parts, while dead calms prevail often without interruption for fifty or sixty days, and are succeeded, as the temperature begins to vary and the winds to resume their activity, by violent and hot blasts from the desert. The vicinity of Arabia to the African continent, by which it is sheltered from the cool breezes of the sea, while it receives the

sultry air from the burning plains, is unquestionably the cause of its extraordinary heat ; and it will be remarked that those violent heats extend eastward from Arabia exactly in the direction in which they are received into the lower valley of the Euphrates and the Tigris, where at Baghdad they raise the thermometer to  $120^{\circ}$  in the shade.

Western Asia has been long celebrated for the mildness and serenity of its climate, which is hot and dry, though it is tempered by the cool breezes from the mountain tracts by which it is intersected. In the northern parts, along the coasts of the Black Sea, the country is liable to excessive rains ; while the southern shores of the Mediterranean are exposed to the sultry simoom blasts from the African or Arabian deserts.

Northern Asia, of which the Altaï chain is the boundary, is the proper region of cold ; and the severity of the climate is said to be aggravated by the vast expanse of the continent in the frozen latitudes of the north. In the interior of Asia the milder element of the ocean can have no influence on the rigor of perpetual winter ; and from the Arctic Ocean to the Altaï Mountains the north wind sweeps without interruption along the Siberian plains, and occasions an intensity of cold which is not experienced in the corresponding latitudes of Europe.

Asia, from its vast extent and unequal surface, not only comprehends within its bounds much of the vegetable produce of the earth, from the low creeping lichen which flourishes on the borders of perpetual snow, to the splendid varieties of tropical vegetation ; but it presents these varieties within a very short compass. It would be inconsistent with the plan of the present article to describe in detail the animal and vegetable kingdoms of Asia. It may be therefore generally stated, that the great staples of agriculture, the alimentary plants on which man depends for his subsistence, are, in the tropical countries of Asia, rice, of which there are twenty-seven varieties ; maize, millet, and many varieties of a coarser grain

called dourra; as well as other species of legumes not known in Europe. The cultivation of these nutritious grains is confined to the plains of Hindustan and the hot countries to the east. Rice or maize may be sometimes seen in Persia, or in the hot plains of Lower Syria; but agriculture in these countries generally depends on the grain of a colder climate. Persia is accordingly famed for the most excellent wheat, which is the chief food, and for barley and millet. Oats are more rarely attempted in that climate. Throughout Syria and Asia Minor, as well as Arabia, wheat, rye, barley, beans, and other grains, are chiefly sown; and in Bokhara, and generally in all the countries that lie between the Oxus and the Caspian Sea, these and other grains, with a variety of leguminous plants, constitute the chief aliment of the inhabitants. Between the 50th and 55th degrees, these grains may with care be raised all over Asia; but beyond this they cannot so well resist the severity of the climate. This is therefore the proper region of barley and oats, the cultivation of which may be extended to the 60th degree. Beyond this the powers of vegetation begin to fail; and the forests present dwarf trees with lichens, and some species of eatable wild berries. In ascending the Asiatic wild mountains, the same varieties of vegetable produce are observed as in receding from the equator, until, at the line of perpetual congelation, all traces of vegetation disappear. But the decrease of heat in proportion to the altitude varies in different situations, according as it is affected by local and accidental causes.

Of the plants which minister to the comfort of man, and afford valuable articles of commerce, Asia possesses great variety. The tea plant, which is exported so largely to Europe, is indigenous to China, to which it is a source of prodigious wealth. It has more lately been found also in Assam, where it has been successfully cultivated by the British. Arabia is the native country of coffee, where it still arrives at its greatest

perfection. The sugar-cane is cultivated in Hindustan, though not with the same energy and skill as in the West Indies; and also in some of the hottest parts of Asia Minor. Tobacco is very generally produced in Southern and Western Asia; and opium, the great intoxicating drug of the East, is an important article of cultivation in Hindustan. The vine grows to great perfection among the rocky heights of Palestine, and in the mountains of Syria, where wine of a good quality is made, and also in Arabia and Persia. Industry and skill are alone necessary to improve the advantages of nature, and to render this precious produce a valuable article of commerce. The cotton shrub, which yields so useful an article of clothing, has from time immemorial been cultivated in India, growing in Arabia, Persia, and throughout Asia Minor; and the mulberry, which by feeding the silkworm, affords so splendid an article of dress, is grown with success in Syria, Mesopotamia, and Armenia. Flax and hemp are common throughout both Southern and Western Asia, and they would grow also in Northern Asia if the inhabitants knew how to profit by the advantages of the country. Indigo is another important article, which is cultivated in India and in some parts of Syria, as well as in Arabia. The Asiatic islands have been long celebrated for various aromatic plants; and the juice which exudes from the trunks of the smaller trees is of the richest fragrance. Among the species of laurel which abound in the southern parts of India and Ceylon we find those which produce mace, cassia, and camphor; and lastly, the cinnamon tree, formerly supposed to be a native of Arabia; also the clove and the nutmeg trees. The balm of Mecca is the finest of all the tribe, and diffuses an exquisite perfume. Arabia has been long celebrated for frankincense and myrrh. Asia furnishes also many plants used in medicine, as well as in dyeing, such as the castor-oil plant, the senna, the aloe, and others, which extend all over the southern parts and through Asia Minor.



In Southern Asia the forests abound with the most valuable trees, with the most durable woods, and with every variety of ornamental and dye-woods. The teak-tree, which grows in the woods of India, surpasses all others in durability. There are many trees which minister to the wants and appetites of man. The sago palm yields from its stem and roots the well-known farinaceous substance which bears its name. The toddy palm yields a rich juice which, when fermented, becomes a strong spirituous liquor. The fan palm, which grows in some parts of India, is remarkable for the breadth of its leaves, one of which is sufficient to cover a dozen of men, and two or three to roof a cottage. The bread-fruit tree, which grows in India, yields a farinaceous fruit resembling bread prepared from grain. All the common fruit trees of Europe are also found in the hilly parts of India. Asia Minor and the banks of the Euphrates abound in the myrtle, the laurel, the turpentine, mastic, tamarind, cypress, sycamore, and other trees. The oriental plants are numerous in Persia; and in the Syrian mountains the oak and the cedar, celebrated in ancient times, grow to a great height. In the northern countries of Asia the trees most prevalent are the oak, the ash, and the elm; and still farther north there is the dwarf birch and the mountain willow; also the pines and the firs, which rear their tall heads, and spread over the scenery their permanent hue of dark green. The strong and glutinous liquid which exudes from these northern trees is converted into tar, pitch, and turpentine, and becomes a valuable article of commerce, useful for many purposes.

Many of the most delicious fruits are raised in the tropical countries of Asia. Those most celebrated in India are the guava, the jambo, the mango, and the pine-apple: many others might be raised if garden-cultivation were carried to the same perfection as in Europe. Syria, Palestine, the banks of the Euphrates, and Persia, are famous for the variety of their fruits, and produce abund-

antly pomegranates, oranges, lemons, almonds, peaches, figs, quinces, olives, walnuts, and melons of all sorts. In the neighborhood of Damascus all the fruits of Europe arrive at maturity; and near the Caspian Sea there are whole forests of chestnut trees. The date-tree, the fruit of which is in many parts the chief subsistence of the inhabitants, grows in Persia, Mesopotamia, Arabia, Syria, and Palestine. In the higher parts of these countries other fruits are to be found, namely, the apple, the pear, the cherry. In Northern Asia, horticulture is little practised; and, excepting wild berries, few other fruits are to be seen in its desert and inhospitable plains. Flowers of all sorts, in the most splendid profusion and variety, and of the richest fragrance, adorn the country in Southern and Western Asia, and give it the appearance of a flower-garden. On such a subject, however, which presents so wide a field of inquiry, we cannot enter into details, which would hardly prove satisfactory to the general reader, and still less to the man of science.

The desolate tracts of thick jungle and dense forest which abound in Asia afford extensive cover for wild animals, which are accordingly found in great numbers, and comprise very many of the known *genera* of the globe. The lion is found in Persia, Mesopotamia, on the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates, and was formerly known in Asia Minor, but has now either entirely disappeared, or is rarely seen. It was at one time supposed that this formidable animal did not haunt the forests and jungles of India. But lions have been seen in great numbers in the north of India, in Guzerat, and in the province of Delhi, to the north of that place. The tiger is a native of Asia, to which continent he exclusively belongs, having never migrated into the other regions of the globe. He is spread over all parts of Southern Asia, from the islands of the Indian Ocean, where he exists in amazing power and ferocity, to the great ridge of the Himalaya Mountains. His progress northward is checked by the in-



creasing cold; yet is he found in some of the higher regions, where ice is seen during the winter. It is certain, however, that he is a native of a hot climate; and it is probable, therefore, that when he feels the approach of winter, he retires from the cold of the high country into the warmer and lower valleys of the south. Tigers are seldom seen in the countries westward of the Indus, though they may occasionally stray from their native haunts along the west of that river into the mountain tracts of Beluchistan. The tiger is not found in Persia, Arabia, or in any part of Africa, though it is quite certain that the country is quite congenial to his constitution and habits, and that if he could once reach it he would quickly propagate his race through its deep forests. Yet the lion reigns supreme in the woods of Africa, while the tiger is the lord of the Asiatic jungles. It would be curious, if we had full materials for such a speculation, to trace the distinct regions of the globe which are occupied by the various animals and vegetable tribes. Plants, we know, are transported from the countries in which they are indigenous, and flourish in another soil and climate equally congenial; and, in like manner, the animals of one country have been transported with equal success to other countries, where they have multiplied. The wild and ferocious animals it is the object of man to destroy rather than to increase; and they would therefore receive no aid from him in their migrations from one region to another. Hence we find that those countries which are widely separated, and which present no practicable communication for animals, have each its own peculiar and distinct class. America has an entirely different race of animals from Africa or Asia; while the animals that are found in the islands or continent of Australasia resemble those of no other quarter of the world. The zoology of Asia and Africa, from their vicinity, and from the comparatively easy communication between them, does not present such diversities; yet it is remarkable, that while the

lion is common over all Africa, the tiger has never yet been seen; while in Asia it is nearly the reverse, the tiger, and not the lion, being the more common of the two. There can be no reason, we should imagine, why the tiger should be confined to Asia, while there are other countries equally suited to his habits, except that, being indigenous in the regions of Eastern Asia, he has never been able to cross the barrier of mountains and deserts by which these regions are separated from Persia on the west. Beyond the western banks of the Indus the country is mountainous and impassable, and the climate extremely cold; the ridges from the Himalaya Mountains extending southward nearly to the sea, and the country beyond being merely a narrow strip of hot and sandy desert. Beyond this, further to the west, extensive deserts are found destitute of water and all traces of vegetation, which would as effectually oppose the passage of wild beasts as the trackless ocean which divides Africa and America, and leaves to each its own class of indigenous animals. The other wild animals of Southern Asia are leopards, hyenas, jackals, tiger-cats, wild boars, antelopes, elks, red and other deer, foxes, hares, mongooses, ferrets, porcupines, etc. All these are to be found in the southern plains of Asia. The hyenas, wolves, jackals, and bears, abound in some of the hilly tracts, and in the mountains of Beluchistan and the other countries to the west of the Indus. The first three make dreadful havoc among the flocks. The same animals are found in Persia, Mesopotamia, in Asia Minor, and in Palestine: and it is said that the lion is occasionally seen on the banks of the Jordan. The ounce is a formidable animal in these countries and in Syria, and is sometimes mistaken for the tiger. The striped hyena is often to be met in the Persian forests. The wild dog is common in Northern India, in Beluchistan, and in all the mountainous countries to the east of Persia. It is a large and powerful animal, and extremely ferocious. They hunt in packs of twenty or thirty, and frequently

seize a bullock, which they kill in a few minutes. The bones and remains of tigers, supposed to have been destroyed by the combined attack of these animals, are also sometimes found in the woods of Northern India. The wild ass is a native of Persia, and is remarkably wild, and fleet in its movements. It is also common in the northern mountains of India, and in the countries to the west of the Indus. The hemionus or wild horse is found about the Sea of Aral. The wild sheep and the wild goat are common among the mountains.

Of the domestic animals, the elephant claims the pre-eminence, being unequalled by any other animal for the purposes of draught. This animal is confined to the southern countries of India, where the climate is hot, being seldom seen in the mountainous tracts towards the north. The camel is used for domestic purposes over a far wider extent of country than the elephant. This animal is of two species, the one with two humps, and the common camel with only one hump. The latter is the camel of Arabia, Syria, Persia, India, and Northern Africa. A lighter variety of this species is the dromedary, used only for riding, and differs from the camel of burden as the racer does from the draught-horse. The two humped camel is the Bactrian species, and is so rare, even in Western Asia and India, that Captain Lynch states, that in a caravan of 5,000 camels, there were not above eight or ten of this Bactrian species. In Mongolia, however, they are very numerous. The dromedary is chiefly used for travelling, and its valuable quality is swiftness, by which, joined to its capacity of enduring hardship, it is qualified to travel at an incredible rate for many successive days. In all the low countries, especially in the dry and sandy tracts, such as Arabia, Syria, etc., the common camel is employed. The two-humped camel is a native of the high countries in the neighbourhood of the Oxus and the Jaxartes, where it is still chiefly used. So large a portion of Asia is occupied by vast plains and wastes of sand, that its interior

intercourse must be maintained by land journeys. But without the aid of the camel, it would be impossible to traverse extensive deserts destitute both of food and water; and in those arid countries such an animal, which has been truly called the *ship* of the desert, is the most valuable gift which Providence could bestow.

The other domestic animals of Southern and Western Asia are horses, mules, asses, buffaloes, black cattle, sheep, goats, etc. Arabia may be considered the native country of the horse, in which he arrives at the highest perfection, and combines all the most estimable qualities of symmetry, form, fineness of skin, fire, docility of temper, fleetness, and hardiness. It is chiefly from the Arabian breed that the horses in other parts of the world have been improved. In Persia the horses are neither so graceful nor so swift as those of Arabia, being high, with long legs, spare carcasses, and large heads; but they are highly prized by the inhabitants for their extraordinary capacity of enduring fatigue. To the east of Persia, at Herat, the breed of horses is fine; also on the banks of the Indus and its tributaries; and in the higher regions of Balk and Bokhara they are excellent and numerous, and are exported in great numbers to Hindustan. The mule and the ass, all over India, are miserable animals. The mules are of better quality in the Punjaub, on the upper course of the Indus, and they improve still more further west. In the countries west of the Indus, they are superior to those in Hindustan, and in Persia there is a still finer breed. But the mule of the east is inferior to that of Europe. The ass partakes of a similar improvement in his progress westward, and is a far finer animal in Western Asia than in Europe. In Syria, Palestine, and generally in Asia Minor, he is distinguished by agility, fire, and patience of fatigue, and ranks in the first class of domestic animals. Buffaloes are found in the hot plains of Asia, as well as in the mountainous tracts; and the oxen which are used in the plough have all a hump on their backs. The wealth



of the pastoral tribes, who rove about in the western plains of Khorassan, and in the hilly tracts of Afghanistan, consists chiefly in sheep, which have tails a foot broad, and composed ensirely of fat, but in other respects resemble the English sheep being better and handsomer than those of India. Goats are common all over Asia especially in the mountains, where there are some breeds with curiously-twisted horns; and they are by no means scarce in the plains.

In the northern parts of Asia, and in the high mountain tracts, a different class of animals is to be found. These cold regions are not distinguished by the same profusion of animal life as the tropical countries. The beasts of the forest decrease in number, size, and fierceness; and the wolf, the bear, the glutton, and the wild boar, are the only ferocious animals which thrive in these northern climates. In advancing on the desolate plains of Siberia to about the 60th degree of north Lat., we find the cold still taking effect on the animal as on the vegetable creation, and the living creatures, as well as the plants and trees, stunted in their full proportions. Beyond this limit a different order of animals appears, protected against the severity of the climate by a thick covering of fur, which is sought after as a rich article of dress in more opulent countries. These animals are accordingly hunted for their skins, which constitute the great staple article of trade in northern Asia. In the Arctic regions the bear seems to form the only exception to the diminished grandeur of the animal creation. This animal, nourished in the regions of Northern Asia, acquires a larger size, and far greater power and fierceness, than in southern climates. The domestic animals of the northern and mountainous countries of Asia are of a less imposing appearance, and not nearly of the same strength as those in the lower valleys of the south and west. In the high and cold plains of Central Asia the camel is no longer used as a beast of burden, nor in the northern parts of the continent. Tibet and Central Asia, till beyond the Altaï

Mountains, are inhabited by Mongolish and Turkish tribes, whose wealth consists in their cattle, which not only furnish them with food, clothing, and shelter, but are also used as beasts of burden, and in the labors of agriculture. The yak of Tartary, or the bushy-tailed bull of Tibet, seems to supply the place of the camel in these mountainous countries. This animal is about the size of a small bull, of great strength, and is reckoned a valuable property among the itinerant hordes of Tartars, to whom it affords the means of conveyance, of clothing, and shelter for their tents, from the prodigious quantity of long flowing glossy hair on its tail, and finally of subsistence from its milk and flesh. In those mountains is also found the musk-deer, which delights in the most intense cold, and of which the musk, a secretion by the male, affords a revenue to the government, as well as a valuable article of trade. Here, also, on the highest mountains, amid ice and snow, is the Cashmere goat, the wool of which affords the materials of the finest shawls. Wild horses are seen in the high plains of Tibet; and the breed of sheep, a peculiar species of which is indigenous to the climate, is of great value. They are nourished on the short and dry herbage of these exposed plains, and serve for subsistence to the inhabitants as well as for beasts of burden. The wild and extensive plains of Tartary are inhabited by pastoral tribes, who depend in like manner on their herds. On the southern side of the Altaï Mountains we find the same tribes of wanderers, most of them the scattered remnants of the Tartar nations who had formerly so deep a share in the great revolutions of Asia. All these tribes subsist chiefly by pasturage. Near the Ural Mountains some live chiefly by hunting or ensnaring the elk and other wild animals for their furs. Among those who are shepherds sheep and horned cattle are found; while the hunting tribes have scarcely any domestic animals. In all these countries the wolf and bear are known to abound. In the rigorous climate, farther to the north, where the cattle



are stunted in size, and can scarcely subsist, their place is supplied by the reindeer, a species peculiar to a rigorous climate, and most valuable for all domestic purposes, whether for draught or for subsistence. During part of the year the inhabitants of those desolate countries subsist upon its flesh or milk, its skin furnishes them with the chief part of their dress, and its horns with such domestic utensils as they require. The dog is also trained to draw the sledge.

The feathered race in Asia, includes very many of the known species. In the southern parts are found many of the tropical birds, distinguished by the most beautiful plumage, and some of them uttering sounds that have a resemblance to the human voice. Here are also found some of the largest and rarest birds, —the ostrich, the cassowary, and, in the Himalaya Mountains, the gypaète, one of which, shot by a British officer, is stated by Bishop Heber to have measured from the extremity of one wing to another the enormous length of 14 feet. The other birds are eagles, kites, vultures, magpies, in the higher countries, hawks, crows, wild geese and ducks, flamingos, herons, bustards, florikens, rock pigeons, lapwings, storks, plovers, snipes, quails, partridges, and almost all the other small birds to be found in similar climates. In Northern Asia the feathered creation is nearly the same as in Europe.

The principle of life, which is so active throughout the torrid zone, and produces quadrupeds of the most enormous size, is also visible in the magnitude and numbers of the reptile tribe, many of them armed with the most fatal poisons, all of them odious to the sight, and some such as the Python Bivittatus attaining the length of twenty feet, and of such prodigious muscular strength as to coil round and crush large animals to death. The influence of cold is adverse to the growth of large serpents, which are not found in Asia to the north of the Altaï Mountains. The shark, which is found in all warm climates, haunts the tropical seas of Asia; and the crocodile, which is a different animal from the

alligator of America, though equally powerful and ferocious, infests the rivers. Innumerable insects of every form, and most of them noxious and destructive, swarm in the torrid regions of this continent. During the short summers of Northern Asia, the musquito and other insects abound in the woody tracts of Siberia, insomuch that near the Ural Mountains the peasants burn constant fires before their cottages, as a defence against their attacks. But the locust, which is common in certain parts of Asia, is the most mischievous of all these winged creatures. They light upon a country in a cloud which darkens the air, and leave nothing green behind them; fields sown with grain being utterly laid waste, and trees stripped of their leaves, and of all power to ripen their fruits. They overspread the country with an appearance of blackness for many miles; and when they are driven by the winds into the sea, their dead bodies cover the shore in heaps. These destructive animals appear occasionally in the countries to the north and west of the Indus, in Beluchistan, in the desert tracts of Khorassan, and in Persia. They are sometimes seen in Arabia in countless swarms; and frequently to the north of the Altaï Mountains, at the sources of the Irtisch, whence they extend their destructive flight as far as the Crimea and the southern provinces of the Russian empire.

Asia has been subject to more awful revolutions than any other part of the world. Though it was at a very early period the seat of flourishing kingdoms, it was soon desolated by war. Amid those revolutions it is not surprising that some of the most ancient empires of Asia should have entirely disappeared; that populous cities should have fallen into decay and ruin; and that extensive countries, once the seats of wealth, commerce, and science, should now lie desolate. The Babylonians and Assyrians have been long blotted out of the page of history; and no traces of them remain in the population of the world. The kingdom of the Jews has also been overthrown; but this ancient race are

still wanderers on the face of the earth, and are found in most parts of Asia. There are other five principal races, who, it is remarked by Sir W. Jones, have in different ages divided among themselves as a kind of inheritance, and who still occupy, the vast continent of Asia, with the many islands depending on it. These are the Hindus, the Chinese, the Tartars, the Arabs, and the Persians. The origin of those different races is a curious subject of inquiry, and must be sought for in the remotest antiquity, and from the doubtful analogies supplied by religion, manners, and language. Sir W. Jones, who has so well illustrated many obscure points of ancient history, is of opinion that Persia was the original seat of mankind, from which, as from a common centre, they have gradually spread over the earth. According to his learned hypothesis, deduced from ancient works and an examination of the primitive languages, a flourishing empire was established in Persia or Iran, in the earliest dawn of history; and the population consisted of the three distinct races of Hindus, Arabs, and Tartars. About the era of Mahomet, it appears that, besides the language in common use, the learned had a language of their own, which had the name of the Pahlavi; and there was the still more ancient and abstruse language of the Zend, in which some sacred books were written, only known to a sect of priests and philosophers. The Pahlavi he clearly proves to be of Chaldaic origin, and the Zend, from an imperfect vocabulary which he procured, to be a dialect of the Sanscrit, the ancient and learned tongue of the Brahmins in India. Having thus ascertained the analogy between the language of the ancient Persians and that of the Arabs and the Hindus, he concludes that they must have originally been the same nation; and that, as Persia could not be peopled from the east by the Hindus, whose religion forbids them to emigrate, nor by the Arabs from the west, as we have not the slightest tradition of any such immigration, both Arabs and Hindus must have come

from Persia, since we may still trace in this country the remains of their respective tongues, all of which appear to have been derived from one common and more ancient root.

The people of Tibet are descended from the Hindus, and, according to the hypothesis of Sir W. Jones, who, on all these subjects unites solid reasoning with the most profound learning, have engrafted the doctrines of Buddha on their ancient religion. Their language, though it has been corrupted by an intercourse with the Chinese, still bears the traces of a Sanscrit origin. The Afghans or Patans, who occupy Afghanistan between Persia and Hindustan, are said to have sprung originally from the Jews; but their language, which is evidently of the Indo-European root, does not warrant this tradition. The Japanese and the Chinese are evidently derived from a common stock, their literature, religion, and manners being the same. The Burmese are considered by some ethnologists to belong to the Hindu race, though others give them a Tartar origin.

The Tartars or Tatars, under which appellation we include the hordes of shepherds who range over the vast plains of Asia, under the names of Scythians, Huns, Mongols, and Kalmucs, differ entirely from the Hindus and Arabs in features, complexion, and form, as well as in manners and language, and appear evidently to be a distinct race. Their language, which is the Turci or the Turki, of which the modern Turkish is a dialect, might, according to Sir W. Jones, be easily traced to a different root from the others. This ancient Tartarian language he mentions, on grounds which it would not be easy to disprove, was current in Persia at a very early age; and hence he concludes that the Tartars formed part of the ancient population of Persia, and, along with the other two races, issued from that country to occupy the deserts of Asia. The Chinese, according to the same learned author, whose opinion is founded on the Sanscrit institutes of Menu, were originally a military tribe of the Hin-



dus, who, abandoning the ordinances of the Brahmin religion, and living in a state of degradation, emigrated eastward, and occupying the countries bordering on Hindustan, laid the foundation of the Chinese empire. But the whole country has been since overrun and conquered by hordes of Tartars; and from the intermixture of those two races have sprung the modern Chinese, whose coarse, broad, and Tartar-like physiognomy bears no longer the traces of their Hindu ancestry.

Of the various races which people the islands of Asia, the Malays appear to deserve particular notice. Sir W. Jones supposes them to be descended, since the time of Mahomet, from the Arabian traders and mariners who frequented the Asiatic archipelago. But by later and more accurate inquiries they are now ascertained to have been originally settled in Menangkabau, in the centre of the island of Sumatra, and to have ruled over the whole country, from which they sent out colonies to the other islands. The Malayan annals examined by Mr. Marsden, and other documents, satisfactorily prove that, so far from emigrating, as was generally supposed, from the peninsula of Malacca to the Asiatic islands, they were original settlers in Sumatra, from which they issued to invade and conquer the Malacca peninsula; and they had established a powerful empire prior to the Mahometan conquests. The Malays profess the Moslem creed, which was introduced about the end of the thirteenth century, and has made rapid progress among all those islanders. But their original religion was that of Bramah, blended with the antecedent rude idolatry of the country, such as is still seen among the Battas. The Malay adventurers who invaded the Malacca peninsula in the twelfth century conquered the country; and the indigenous inhabitants, so far from being the stock from which the Malays have sprung, are an entirely different race, resembling more nearly the negroes of Africa. The Malayan empire, which extended all over Sumatra, is now dismembered, though

its colonies have been found on the coasts of the Malacca peninsula, and throughout the islands as far east as the Moluccas. The Malayan language is spoken without any mixture in the inland country of Sumatra; it is understood everywhere, and has extended over all the eastern islands. The Bugis in the island of Celebes are a well-known race in the eastern archipelago. During the flourishing era of the Malayan empire in Sumatra they had established that of Guah or Mengkasar in Celebes on the east: like the Malays, they sent forth numerous colonies; and at one period extended their conquests as far west as Acheen in Sumatra and Keddah in the Malayan peninsula; and in almost every part of the Archipelago Malayan and Bugis settlers are to be found. In all those Asiatic islands there is, however, an indigenous race, who were settled there prior to the Malays or the Bugis; and these last appear to have been intruders, but at what period of the world cannot now be known. The native inhabitants of Sumatra, Java, and the other islands, differ from them in character, habits, and features. The Battas, in the interior of Sumatra, are a distinct people, with their own peculiar habits and language; they have been reproached by travellers for eating human flesh, of which Sir Stamford Raffles produces undeniable evidence. The natives of Java are a quiet, contented race, attached to the soil, and have not the roving, maritime, and piratical habits of the Malays.

With regard to the number of inhabitants in Asia, we have no data for any accurate estimate. The Asiatics possess no statistical knowledge; and, excepting surveys instituted by government for the purposes of taxation, no other political inquiries are ever set on foot by authority. The various accounts of the Chinese population differ to the extent of 100,000,000. Those regarding Persia, Hindustan, the Asiatic islands, etc., are little more to be depended on; and still less can we expect any accurate census of the roving population of Arabia or Tartary.

The character of the Asiatics is represented in a very unfavorable light by all travellers. Lieutenant Pottinger, who travelled in Hindustan, Persia, and other countries, asserts that moral turpitude may be said to pervade the population and society of every nation in Asia of which we have the slightest knowledge: and this description is confirmed by other travellers, who describe the people to be dissolute in their morals, of cold and selfish dispositions, and withal cruel and treacherous; without any regard to truth, and indulging, without either restraint or shame, in the most scandalous crimes. Of all the nations in Asia the Persians are reckoned to be the most refined; and yet, according to Herbert, Chardin, and others, and more recently Fraser, Pottinger, and Sir J. Malcolm, they are stained with all the Asiatic vices of cruelty, meanness, lying, and the grossest licentiousness. The Hindus do not rank higher than the Persians in the scale of morality; and among the Burmese and other eastern states the treatment of women, who are held to be an inferior class, and are sold into slavery by their husbands and parents, and the cruelties which they commit in war, besides other revolting customs, indicate a state of manners, which, contrasted with those of Europe, may be justly considered barbarous. Of the low state of morals among the Chinese we need seek no other evidence than the inhuman practice, which is known to prevail in all the populous cities, of exposing new-born children to perish on the streets. There is no truer mark of barbarism than an indifference to the sufferings of our fellow-creatures; as on the other hand it is only in a highly civilized community that man is trained to the exercise of social benevolence. The savage is always found to be cold, unsocial, and selfish: in the progress of society this selfish principle is corrected; man is impressed with the duties which he owes to his fellow-men, and is taught to know experimentally, that it is not in the selfish pursuit of his own good, but in the mutual interchange of benefits, that the greatest sum of indi-

vidual happiness is to be found. If we examine the manners, institutions, and policy of different nations, it will be seen that mankind are humane and moral exactly as they are instructed; and that as the diffusion of knowledge leads to the practice of all the social virtues, ignorance as surely produces cruelty, selfishness, and vice. Thus, among the Persians and Turks cruelties are committed which would be repudiated by the more advanced civilization of Russia; and in illustration of the same principle, we may here mention a circumstance which serves to place in an equally striking contrast the manners of the English and Chinese. An English vessel happened to be at anchor in the roads of Canton, when a Chinese boat was overset and the crew precipitated into the water. The accident was observed by numbers of the Chinese, who beheld with the utmost indifference their countrymen struggling for their lives. But the officers and seamen of the English vessel instantly lowered their boats, and were seen, with all their usual zeal in the cause of humanity, striving to save the lives of those who were entire strangers to them. Now we cannot have a surer index to the station which each nation holds respectively in the scale of civilization, than the opposite conduct which they severally pursued in this case; and this insensibility to human distress is not peculiar to the Chinese; it seems to pervade the whole population of Asia; while in Europe we see everywhere proofs of active benevolence,—the most munificent establishments for the relief of misery; hospitals for the sick and infirm; houses of refuge for the aged, the blind, the destitute, and the insane; besides charitable associations of every description. For all the afflictions to which frail humanity is subject, the active sympathy of Europe supplies a remedy; and the spacious structures which, under the influence of this feeling, have been reared up in all the European towns, are at once the splendid monuments of humanity and of high civilization. In Asia the rich and the powerful associate, not to



relieve, but to oppress the poor; and throughout its wide extent no asylum for distress, nor any charitable institutions, are to be seen. The miserable are left to their fate, which is generally to die unpitied, either of famine or disease. There is no part of Asia in which intelligence is widely diffused among the people; and hence, while they are "to vice industrious," they are to nobler ends "timorous and slothful." Yet in the exterior pomp and show of the Asiatics there is something specious and imposing; and the rich magnificence of their flowing robes, their gorgeous palaces, their splendid mosques and gilded temples, are calculated to raise ideas of high improvement, which a nearer inspection fails to realize: and, after all, what is there in this tinsel glare of oriental luxury that can be compared to the severe simplicity and solid refinements of Europe.

This degraded state of society seems to be the joint effect of tyranny and superstition. In Asia there is no government which wears even the semblance of freedom. In form, as well as in practice, they are purely despotic, the princes being tyrants, and the people slaves. Nor is the power of the prince controlled by the influence of manners, as in Europe, where the monarch, however absolute, seldom indulges in the license of despotic sway, and where life and property are fully protected. The manners of Asia favor the exercise of unlimited power; and this vast continent is accordingly one scene of excess and misrule, where the mere will of the monarch is a warrant for the proscription and death of any individual, however powerful, and for the ruin of his family. The people, ruled according to those severe maxims of despotism, live in continual dread of violence and wrong; and they naturally resort, in self-defense, to fraud, falsehood, and treachery, which are the resources of weakness. Thus all sense of independence is at last extinguished; and under the iron rod of their political masters they degenerate into abject slaves, without honor, intelligence, or morality. Despotism in Asia assumes so severe

a character, that it invades the security of private life, relaxes all social ties, and reacting on the people with its pernicious influence, tends still farther to debase them, and to fit them for the endurance of its degrading yoke.

The prevailing superstitions of Asia have had their due share in corrupting the manners of the people. In Asiatic Turkey, in Arabia, Persia, and partly also in Hindustan and the Asiatic isles, the people have adopted the Mahometan faith; in Hindustan they have followed the religion of Brahma; and in Thibet, and farther eastward among the Burmese, in China, and the isles of Japan, the religion of Buddha or Foe is universally established, which, however corrupted in its various forms and idolatries, is still known to be derived from the Brahminical faith. Now all those different systems enjoin a variety of minute observances, and tedious pilgrimages and penances, a strict compliance with which constitutes the essence of religion. A pilgrimage to Mecca, for example, atones for all the iniquities of a Mahometan life; and the Hindus and others have their pilgrimages and penances for the expiation of guilt. A relaxation of morals is the consequence; and hence in those eastern countries a strict profession of religion is not inconsistent with the most scandalous crimes.

The sanction given to polygamy by all the systems of religion in the East has also tended to encourage licentiousness. Mahomet found it convenient to allow this indulgence to his followers; and the Hindus, the Burmese, the Chinese, and most of the other Asiatic nations, follow the same rule. In all Christian countries marriage is respected as a sacred and an honorable tie, equally binding on both parties; and experience proves, that where its obligations are duly fulfilled, it is calculated to produce all the happiness and virtue which can be attained by man in this sublunary state. In the intercourse of a European family the best affections of our nature are called forth. Here, as the poet expresses it,

Flows the smooth current of domestic joy ; and in those scenes the rising generation receive, from the example and tuition of parents, those just and early impressions, which are never erased. How different are the baneful consequences of polygamy, which, being contrary to the order of nature, must be upheld by tyranny, and which degrades the weaker sex, from being the free and equal companions of man, into the slaves of his pleasures. The domestic tyrants of the East rule with absolute power over all the inmates of the harem ; any of whom, in a fit of rage or jealousy, they may consign to a cruel death, no eye witnessing the deed. The effect of polygamy in this manner is not merely to taint the morals of society, but the laws and policy of the state. It establishes a tyrant, not on the throne, which would be the lesser evil, but at the head of every family ; and on his unruly passions the law imposes no restraint. Hence in Asia domestic comfort, so much prized in Europe, cannot be known. An Asiatic family is not the abode of purity and of domestic peace, but of licentiousness and strife ; the husband and father the object of terror rather than affection ; the women his abject slaves, leading a life of jealousy and malice, and often conspiring against each other by the most diabolical arts. The institution of polygamy, which in this manner converts one half of the community into tyrants and the other half into slaves, has proved, in every country in which it has been introduced, the bane of morality as well as of social peace. In Europe the purer influence of Christianity, consecrating the marriage union, and impressing on man a just consideration for the other sex, has raised them to the rank in society which properly belongs to them. It has released them forever from the bondage of tyranny and vice ; and under its mild and beneficent maxims the nations of Europe have attained to a degree of morality, refinement, and intelligence, which distinguishes them to their advantage above the most polished nations of antiquity, and presents a decided contrast

to the licentiousness and misery of the East. But if such be the state of society among the civilized inhabitants of Asia, what, it may be asked, is the condition of its rude tribes ? Among those semi-barbarians who have no fixed habitations, but who dwell in tents, migrating periodically with their flocks in quest of pasture, all crimes of violence, such as rapine, revenge, and murder prevail without any restraint. The pastoral tribes of Asia retain all their Tartar habits of ferocity ; robbery is their daily occupation, handed down from father to son ; and they are perpetually engaged in predatory inroads, in which they carry off as their lawful prey all that they can seize—corn, cattle, goods, and men and women, who are sold for slaves. If any traveller were to venture within this region of violence, he would be robbed and murdered without mercy ; and no merchandise can be transported from one place to another without a sufficient escort. The regular commerce of Asia is in consequence carried on in caravans, or large companies of merchants, who travel together for safety ; and even these are not secure from the savage tribes, the remnants of the Tartar population, who inhabit the mountains and central plains, and who frequently emerge from their fastnesses in great force for the purposes of plunder. Such were the shepherds who, under Zinghis Khan and Tamerlane, issued forth in innumerable bands, subverting the great empires of the world, and extending their dominion from sea to sea. But various causes have concurred to circumscribe their power. Among these we may reckon the invention of fire-arms, which in war gives the entire ascendancy to civilized nations. Prior to this invention the weapons used were extremely simple, and could be easily fashioned by the rudest tribes. In archery, or in the use of the sling, the merest savages may excel ; and for a close encounter the spear or the sword could be easily procured, and as effectually wielded by a barbarian as by any other arm. But the *matériel* of modern war is far more complicated and expensive,



and cannot be procured without the aid of wealth, and the nicest mechanical art as well as science; so that it is justly observed by the historian of Rome, that in the present state of the military art, a nation must be civilized before it can conquer other nations. Since the invention of fire-arms the superiority of civilized over barbarous nations has been seen in every encounter which has taken place, and "the reign of independent barbarism has been contracted within a narrow span."

The extensive region of Tartary, which occupies the centre of Asia, has never been very distinctly defined; but it is surrounded on all sides by the civilized empires of Asia—on the north by Asiatic Russia, and on the south by Persia, Hindustan, and China; and as the use of fire-arms has augmented the military strength of these different states, they have gradually extended their sway over the savage tribes on their frontiers. Russia, which was overrun by Tamerlane and other conquerors about the end of the 14th century, was, after about 200 years of obstinate and bloody wars, emancipated from the Tartar yoke; and it has ever since been making reprisals on its barbarous enemies, having reduced the tribes on its frontiers—the Kalmucs, the Bashkirs, the Kirghises, who inhabit the banks of the Volga and the country on the shores of the Caspian Sea, besides numerous other Tartar tribes on the Chinese frontier, near the sources of the Irtisch, the Obi, the Yenesei, and the Lena. Her wars with the Turks, also, an Asiatic tribe, though of a different origin from the broad-featured race of Tartars, exemplify in a striking manner the warlike superiority of civilized nations. The contests of China with the barbarous hordes of Mongols, Kalkas, and Eluths, to the west and northwest of her territory, and with the Mantchoo Tartars, who inhabit the country to the north, bordering on the Pacific Ocean, have also terminated in their entire subjection. They have been successively subdued by the Chinese armies; and the missionary Gerbil-

lon, giving an account of a great victory gained by the Chinese, ascribes it to the superiority of their artillery, which the barbarians had no means of opposing. Persia has been long a feeble power; and the Tartar tribes who range along her northern and eastern frontiers are still extremely powerful, and frequently molest the adjoining countries by their incursions. Independent Tartary may now therefore be comprised within the following boundaries, namely, the Altaï Mountains on the north, which form the southern boundary of the Russian empire; the Caspian Sea on the west; Chinese Tartary on the east; and Persia and Hindustan on the south. These boundaries inclose a space of about 1,200 miles in length, from the Altaï Mountains to Persia; and 900 in breadth, from the Caspian Sea to Chinese Tartary. To this must be added the country between Hindustan and Persia, including Sindé, at the mouth of the Indus; and westward the mountainous regions of Beluchistan, as well as Afghanistan. In the high district of Balk, which is within this space, and which is situated on the northern declivity of the Hindu Koh or Himalaya Mountains, and in Buckharia or Bokhara, on the fertile banks of the Oxus and the Jaxartes, where the towns of Bokhara, Samarcand, Khivah, Koukan, Khojund, and Murghehan, etc., some form of civil order is maintained by the independent princes of the country; but with these exceptions the Tartar manners still prevail throughout this extensive region. The towns are thinly scattered, and the pastoral hordes range over the face of the land in all the license of savage freedom. These consist, not of the Tartars who possessed the country in the time of Tamerlane, but of the Usbecks, a Turkoman tribe, who appear to have descended, with the whole mass of their people, from the inhospitable countries in the north, to the fine plains of the Oxus and the Jaxartes, and to have expelled the Tartars, whose place they now occupy. The Turkoman tribes, who inhabit the Elburz Mountains to the south of the Caspian,

and the deserts of Kharasm, which extend eastward from this interior sea about 600 miles, are described by Fraser, in his instructive work on Persia, as singularly fierce, cruel, and blood-thirsty in their habits. They pour down from their deserts in great force on the cultivated districts, plundering villages and caravans with every circumstance of atrocious outrage, murdering on the spot the old, the feeble, and the helpless, and carrying into slavery those who are fit for labor, and thus depopulating extensive tracts that were before fertile and well inhabited. On the east of Persia the same ravages are committed by other tribes, who dispose of their captives to slave-merchants, by whom they are carried to the markets of Bokhara and Khivah. On the south the wild inhabitants of Beluchistan, so well described by Lieutenant Pottinger, one of the most judicious and enterprising travellers of modern times, plunder and murder their prisoners, or carry them for sale to some of the great slave-markets in the East. Numerous tribes of shepherds feed their flocks on the banks of the Oxus and the Jaxartes; and they are found scattered over all the northern and eastern countries of Central Asia, as far as the boundaries of Russia and China. But in the present improved state of the military art they are no longer formidable, and they waste their force in casual inroads, which are easily repelled.

From the earliest ages the countries of Western Asia, namely, Asia Minor, the valley of the Euphrates and Tigris, and Persia, were familiarly known to Europeans; but of the northern plains inhabited by the Scythian tribes, and of the rich and improved countries of Hindustan and China in the east, they were only informed by vague and inaccurate reports, which were slowly corrected by the progress of commerce or of conquest. Of the ancient expedition of Semiramis into India we know nothing more than that her armies were forced to retreat with loss. But the subsequent invasion and conquests of Darius ex-

tended the knowledge of the Europeans to the modern provinces of Lahore and Moul-tan, commonly called the Punjaub, or the country watered by the five head branches of the Indus. Herodotus describes the climate of the country as intensely hot; the inhabitants in some points as little better than barbarians; and with a small grain of truth he mixes the strangest and most absurd fables. He mentions the populousness and wealth of the country, and the staple produce of cotton or wool growing on trees; the story of the white ants turning up the earth and digging up gold, which has been copied by succeeding writers; and, finally, the region of the five rivers as bounded by a barren plain, which must no doubt be the sandy desert that lies between the valley of the Indus and the Ganges. The Scythians or Tartars who wandered over the northern and eastern plains of Asia were only known by their irruptions into Europe. The two tribes of the Massagetæ and the Sacæ, the former inhabiting the desert plains to the east of the Aral and north of the Jaxartes, and the latter the country to the northwest of India, are mentioned by Herodotus and other ancient writers; and their description is merely a detail of pastoral manners. The expedition of Alexander into India was a great step in the progress of Asiatic geography. This warlike prince was intent not merely on conquest, but on the diffusion of arts, commerce and science; and, like some modern conquerors, his army was accompanied by a body of men of science, who were instructed to measure each day the distance traversed, to make an accurate table of the various routes, and to observe and describe the countries through which they passed. Science thus followed in the train of arms; and it was by a European army that the remote regions of the East were first explored. Alexander pursuing his victorious march through Asia Minor, passed the limits of European discovery, and entered the eastern country of Bactriana in pursuit of the Persian army. Having passed the



Paropamisan range of the Himalaya Mountains, crossed the Oxus, and taken Maracanda, the modern Samarcand, he advanced northward to the Jaxartes, where he pursued the Scythian host into the northern deserts to the eastward of the Aral. Retracing his steps, he again crossed the Paropamisan Mountains, and advancing eastward among hostile tribes, through the modern country of Cabul or Afghanistan, to the south of the Hindu Koh range, he crossed the Indus near the mountains, and having defeated the Indian army of Porus, he obtained command of the country watered by the five tributary streams of the Indus, where his course was arrested by the murmurs of his troops, who refused to follow him across the desert to the Ganges. Still intent on discovery as well as on conquest, he fitted out a large fleet, and sailing down the Indus to its mouth, in the Indian Ocean, he instructed his admiral, Nearchus, to return to Persia by sea, while he took his course through the modern country of Mekran, and was nearly lost with his whole army in its sandy deserts. Nearchus directed his course along the shores of Asia, and triumphing over the perils of unknown seas, arrived safely in the Persian Gulf, which he ascended to the mouth of the Tigris. This is the first great voyage of discovery of which we have any authentic account; and considering the age of the world in which it was accomplished, it must be viewed as a singular display of courage and of nautical skill. Alexander was not equally successful in tracing the connection of the Red Sea with the Indian Ocean, which remained unknown until the reign of the Ptolemies in Egypt.

Seleucus, the successor of Alexander, carried his arms into India for the purpose of completing its conquest; but he does not appear to have reached the valley of the Ganges. He sent, however, to the court of Sandracottus, an Indian prince who reigned over all the countries from Delhi to the mouth of the Ganges, his ambassador Megasthenes, who acquired the most important and clear information respecting those un-

known regions. He visited the celebrated city of Palibothra, the site of which has so much perplexed modern geographers; and, with some admixture of fable, he accurately describes the countries on the Ganges, and their productions; the amazing size of the rivers; the most remarkable animals which he saw, among others the Bengal tiger; and the manners of the people, and their division into castes, with other singular customs.

During the reign of the Ptolemies in Egypt the geography of Asia was still farther illustrated, not by conquest, but by commerce. Alexandria was at that time the great emporium of the eastern trade; and India was explored in its most remote parts, for the precious commodities which it was supposed to produce. The Egyptian mariners entering the Indian Ocean from the Red Sea, and coasting along the Arabian shore, stretched across the Persian Gulf by the help of the southwest monsoon, to the mouth of the Indus; whence they sailed southward along the Malabar coast, and doubling Cape Comorin, extended their voyage on the coast of Coromandel as far as the modern city of Masulipatam.

In the age of Ptolemy the geographer, which was a century later, the knowledge of the Europeans had extended eastward beyond the Ganges to the Burman empire and the Gulf of Siam, though it does not appear that the navigators of antiquity ever reached the Chinese coast. The commerce of India was carried on by land as well as by sea; and regular caravans commenced their route from Byzantium eastward through Asia Minor and Persia, passing through the modern cities of Hamadan and Herat; and journeying northward, and crossing the Oxus and the modern country of Bokhara, they passed the great branch of the Himalaya Mountains which runs northward from the main range under the modern appellation of Bolor Dagh; and descending into the lower plains of Little Tibet, they assembled in great numbers, and, after halting for

some time, took their journey to the capital of Serica or China, which occupied a period of seven months. The description given of the Seres as a frugal and mercantile people, averse to all intercourse with strangers, and carrying on their trade at a single station on the frontier, answers entirely to the modern character of the Chinese. The commerce, which during the flourishing era of Rome was carried on between Europe and the eastern parts of Asia, was interrupted by the inroads of the barbarous nations who assailed, and in the end overthrew, the Roman empire; and all knowledge of Asia was for a time lost. It was not till the 6th or 7th century, during the reign of the caliphs at Bagdad, that the Arabian geographers acquired a knowledge of those countries. During this period the country to the west of the Bolor Dagh Mountains, which stretch northward nearly to the frontier of Siberia, consisting of extensive plains, watered by the Oxus and the Jaxartes, was well known to them; and they were imperfectly acquainted with the southern plains of Asia inhabited by the Tartars, though they were as usual the subject of fables. The eastern countries of Hindustan, the beautiful region of Cashmere, the great Asiatic plains, and China, with the island of Sumatra and others, were known to the Arabian geographers, though they seem to have had no correct knowledge of the Asiatic shores. Their accurate description of Chinese manners leaves no doubt of their having reached that country. The invasion of the Holy Land by the crusaders tended, among its other consequences, to introduce into Europe a knowledge of those countries in Asia which were famed for wealth and the remains of ancient refinement; and from the camps of the crusading kings, as well as from the pope, some remarkable embassies were sent to the Tartar sovereigns, the descendants of the conqueror Zinghis, the site of whose capital of Karkorum is now the subject of dispute, though it is generally agreed that it must have been situated far east, in the wilds of Tartary.

The object of the embassies dispatched by the pope to the Tartar camp was to divert the storm of barbarian invasion from Europe. The ambassadors were friars, who were carried to the head-quarters of the Tartars, in the eastern wilds of Asia, through countries which had never been explored by any European. Rubruquis, a friar, who was sent ambassador by St. Louis to the Tartars, has given a lively and circumstantial account of his adventures. He reached the Tartar capital of Karkorum after a fatiguing and dangerous journey of more than two months, having traversed a vast tract of unknown country, and brought to the knowledge of the Europeans the immense plains and high lands of Central Asia, Eastern Tartary or the country of the Mongols, Tibet and Cathay or China, and the eastern shores of the continent. All these countries were afterwards visited by the celebrated Venetian traveller Marco Polo, who, being dazzled by the splendid accounts diffused through Europe of the wealth and luxury of Asia, was inflamed with the desire of exploring those distant countries. He accordingly proceeded through Asia Minor, Persia, the high country of Balk, visited the cities of Cashgar and Yarkund, and skirting the great desert of Shamo or Cobi, he reached the Tartar capital of Karkorum, and finally entered the Chinese empire, of which his account is circumstantial and correct, and of which some of the magnificent cities, though they have fallen from their ancient importance, are still recognized in his accurate description. He returned to Venice by sea after an absence of twenty-four years, having obtained accounts of the eastern islands of Java, Sumatra, Ceylon, and of Ormus in the Persian Gulf, at that time the great and splendid emporium of the Indian trade. The discovery, in 1498, of the passage to India by the Cape of Good Hope, opened the Indian seas to the European fleets; and shortly after this great event, the southern, and partly also the eastern shores of Asia, were completely explored, as well as that great archipelago



which extends from the Malacca peninsula to New Holland. In the interior of the continent the progress of discovery was much slower, and only kept pace with the gradual extension of the Russian dominion over the barbarous tribes in Northern Asia. The Tartars under Tamerlane in 1382 had invaded the east of Europe, had taken Moscow, and overrun all the countries on the Volga and the Dnieper. The rise of the northern empire was for more than two centuries obstructed by the inroads of the barbarians; and it was only after long and obstinate struggles that they yielded to the superiority of the Russian arms. About the middle of the 16th century Russia had extended her conquests to the Obi, and her empire was enlarged northward and eastward, until it reached the frontiers of China and the Pacific Ocean. The general form of the continent, which was exhibited in the maps from mere conjecture, was in this manner laid open to Europeans; and in the course of the last century the eastern and northern shores were surveyed; also Kamtschatka, the Kurile Islands, and Jesso. The islands of Japan had been previously discovered by navigators. The relative limits of the Asiatic and American continents were traced by Behring, Tschirikoff, and other navigators, who also discovered the Aleutian or Fox Islands; and finally by Captain Cook, who advancing into Behring's Straits as far as the parallel of  $70^{\circ} 44'$ , ascertained the near approach and true bearing of the two continents.

The interior countries of Asia near the Caspian and Aral Seas have been visited by Russian travellers, who have corrected some errors of long standing in Asiatic geography. Lake Aral was either unknown to the ancients, or they confounded it with the Caspian Sea, of which they supposed it to form a part, and to be the receptacle of the great river Oxus. After the fact of two separate seas was fully known, the Oxus was still supposed to terminate in the Caspian; and its course was laid down accordingly in all the

most approved charts. The Russians, having visited those countries, ascertained by actual observation that the Oxus, as well as the Jaxartes, terminates in the Sea of Aral. There seems, however, an ancient channel by which at least one portion of the waters of the Oxus at one time may have found their way into the Caspian, as mentioned by ancient authors.

Eastern Asia, namely, the Chinese empire, with the source and termination of all its great rivers; the northern country of the Tartars; the course of the great river Amour; with the high lands of Central Asia, namely, Mongolia, the original seat of the Mongols, were in the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries explored by the Romish missionaries, as well as by mercantile travellers. In 1624 Antonio d'Andrada, a Jesuit, travelled from the coast of the Great Mogul to China. He passed through the country of Serinagur, and ascending the great Himalaya range, he and his companions endured such incredible hardships that he was forced to return. He afterwards crossed these mountains along with a caravan, and was among the earliest travellers who reached the country of Tibet, which he describes, and also the manners and religion of the people. In 1603 the missionary Goez set out from Lahore, where he resided at the Mogul court, on his way to China. He travelled westward, and crossing the Indus, passed through the countries of Kabul or Afghanistan, Cashgar to the north, and the country on the banks of the Oxus; and crossing a ridge of the Himalaya Mountains, he arrived at Yarkund. From this place he journeyed with a caravan across the central country of Mongolia to China. These missionaries were received into high favor by the Chinese emperors, who valued them on account of their science, and gave them access to the public archives, which contained all the Chinese surveys of the empire and of the adjacent countries. By the help of these they exhibited with accuracy the interior geography of Tibet, and also of that extensive country beyond the Ganges which

now forms the Burman empire, and which is watered by the great rivers that take their rise in the central mountains and run southward—the Irawaddy into the Indian Ocean, the Setang into the Gulf of Martaban, of which it forms the estuary, the Saluen into the same gulf, the Menam into the Gulf of Siam, and the Menam Kong or the Mekong into the Chinese Sea. These missionaries prosecuted with equal activity and zeal their inquiries into the interior geography of China; they traced the great rivers the Hoangho or Yellow River, and the Yank-tse-Kiang or Blue River, to their termination as well as to their source, which they found to be in the depths of the central mountains, and not in the imaginary lake of Cayamay, as had been generally believed. Grueber, who set out on his travels to the East in 1656, traversed the whole country of China, partly by land and partly by water; and his route to Europe was through the Tartar deserts to Lassa, a town in Tibet, and thence through the mountainous country of Nepaul to Battana on the Ganges, Benares, and finally to Agra, which he reached after a journey of more than twelve months. Other journeys equally enterprising were also undertaken by the missionaries. Desideri set out in 1714 from Delhi, and travelled across the Himalaya Mountains through Cashmere into Tibet; and, at a later period, Horace de la Penna, with a body of twelve missionaries, resided in the same country for a number of years. The missionary Gerbillon, who was in great favor at the Chinese court, travelled in 1688 through the Tartar deserts, with a Chinese embassy, to the banks of the Selingha, there to settle with the Russians the respective limits of the two empires; and having been also in the practice of following the emperor in his hunting expeditions into Tartary, he contributed with other travellers to illustrate the geography of these countries and the manners of the people.

The great extension of the British conquests in Northern India has laid open to

Europeans all that portion of Asia, which lies on the southern declivity of the Himalaya Mountains, which is interesting not only from its natural grandeur, but also as it contains the sources of the Indus, the Ganges, and the Brahmapootra. The Europeans were indebted for all the knowledge which they possessed of those countries to the Chinese missionaries, who represented the Ganges to rise on the north of the Himalaya chain, from two small streams which pass the town of Ladak. They fixed the source of the Indus in the Bolor Mountains, one of the cross ridges which run north and south from the main Himalaya ridge. The British in India, with all their characteristic ardor in the cause of science, have corrected those errors of the Chinese geographers, having ascertained the source of the Ganges to be not on the north, but on the southern side of the Himalaya Mountains. The extent and bearing, and the vast elevation, of many of the highest peaks of this northern barrier of Hindustan, have also been fixed by the accurate observations of Lieutenant Webb and other officers. From the embassy of Elphinstone into Afghanistan we have received more full details of that country; and the course westward of the great Himalaya chain has been accurately traced, as well as the upper course of the Indus, though the source of that river is still imperfectly known. The missions of Turner into Bootan, of Kirkpatrick and Buchanan into Nepaul, and the embassy of Major Symes and Dr. Buchanan to the court of Ava, and of Mr. Crauford, who resided in the character of ambassador at that court, and whose works have thrown great light on the commerce and manners of Asia, have contributed materially to illustrate the geography of those countries. Of the vast regions of Tartary to the west of China, and under its dominion, we know little except from the earlier travellers and missionaries, and from the accounts published of the journeys of the Russian embassies through these countries.



## CHINA.

THE Chinese writers pretend to trace back their government to a period anterior to the Flood; a ridiculous absurdity which we should not feel ourselves called upon to notice, but that European writers of no mean order have, without going to the full extent of Chinese extravagance, admitted their existence as a nation considerably more than two thousand years before Christ. Its early history, indeed, like that of most other nations of any considerable antiquity, seems to be an imaginative distortion of a few truths mixed up with a vast number of fictions. Their founder and first monarch they affirm to have been Fohi, who is presumed by many writers to have been the same with Noah. The eastern mountains of Asia they take to be the Ararat of Scripture; and they assert that, as the waters subsided, Noah followed the course of the rivers to the south until he arrived at China, where, being much struck with the beauty and fertility of the land, he eventually settled.

As the Chinese, contrary to the practice of almost all nations, have rarely, if ever, sought to conquer other countries, their annals for many ages furnish nothing remarkable; and although they date the origin of their imperial dynasties (excluding those of the fabulous times) two thousand years before the Christian era, we find that the country was long divided into several states of independent sovereignties; the princes or chiefs of which were perpetually at war with each other. Though it was in the very na-

ture of things that some one prince should be more powerful than the others, and even be possessed of a certain degree of authority over them, yet war between state and state was the chief condition of China. Dynasty succeeded dynasty; territorial limits were perpetually shifting with the good or ill success of this or of that prince; and what Milton says of the early warfare of the petty princes of Britain, may most justly be repeated here—that it would be no more useful or interesting to dilate upon the early wars of the Chinese, than to describe the skirmishes of the kites and crows.

Twenty-two dynasties of princes are enumerated as having governed China from 2207 B. C. to the present day, the reigning emperor being the fifth monarch of the twenty-second or Tai-Tsin dynasty. What may be termed the authentic history of China does not begin till the time of Confucius, who flourished about five centuries before the Christian era, and who must be regarded as the great reformer of China. He endeavored to unite in one great confederation the numerous states which harassed each other by mutual wars, and constructed a moral code for the government of the people. He forbore to dive into the impenetrable arcana of nature; neither did he bewilder himself in abstruse researches on the essence and attributes of a Deity, but confined himself to speaking with the most profound reverence of the First Principle of all beings, whom he represented as the most pure and perfect

Essence, the Author of all things, who is acquainted with our most secret thoughts, and who will never permit virtue to go unrecompensed, nor vice unpunished.

It is not until B. C. 248 that Chinese history begins to be at all developed. Che-Hwang-te, the founder of the Tsin dynasty, in that year succeeded to the throne, and the petty princes of China, as well as the Huns who inhabited the immense plains beyond the Oxus, speedily found that they had a warrior to deal with. Whenever these princes ventured to meet him they were always defeated, until he had completely subdued all the states, and consolidated the empire.

Having provided for his power within the empire, he next turned his attention to its regular and efficient defence against foreign invaders. The very desultoriness of the attacks of the Huns made it difficult to subdue them. When he could meet with them, and force them into a pitched battle, he never failed to give an excellent account of them; but they were no sooner dispersed than they rallied; no sooner chastised in one part of the empire than they poured furiously down to repeat their offences in some other.

Whether the monarch himself, or his able general, Mung-Teen, conceived the grand idea of surrounding China—as it was then limited—with a wall, it would now be no easy matter to ascertain; certain it is that the wall was erected under the superintendence of the general.

This perfectly stupendous monument of human skill and industry (which is 1,500 miles in length, thirty feet high, and fifteen feet thick on the top), could only have been completed by an absolute monarch.

By the stern exercise of his unchecked power, the emperor had this mighty wall, with embattled towers at convenient distances on the top, completed, and the towers garrisoned, so as to serve at once for watch towers and fortresses. His warlike spirit, however commendable in itself, seems under some circumstances to have degenerated into a savage obduracy of character. Thus we

find that the very man who so efficiently exerted himself for the physical protection of his subjects, was so utterly insensible to their moral and intellectual wants, that he ordered the destruction of the whole body of Chinese literature, in the low and disgraceful hope of thus destroying all traces of Chinese history previous to the commencement of his dynasty! The mode in which the wish was carried into execution was every way worthy of the motive that prompted it;—if it is true, as it is recorded, that for refusing to aid in this wholesale and worse than barbarous destruction, upwards of five hundred of the learned were brutally buried alive! The works of Confucius were secreted by some man of noble and well directed mind, and were found, years after the emperor's death, by some workmen employed in repairing a house.

On the death of Che-Hwang-te, his son Urh-she, less politic or less powerful than his father, found it impossible to prevent new outbreaks among the princes who had been reduced to the position of mere nobles and lieutenants of the emperor. Whether leagu- ing against the commands of the emperor, or fiercely assailing each other, they filled the whole land with strife, rapine, and bloodshed; where the sword had shed human blood, the torch in but too numerous instances consumed human habitations; whole cities were in some cases destroyed and made utterly desolate, and the total annihilation of the empire seemed at hand, when there arose in the land one of those men of iron nerve and iron hand who frequently appear at precisely that moment when the myriad evils of anarchy can only be put an end to by a man who possesses the talents of the soldier joined to the unbending will of the despot.

Lien Pang, the man in question, was originally the captain of a band of robbers, and notorious in that character alike for his boldness and his success. The distracted state of the country opened the way to his joining the profession of a leader of free lances to



that of a robber, and, at first in alliance with some of the princes, and subsequently in opposition to all of them in succession, he fought so ably and successfully, that he subdued the whole empire, changed his name to that of Kaon-te, and ascended the throne, thus founding the Hang dynasty. Though thus successful within, he was greatly annoyed by the Huns; and so far was his usual success from attending him in his endeavors to free the empire from them, that he bought their quietness with many and costly presents, which on his death and the succession of his son was changed to a stipulated annual tribute.

During several years there were no events worth recording in the history of China; but in the reign of Woo-tee, the empire was assailed by a succession of misfortunes and calamities. Owing to a long continuance of heavy rains the Hoangho river burst its banks, sweeping away everything in its path, causing a destruction, not only of property but also of human life, that was truly terrible. During the same reign the cultivated lands were left completely bare by the invasion of a vast army of those destructive creatures, locusts; and a fire occurred in the capital which burned property to a frightful extent, and was only extinguished after it had consumed a great portion of the city, including almost the whole of the imperial palace. To counterbalance these great national calamities this reign had one piece of national good fortune of the highest consequence: the Huns had made their appearance again in vast numbers; they were completely routed in a great battle by the Chinese, under their general, Wei-sing, who took many thousands of prisoners, together with the whole of the tents, stores, and baggage of these nomadic plunderers. So thoroughly humbled were the Huns on this occasion, that for very many years they did not again make their appearance; they even paid homage to the emperor, Senen-Te, against whom, however, they broke out as fiercely as ever towards the close of his reign.

In the first year of the Christian era, Ping-te ascended the imperial throne. He only reigned about five years, and being a weak prince, was even during that period rather the nominal than the real emperor; for both he and the empire were completely ruled by Wang-mang, a prince of great energy, who, on the death of Ping-te, took actual possession of the throne, of which he had long been the virtual owner. Many princes espoused the cause of the displaced dynasty; but though they perpetually made war upon the able usurper, he kept possession of the throne during the remainder of his life.

Wang-mang died A. D. 23, and was succeeded by Hwae-yang-wang; he died in A. D. 58, and was succeeded by Kwang-Woo. This reign is chiefly remarkable on account of the introduction into China, from the neighboring country of Eastern India, of the Buddhist religion.

In the year 89, and the reign of Ho-te, the Tartars, who, as well as the Huns and the Cochins, were the perpetual pests of China, again made their appearance. They were worsted in several encounters, and very many thousands of them perished. They were driven, broken and dispirited, to the Caspian, and only then escaped owing to the fear with which the mere prospect of a long voyage inspired the Chinese. For several years after this event the affairs of China were in a very pitiable state; the Tartars, returning again and again, added by their ravages to the distress caused by bad seasons; and just under those very circumstances which made the rule of a vigorous and able man more than ever desirable, it, singularly enough, chanced that reign after reign fell to the lot of mere children, in whose names the kingdom was of course governed by the court favorites of the existing empress; the high trust of the favorite naturally arising more from the empress's favor than from his fitness or integrity. Drought, famine, plague, and the frequent curse of foreign invasion, made this part of Chinese history truly lamentable.

In the year 220 the empire was divided

into thrée, with the usual effect of divided rule in neighbors between whom nature has placed no boundary of sea, or rock, or impracticable desert.

In the year 288, the emperor Woo-te succeeded in again uniting the states into one empire. He died about two years later, and was succeeded by Hwuy-te, who reigned seventeen years, but was guilty of many cruelties, and was consequently much disliked.

The history of no fewer than 113 years terminating A. D. 420, may be summed up in three words — confusion, pillage, and slaughter. Either native generals and native armies fought, or the fierce Hun and still fiercer Tartar carried death and dismay throughout the empire. Years of bloodshed and confusion at length inclined the more important among the native competitors to peace, and two empires were formed, the northern and southern;—the Nan and the Yuh-chow.

Lew-yn, or Woo-te, emperor of the southern empire, though he was far superior in the wealthiness of his share to the prince of the north, was originally the orphan of parents of low rank, who left him in circumstances of such destitution, that his youth was supported by the actual charity of an old woman, who reared him as her own son. As soon as he was old enough he enlisted as a soldier, and subsequently made his way to the empire by a succession of murders of members of the royal family, including the emperor, Kung-te, who was the last of the Tsin dynasty. Lew-yn, or Woo-te, compelled that unfortunate monarch publicly to abdicate in his favor. The prison of deposed kings is proverbially synonymous with their grave. The case of Kung-te was no exception to the general rule; he was put to death by poison.

Woo-te died in 422: his son, Ying-Yang-Wang, succeeded him; but was speedily deposed in favour of Wan-te. This prince issued an edict against the Buddhist doctrines. All Buddhists were banished: the Buddhist temples burned, and many priests put to death or cruelly tortured and mutilated.

Wan-te, learned himself, was a great friend and promoter of learning. Several colleges were founded by him, and his exertions in this respect were the more valuable, as they were imitated by the prince of the north. Wan-te having sharply reproved his son Lew-Chaou, for some misconduct, and threatened to disinherit him, the son brutally murdered him at the instigation of a bonze or priest, who represented that act as the only means of preventing the father's threat from being carried into effect. The guilt of both the prince and his priestly instigator met with its fitting reward. Lew-senen, half-brother to the prince, raised a powerful army, and attacked Lew-Chaou, who with his whole family was beheaded, and all his palaces razed to the ground.

Fei-le King-Ho has been aptly enough compared to the Caius Caligula of Rome: bloodshed appeared to be his greatest delight; to be privileged to approach him was at the same time to be in constant peril of being butchered; and he was no less obscene than cruel; an immense and gorgeously decorated hall being exclusively devoted to the most disgusting and frantic orgies. The very officers of his palace could not tolerate his conduct, for in the year following his accession to the throne he was dispatched by one of the eunuchs of his palace.

Ming-te-Tae-che succeeded to the throne A.D. 466. What he might have proved if his accession had been unopposed we can but guess; but, being opposed, he was aroused to a rage perfectly ungovernable. Those of his relatives who actually took up arms against him were not more hateful than those of them who did not, and many of the latter were put to death by him. His whole reign was passed in warfare with one or more of the princes of the family. This state of things lasted for nearly six years, and caused so much misery to the people, that there would speedily have been a general rising for the purpose of dethroning him, but for his opportune death.

Anarchy and war marked the two follow-



ing reigns of Chwang-yu-wang and Shun-te; the former was dispatched by an eunuch employed by an aspiring general, who also compelled Shun-te to abdicate in his favor, and soon afterwards assassinated him.

In 479 the aspiring and reckless general Seawu-Taduching ascended the throne, under the title of Kaou-te-now; he reigned but two years, and the succeeding princes of this dynasty, Tsi, which terminated in 502, were engaged in continual war with the prince of the north, but performed neither warlike nor peaceful services to merit notice.

A new dynasty, the Leang, was now commenced by Woo-te, who ascended the throne in 502. Under him the old wars between the northern and southern empires were continued. Nevertheless, though warlike and active at the commencement of his reign, he showed himself a great admirer and patron of learning. He revived some learned establishments that had fallen into decay, and founded some new ones; but probably his most important service was that of publicly teaching in person. We may fairly doubt whether such a prince was not better skilled in the arts of war, as then practised, than in studious lore; but his example tended to make learning fashionable, and he may therefore be said to have afforded it the greatest encouragement. Whatever his actual attainments, his love of study seems to have been both deep and sincere; for while yet in the prime of mental and bodily vigor, he abandoned the pomp and power of the throne, and retired to a monastery with the avowed intention of devoting the remainder of his life to study. This, however, had such mischievous effect upon public affairs, that the principal mandarins compelled him to quit his peaceful retirement and reascend the throne; but the rest of his life was passed in strife and tumult, which eventually broke his heart. His son and successor had scarcely commenced his reign, when he was put to death, and succeeded by Yuen-te. This emperor also was fond of retirement and study, and greatly neglected the affairs of his empire, which,

distracted as it constantly was by the violence and intrigues of the princes of the empire, required a stern and vigorous attention.

Shin-pan-seen, who was not only a prince of the empire, but also prime minister to the emperor, raised a rebellion against his confiding and peaceful master, whose first intimation of his danger was given to him by the fierce shouts of the rebel force at the very gates of his palace. On hearing those boding shouts, the emperor, awakened from his delicious reveries, calmly closed the book he had been so intent upon, put on his armour, and ascended the ramparts. A single glance showed him that it was too late for resistance; he returned to his library, and, setting fire to it, resigned himself to his fate. The library of this unfortunate monarch, who would probably have been both powerful and glorious had he ruled over a less divided and turbulent people, is said to have contained 140,000 volumes.

The next emperor worthy of any mention, however slight, is Wan-te, whose short reign was so vigorous, prudent, and successful, that he must be considered to have been the chief cause of the reunion which occurred so soon after his death between the northern and southern empires. He died in 566, and was succeeded by his son, Pe-tsung, who was speedily dethroned by his uncle and the empress dowager.

The throne was then filled by Suen-te. During his short reign of less than three years, he fought boldly and constantly against his opponents, and did much towards promoting the fast approaching union of the two empires.

On the death of Suen-te, in the year 569, he was succeeded by How Chow, a mere sensualist and idler, whose debauchery and indolence disgusted and angered his people more, probably, than hardier and more active vices would, even though they had been productive of a fiercer and more obvious kind of tyranny. A powerful and warlike noble, Yang-keen, put himself at the head of the disaffected nobles and their followers, and laid

siege to the imperial city. The inhabitants, who, as might be expected, were even more disgusted with the effeminacy and profligacy they had witnessed, than the besiegers, threw open the gates almost without a struggle. The immediate advisers of the emperor and the notorious companions of his profligate revels were sternly put to death, and search was then made for the emperor. That cowardly sensualist had taken refuge with all his family in a dry well, whence he was dragged out half dead with terror, and expecting no less than instant death at the hands of the victorious rebel leader. But Yang-keen, either in mercy, or with the politic view of placing an additional obstacle to all other pretenders that might arise, spared both him and his family.

On usurping the throne, A.D. 572, Yang-keen's very first act was to consolidate the northern empire with the southern. In this he found little difficulty. Wei, the last really great prince of the northern empire, was both so well able to war, and so little inclined to do so without occasion, that he made his state at once feared without, and peaceful and prosperous within. He was poisoned by his own mother, a woman of high but cruel spirit, and of great talents and most restless disposition. Both she, while she acted as regent to her grandson, and the latter when he had taken the reins of government into his own hands, plunged the state into all the venomous and mischievous wars of the imperial princes; and this fatal departure from the peaceful polity of the former ruler, and the absence of any improvement in his military power, struck a blow at the safety and integrity of the northern empire, which, after a separate existence of upwards of a century and a-half, was reannexed to the southern empire almost without an effort.

Yang-keen having been so successful in obtaining the throne and consolidating the empire, turned his attention to restraining the violence and rapine of the Tartar chiefs. His reputation for skill, valor, and firmness, here did him good service. The Tartars well

aware of the character of the monarch whom they had now to deal with, professed themselves desirous rather of his friendship than his enmity; and to show the sincerity of what they call their amity, they went so far as to pay him homage. With his usual shrewd policy, Yang-keen gave one of the imperial princesses in marriage to the principal Tartar chief. Nor was he ill rewarded for the facility with which he permitted himself to substitute alliance for strife. During his reign, his people remained free from the incursions of the Tartars, which had previously been frequent as the natural tempests, and far more destructive.

On the death of Yang-keen, in 604, the heir to the throne was strangled by a younger brother, Yang-te, who, having committed the fratricide, and removed all other obstacles from his path, ascended the throne in 605. But if he obtained the throne shamefully, he filled it well. Though eminently a man of taste and pleasure, he was no less a man of judgment, enterprise, and energy. In the early part of his reign he formed extensive gardens, which for magnitude and tastefulness were never before witnessed in China; and in these gardens it was his chief delight to ride, attended by a retinue of a thousand ladies, splendidly attired, who amused him with vocal and instrumental music, and with dancing and feasts of grace and agility on horseback. This luxurious habit did not, however, prevent him from paying great attention to the solid improvements of which China at that time stood so much in need. It would be idle to remark upon the importance (to both the prosperity and the civilization of a people) of good and numerous means of communication between all the extremities of the land. Many of his canals and bridges still exist, as proofs both of his zeal and judgment in this most important department of the duty of a ruler.

His talents, energy, and accomplishments did not save him from the fate which we deplore, even when the worst of rulers are its victims. He had been on a tour, not im-



probably with a view to some new improvement in the face of the country, when he was assassinated. This melancholy event, it seems very probable, arose from the successful artifices of Le-yuen: he was both powerful and disaffected; had previously signalized himself by the most factious conduct, and immediately after the assassination put himself forward to place King-te upon the vacant throne. What motive Le-yuen had in making this man the mere puppet of sovereignty for a brief time, it is difficult to conjecture; but it is certain that King-te had scarcely ascended the throne before Le-yuen caused him to be strangled, and assumed the sovereign power himself under the name of Kaou-tsoo.

For some years previous to his usurpation the Tartars had returned to their old practice of making incursions into the northern parts of China, on some portion of which they had actually proceeded to settle themselves. Kaou-tsoo attacked them with great spirit, and in many severe engagements made such slaughter among them as to impress them with a salutary fear of pushing their encroachments farther.

Looking with a politic and prescient eye at the state of other nations, Kaou-tsoo was extremely anxious about that singular and ferocious people the Turks, who about the commencement of his reign began to be very troublesome to Asia.

Dwelling between the Caspian Sea and the river Hypanis, the Turks were a hardy people, living chiefly upon the spoils of the chase. Thus prepared by their way of life for the hardships of war, and having their cupidity excited by the rich booty of caravans, this people could not fail to be otherwise than terrible when, under a brave and politic leader, they went forth to the conquest of nations instead of the pillage of a caravan, and appeared as a great multitude instead of a mere isolated handful of robbers. To China they were especially hateful and mischievous; for they were perpetually at war with the Persians, with whom, just at

that time, far the most valuable portion of Chinese commerce was carried on. The Persians fell before the Turkish power, and that restless nation endeavored to push its conquests into China. It might probably have effected this had a different man ruled the empire; but the emperor not merely repulsed them from his own territory, but chastised the disaffected Tibetians who had aided them and pushed forward into China, whence he had expelled the Turks.

After a victorious and active reign of twenty-two years and a few months, this brave and politic emperor died, and was succeeded by Chun-tsung, whose effeminacy was the more glaringly disgraceful from contrast with the brave and active character of his predecessor. The single act for which his historians gave him any credit, is that of having made it necessary for the literati, who by this time exercised pretty nearly as much influence in both private and public affairs in China as the clergy did in Europe during the middle ages, to sustain a rather severe public examination.

Of the next seventeen monarchs of China there is literally nothing recorded that is worthy of transcript; nor during their reigns did anything of moment occur to China beyond the civil dissensions, which were frequent, and, indeed, inevitable in a country where effeminate princes committed their power to intriguing eunuchs, who scarcely ever failed to prevent a resumption of it, by the dagger or the poisoned cup.

Chwang-tsung, son of a brave and skillful general, founded the How Tang dynasty, and, at least at the outset of his reign, was a bright contrast to his predecessors. He had from mere boyhood shared the perils and hardships of his father, whom he had accompanied in many of his expeditions. At the commencement of his reign he gave every promise of being the greatest monarch China ever saw. In his apparel and diet he emulated the frugality of the meanest peasant and the plainest of his troops. Lest he should indulge in more sleep than nature

actually required, he was accustomed to have no other bed than the bare ground, and, as if this luxurious way of lying might lead him to waste in sleep any of that precious time of which he was a most rigid economist, he had, it is said, a bell so fastened to his person, that it rung on his attempting to turn round, so loudly as to awaken him, and after it did so he immediately rose, to repose no more until his usual hour on the ensuing night. Extremes are proverbially said to meet; but certainly one would never have suspected that so Spartan a youth would have heralded a manhood of exceeding luxury, and even licentiousness. But so it was; his companions were among the most debauched wassailers in his empire, and he emulated their conduct. Yet though he departed from the, perhaps, too rigid severity of his manners, he was, to the last, a brave and active man, and was slain at the head of his troops in a battle fought in 926.

The next emperor was Ming-tsung, who reigned for only seven years. He was both active and beneficent. His people looked upon him as a parent, and his whole reign seems, in fact, to have been the expression and achievement of a truly kind and paternal feeling. He died in 933.

Min-te succeeded to the throne in 933. He only reigned one year; but in that very brief space of time he contrived to deserve, if not to obtain, the execration of the Chinese women, not only of his own time, but up to the present hour. He it was who established the truly barbarous practice of confining the feet of female children of the higher classes in such a manner that the toes are bent completely under the soles of the feet, which are, it is true, rendered very diminutive in appearance by this abominable method, but are at the same time rendered almost useless.

Min-te died in 934, in the first year of his reign, and was succeeded by Fei Tei, who paid the fearful price of fratricide for the throne. He possessed, it would seem, a great share of merely animal courage, and like the generality of persons who do so, he was distinguished for his exceeding barbarity. Even

the Chinese, accustomed as they were to despotism in all its varieties of misrule, could not endure the excess and wantonness of his cruelty. A formidable revolt broke out; and finding himself hard pressed by his enemies, and abandoned at every moment by his troops, he collected the whole of his family together, and set fire to his palace—his wealth, his family, and himself being consumed in the flames.

Kaou-tse now ascended the throne, being the first of the How-tsin dynasty. He was more the nominal than the real monarch, his minister, Hung-taiou, usurping a more than imperial power. The minister, in fact, is in every way more worthy of mention than the monarch, for according to the most credible accounts the invention of printing from blocks was a boon conferred by him upon China in the year 937.

Both this reign and that of Chuh-ten, which closed this short-lived dynasty, were occupied in perpetual battling with the restless Tartars, who for ages seem to have had an instinctive certainty of having, sooner or later, the rule of China as the reward of their determined and pertinacious inroads.

In 960, Kung-te, a child of only six years of age, being upon the throne, the people arose and demanded his abdication. Of maternal and eunuch misgovernment they certainly had for centuries past had abundant and very sad experience. How far the successful aspirant to the throne was concerned in rousing their fears into activity and fervor does not appear; but it is certain that the revolt against the infant emperor, and the election of Chaou-quang-yin as his successor, were events in which the people showed great unanimity of feeling. The founder of the Sung dynasty did not commence his reign under the most promising circumstances; for on the ceremonial of his acceptance of the throne, he actually ascended it in a state of intoxication.

Nevertheless, this prince, who on his elevation to the throne took the name of Taou-tsoo, was in reality one of the best of the



Chinese monarchs, both as a warrior and as a domestic ruler. The new emperor, immediately after his accession, caused the most rigid inquiry to be made into the expenses of the state; and every useless office was abolished, and every unfair charge sternly and promptly disallowed. In effecting this great and important reform, the emperor derived no small advantage from having formerly been a private person, as in that capacity he no doubt would have the opportunity to note many abuses which could never be discovered by the emperor or any of the imperial princes. His frugality seems to have been as impartial as it was wise; for though he raised his family for four generations to the rank of imperial princes, he at the same time insisted upon their being content with the most moderate revenue that was at all consistent with their rank.

Though the election of the new emperor was nearly as unanimous as such an event can reasonably be expected to be, it must not be understood that his elevation met with no opposition even of an armed character. On the contrary, the independent princes of Han and the extreme northern people of the empire rose in arms to oppose him.

The emperor made immense levies of men throughout the provinces that were faithful to him, and marched against his enemies. The subsequent conflicts were dreadful; and the troops of the prince of Han, well knowing that they had little mercy to hope for if taken prisoners, fought with the fury and obstinacy of despair, and they were well seconded by the Tartars. Thousands fell in each engagement; and though the emperor was a warrior, and a brave one, he is said to have often subsequently shed tears at the mere remembrance of the bloodshed he witnessed during this war. The overwhelming levies of the emperor, and, perhaps, that "tower of strength"—the royal name—which the adverse faction wanted, made him, but not till after a desperate struggle, completely successful.

Having put down this opposition, he next

proceeded against the prince of Choo, whom he captured and deprived of his dominions. Among the millions of souls whom he thus added to his subjects was an extremely numerous and well-appointed army. This he forthwith incorporated with his own, and thus strengthened in force, marched against Kyang Nah and southern Han.

Here again he was completely successful, and he now turned his attention to the chastisement of the Mongols of Leaon-tung, who had joined the prince of Han in the former war; but the issue of this expedition was still uncertain when the emperor died.

Though engaged in war from the beginning to the very end of his reign, this emperor was extremely attentive to the internal state of his empire, and more especially in a particular which previously had been but too much neglected—the impartial administration of justice. When he was not actually in the field he was at all times accessible; to the humblest as to the highest the gates of the imperial palace were always open, and in giving his decision he knew no distinction between the mandarin and the poor laborer. This conduct in his military and civil affairs procured him the enviable character of being "the terror of his enemies and the delight of his subjects."

Tae-tsung, son of the last mentioned monarch, ascended the throne at the death of his father, whose warlike measures he proceeded to carry out, and whose warlike character and abilities he to a very great extent inherited. During his entire reign he was engaged in war; now with the Mongols, at that time the most threatening of all the enemies of the empire, and now with this or that refractory native prince. After twenty-one years of almost perpetual warfare, with many successes and comparatively few defeats, Tae-tsung died in 997, leaving behind him a character only less honorable than that of his predecessor, inasmuch as he paid far less constant and minute attention to the internal order of the empire and the individual welfare of his subjects.

Chin-tsung now succeeded to the empire, a prince whose character and conduct strangely contrasted with those of his two immediate predecessors. The bonzes or priests were the only persons who had reason to like him; and even their liking, excited though it was by personal advantage, must have been mixed with no slight feeling of contempt. There was no tale that they could tell him which was too extravagant for his implicit belief; no command too absurd for his unqualified obedience.

The bonzes were not the only persons who profited by the emperor's fatuity; the warlike, indefatigable, and shrewd Tartars speedily perceived the difference betwixt an emperor who divided his time between dreaming and listening to the interpretations of his dreams—leaving the empire and its vast complicated interests to the care, or carelessness, of eunuchs and timeservers—and the warlike and clear-headed emperors with whom they had to deal during the two preceding reigns. They poured in upon the empire with a fury proportioned to the ineffective resistance they anticipated, and their shrewd conjectures were amply justified by the event. Resistance, indeed, was made to them on the borders; but instead of their being driven beyond the frontiers with a message of mourning to thousands of Tartar families, their absence was purchased. Great stores of both money and silk were paid to them by order of the Chinese court, which, like the Romans when Rome had become utterly degenerate, was fain to purchase the peace it dared not or could not battle for.

Ying-tsung, Shin-tsung, and Hwuy-tsung, the three immediate successors of the weak prince of whose reign we have just spoken, followed his impolitic and shameful policy of purchasing peace. We emphatically say impolitic, because common sense tells us that to yield tribute once, is to encourage the demand of it in future. And so it proved in this case. The tribute once secured, the hardy and unprincipled Tartars again returned to the charge, to be again bought off,

and to derive, of course, renewed assurance of booty whensoever they should again think proper to apply for it.

Hwuy-tsung, the third of the emperors named above, having a dire perception of the error committed by himself and his three immediate predecessors, determined to adopt a new course, and, instead of bribing the "barbarians" who so cruelly annoyed him, to hire other barbarians to expel them, thus adding to the folly of buying peace the still farther folly of giving the clearest possible insight into the actual weakness of his condition, to those who, being his allies as long as they received his wages, would infallibly become his enemies the instant he ceased to hire them.

This prince engaged the warlike tribe of Neu-che Tartars in the defence of his territory. They ably and faithfully performed what they had engaged; but when they had driven out the Nien-cheng Tartars they flatly refused to quit the territory, and made a hostile descent upon the provinces of Pecheli and Shansi, which they took possession of.

At the same time the Mongols were pouring furiously down upon the provinces of Shau-tong and Honan; and the terrified and utterly unwarlike emperor saw no other means of saving his dominions than by coming to immediate terms with his late allies and present foes—the victorious and imperious Neu-che Tartars. He accordingly went to their camp, attended by a splendid retinue of his chief officers, to negotiate not only for peace, but also for their active and prompt aid against the Mongols. But the emperor had so long left the affairs of the empire in the hands of intriguers and venal sycophants, that he was not sufficiently acquainted with his actual position to take even ordinary precautions; he was literally sold by his ministers into the hands of his enemies; and on reaching the Tartar camp, he found that he was no longer a powerful prince treating for peace and alliance with an inferior people, but a powerless prisoner of war, in the hands of his enemies, and



abandoned by his friends; And abandoned he indeed was, by all save his son. That spirited prince, faithful to his fallen father, and indignant at the treachery that had been practised against him, put the ministers to death, and gathered an immense force against the Mongols, who, in the meantime, had been making the most rapid and terrible advances. Rapine and fire marked their path whithersoever they went. The emperor's gallant and faithful son made admirable but useless efforts to approach them. Leaving devastation and misery in their rear, they rapidly drew near the capital, laid siege to the imperial palace itself, butchered thousands of the inhabitants, including some of the imperial family, and sent the rest into captivity.

Kaou-tsung II. at this period reigned over the southern provinces. When the barbarians overran the northern parts of the empire he made bold and able attempts at beating them off from his dominions; but they were far too warlike and numerous for his limited resources. To the northern provinces and to the captive emperor he was unable to afford any assistance by force of arms, nor could his humblest and most tempting offers to the savage foes induce them to liberate a prisoner or evacuate a rood of land. All that he was able to gain from them was permission to retain his own rule in peace, on paying an annual tribute and acknowledging his subjection.

During two succeeding reigns the Chinese enjoyed the blessings of peace; but the imprudence of Ning-tsung, untaught by experience of the danger of calling in barbarian aid, brought into China a vast horde of Mongols—the fiercest and greediest even among the barbarous Tartar tribes.

In 1194 the celebrated Genghis Khan was at the head of the Mongol Tartars. At the outset of this warrior's career his people revolted from him, excepting only a very few families, on the ground of his being, at the death of his father, too young to rule a numerous and extremely warlike people. But

the youth displayed so much talent and courage, and his earliest essays as a warrior were so entirely and strikingly successful, that the tide of opinion speedily turned in his favor; and an old and venerated Mongol chief having, in a public assembly of the people, prophesied that the youth, then known by his family name of Temujin, would, if supported as he deserved to be, prove to be the greatest of their khans—Genghis Khan (the Mongol words for greatest king) was immediately made the youth's name by acclamation, and the bold but barbarous and vacillating people as unanimously submitted to him now, as formerly they had seceded from him.

It was to this chief, who had already made his name a name of terror far beyond the banks of the Selenga, the native abode of his fierce race, that Ning-tsung, the then emperor, applied for aid to drive out other Tartars, by whom, as well as by native malcontents, the nation was very sorely oppressed at that period.

Genghis Khan, already inured to conquest and thirsting for extended dominion, eagerly complied with the impolitic request of Ning-tsung. During the reign of that monarch, and of Le-tsung, by whom he was, at his death in 1225, succeeded, the Mongols passed from triumph to triumph, the unhappy natives suffering no less from the barbarians who were hired to defend them than from the other barbarians who avowedly entered the empire for purpose of rapine and bloodshed. Le-tsung, a prince whose natural indolence was increased by his superstitious attachment to the most superstitious priests in his empire, was a voluntary prisoner in his palace, while the Mongols were driving from one province to another not merely the intruding foe and foreigner, but also the rightful and already suffering inhabitant. The atrocities committed in what the Mongols seemed to be bent upon making an actual war of extermination were dreadful; the most authentic accounts, and those which seem most entirely free from exaggeration, speak of the slaughter among the unfortunate

people as amounting to some hundreds of thousands.

Genghis Khan dying, was succeeded by a grandson named Kublai; and Le-tsung also dying, was succeeded by Too-tsung. This last-named prince was as debauched as his predecessor had been superstitious; and, wholly taken up with the gratification of his shameful sensuality, he saw, almost without a care or struggle, the Mongols, under Kublai, proceeding with their ravages, and Kublai at length become master of the northern provinces.

Thus far successful, it was not likely that the conquering chief should forbear from turning his attention to the southern provinces, which, as we learn from Marco Polo, were considered by far the most wealthy and splendid of the kingdoms of the East.

The very wealth of the southern empire, and its comparatively long exemption from war, rendered it pretty certain that it would easily be overrun by him who had conquered the hardier and more experienced warriors of the north. Province after province, and city after city was taken, without the experience on the part of the Mongols of anything even approaching to a severe check, many of the most powerful nobles, who were the most bound in honor and duty to have defended the country, actually joining the enemy.

With rapid and sure steps the enemy at length approached the city of Kinsai, the capital and royal residence, and wealthy to an extent not easily to be described. The then emperor, Kung-tsung, seemed to have despaired of successful defence against a foe so long and to such an extent victorious, and to have supposed that his empress could more successfully appeal to a victor's mercy than he could to the fortune of war. He accordingly got together all the treasure that could be at all conveniently embarked, on board his fleet, gave the command of it to his most experienced naval commander, and put out to sea.

The fact of the defence of Kinsai being committed to a beautiful woman, did not

prevent Kublai from ordering his generals to use the utmost exertions in bringing the siege to a speedy conclusion. Such orders ensured an activity which reduced the empress and her garrison to the most alarming distresses; but the empress consoled herself under every new disaster by a prophecy which had been made by a court astrologer—a kind of cheat very popular with most of the Chinese monarchs of that time—that Kinsai could only be taken by a general having a hundred eyes. As such a specimen of natural history was by no means likely to appear, the empress allowed nothing to daunt her, until on inquiring the name of a general whom Kublai had entrusted to make a new and vigorous assault on the city, she was told that it was *Chin san ba yan*. These words—which mean *the hundred eyed*—seemed in such ominous agreement with the requirement of the prophecy, that the empress allowed her hitherto high courage to give place to a superstitious horror, and she immediately surrendered the city, on receiving from Kublai assurance, which he very honorably fulfilled, of treatment and an allowance in conformity with her rank.

Sa-yan-fu, which was a far stronger city than the capital, and against which no superstitious influence was brought, held bravely out against the utmost efforts of the Mongols for upwards of three years. Marco Polo and his brother Nicolo, the Italian travellers and traders, anxious to ingratiate themselves with the formidable and prosperous Kublai, supplied him with besieging engines which threw stone balls of the tremendous weight of one hundred and twenty pounds. Such missiles soon made practicable breaches in the hitherto impregnable walls. The town was stormed, and Kublai, enraged at its long and obstinate resistance, gave it up to the mercy of his troops.

The fugitive emperor found, in some distant and strongly fortified islets, a shelter for his treasure, but not that safety for himself which he had sought with so much sacrifice of dignity and character. He had not



long been at his post of ignoble security when he was seized with an illness which speedily terminated his life. The empress, who seems to have been altogether as brave and adventurous as her husband was timid, strengthened the fleet at Yae islands, under the command of the emperor's favorite admiral, Low-sewfoo, proclaimed Te-ping, her son, emperor, and repaired with him on board the fleet. The Mongol fleet, after attacking Canton, hove in sight of the imperial fleet, when a tremendous action commenced and continued for an entire day. The Mongols, though even their loss was dreadful, were victorious, and the Chinese or imperial fleet was so much shattered that Low-sewfoo found it impossible to get his crippled vessels through the straits. Dreaming the very worst from the resentment which Kublai was likely to feel at this new resistance on the part of the empress, that brave but unfortunate woman committed suicide by jumping overboard. Her example was followed by several of her principal attendants, including the admiral, who leaped overboard with the young emperor in his arms. So disastrous a day as this could not fail to be decisive; all the comparatively small part of the south that had hitherto held out was quickly overrun and the whole empire was now under a Mongol emperor concentrated into one. Under the title of Shi-tsu, Kublai ascended the imperial throne in 1279, and in so doing laid the foundation of the Yuen dynasty.

Shi-tsu having obtained the mighty and vast empire of China, now determined to use its resources in adding Japan to his already unwieldy possession. But this time he was fated to a fortune very different from that which usually attended him. The Japanese, instead of shrinking at the approach of a force that from its previous successes might well have made them pause as to the prudence of resistance, fortified their forts in the strongest manner time would admit. One being at length taken, the resistance of the garrison was punished by the butchery of every man without exception, eight of the number being

beaten to death with clubs. The real reason of this cruel distinction being awarded to the eight unhappy persons was, most likely, that they were distinguished either in their rank or in the zeal and determination of their resistance. But the fondness that exists for the marvellous has caused this occurrence to be attributed to the somewhat inexplicable mechanical impossibility of putting them to death by decapitation, on account of iron chains which they wore round their necks.

The brutal cruelty displayed by Shi-tsu or his officers to the garrison of this single fort, was productive of no advantage to his arms. Before the terror which such barbarity might possibly have carried into the hearts of other garrisons had time to produce weakness or treachery, a tremendous storm arose by which a great portion of the Tartar, or rather the Tartar-Chinese, fleet was wrecked. The extent of injury so alarmed the commanders, that they hastened home with the remainder of their ships, abandoning many thousand of their followers to the vengeance of the Japanese.

Shi-tsu died in 1295; and it was not until his grandson, Tching-sung, ascended the throne, and began to imitate the ambitious and warlike conduct of his great predecessor, that anything worthy of even casual mention occurred in the history of the subjugated people of China.

Tchin-sung is better known in Europe as Timoor the Tartar, or Tamerlane, whose treatment of his opponent Bajazet has been made the subject of so many dramas and tales. His name of Timoor (the iron) seems to have been exactly suited to his energetic, untiring, and unsparing nature. Fixing the imperial residence at Samarcand, he appears to have formed the project of carrying on the work of subjugation to the utmost possible extent in all directions. Persia, Georgia, and Delhi speedily felt and succumbed to his power; he drove the Indians to the Ganges, and utterly destroyed Astracan and other places in that direction. Bajazet, the Ottoman monarch, seems to have had the most just cause im

aginable to arrest the course of a man who was evidently determined upon making himself, if possible, the sole monarch of the East. But the Ottoman was far inferior to the Tartar in that strength which is as important to success as even a good cause itself. We are assured that while Bajazet had only 120,000 men, his opponent brought 700,000 into the field. The day on which this tremendous battle was fought was sultry in the extreme, yet so obstinate were both parties, that the contest continued from the morning until a late hour at night. The comparatively small army of Bajazet was in the end completely routed, and the unfortunate monarch himself prisoner. The conduct of Tamerlane on this occasion was such as would cast disgrace on the most signal courage and talents. He had his captive put into an iron cage and carried from place to place with him in all his excursions, exhibiting him like a wild beast. The unfortunate Bajazet lived in this most pitiable condition until the year 1403, when he died, as tradition says, of a broken heart.

Tamerlane during his various and extensive expeditions had committed the internal government of his empire to certain princes of his house—his grandson and nephews. Their authority and character being far less respected and feared than his own, several insurrections had taken place, and Tamerlane, or Tchin-sung, now marched towards China with the avowed determination of inflicting severe chastisement; but as he was advancing with forced marches for that purpose, he was seized with an illness which terminated both his enterprises and his life, in 1405.

After the death of the formidable Tamerlane his descendants kept up a perpetual scramble for the empire, in which they contrived the utter ruin of the high character they owed to him. A series of revolts and intrigues followed each other during the rule or the strifes of some succeeding emperors and pretenders; and the next event of which we feel it necessary to give any account is an embassy sent from Persia to China in the reign of Yunglo, also called Ching-tsoo.

The account of this embassy is the more interesting, because it gives us considerable insight into the manners and state of society in China at that time, and mentions what Marco Polo does not—*tea*, to which, more than aught else, China owes its importance in the eyes of the modern inhabitants of Europe. Even at this early period the Chinese seem to have all the modern jealousy of the entrance of strangers into the so-called "Celestial Empire." Before the embassy in question was allowed even to set foot upon the boundaries of the empire, an exact list of all persons belonging to the embassy was required, including even the very humblest attendants, and the ambassadors-in-chief were called upon to swear to the truth and exactness of the list. Chinese jealousy being satisfied thus far, the embassy commenced its toilsome journey of one hundred days towards the capital. It is only fair to add, however, that after their first suspicion was formally and officially silenced, there seems to have been a most liberal hospitality shown in the way of substantial good fare, accompanied by an unstinted supply of excellent wines.

The capital of China, Cambulu, now known far better by the name of Peking, is spoken of as being even at that time a city of great magnitude and opulence.

The long intercourse with Jesuits, missionaries, and others specially sent there, with a reference to their science, judgment and aptitude for the difficult business of communicating, not merely knowledge itself but also the desire for it, could scarcely have left the Chinese so much behind the rest of the world in invention and practice in the higher productions, even had no progress been previously made by them. But when so early as the 15th century we hear of such an achievement as the *Turning Tower*, of which we are about to give a description, who will consent to believe that above four centuries later they are the backward and ignorant people they are called?

That really wonderful structure, the turn-



ing tower, is stated by shrewd and intelligent observers to whom we owe our knowledge of it, to be worthy of the visit and careful examination of every smith and carpenter upon the face of the earth. What, in fact, are we acquainted with of merely human construction that can for an instant bear comparison with a tower fifteen stories high, each story twelve cubits high, and the whole edifice twenty cubits in circumference? What can surpass the ingenuity of the people who could make this large structure, having a total height of 180 cubits, which turns round upon a metal axis; and that with little more difficulty than if it were merely a child's toy? Assuredly, the people who even in whim could erect such a structure as this at the period of more than four centuries ago, cannot now be the incapable and unprovided race which many late accounts would represent them.

The emperor's palace at Peking is described as being rich and spacious in the extreme. While the ambassadors and their suite were there, it was constantly surrounded by about two thousand musicians, playing and singing anthems to the praise of the emperor, whose throne was of solid gold, ascended by a flight of nine silver steps. On the emperor ascending this extremely gorgeous throne, the chiefs of the embassy were introduced; and after a brief and merely formal audience, at which they did not prostrate themselves in the Chinese fashion, but bowed in that of the Persians, they were reconducted to the apartments provided for them, where a sheep, a goose, and two fowls, with fruit, vegetables, and tea, were daily served out to every six persons.

The evil deed, whether of man or nation, very rarely proves to be other than an evil seed. The unprovoked aggression of the Chinese-Tartars under Kublai, was not only productive of great injury to the Chinese fleet at the time, but led to very many subsequent losses and calamities. Favorably situated as Japan was for the maintenance of a fleet, it was a power upon which such a

piratical attack as that of Kublai could not be made without incurring serious danger of heavy reprisals.

Tin-tsung, an extremely well-inclined prince, found the attacks of the Japanese so frequent and so fearfully injurious to his people, and to the imperial fleet, that his earliest care was directed to that subject. The Japanese, an essentially sea-faring people, had, according to the least exaggerated accounts, from six to seven thousand vessels of various sizes, manned with their most daring and unprincipled people, not a few of them ready for piracy and murder, as a part of their proper trade. Running suddenly into the Chinese ports, the daring adventurers committed acts not merely of robbery, but of the most wanton destruction of property and life, firing whole towns and villages, and retiring with immense booty. During the eleven years of his reign the emperor Tin-tsung was so spirited and incessant in his opposition to these daring rovers, that he would most probably have permanently rid his country of them, had his life not been so early terminated.

Suen-tsung, who succeeded to the last-named emperor, was but barely allowed to ascend the throne when he was almost dethroned by some of the grandees of the empire, among whom was his own uncle. Fortunately for the emperor, his army was more faithful to him than the grandees; and after a most obstinate engagement between it and the force of the insurgents, the latter were completely overthrown. With a far greater lenity than would have been shown by some monarchs after being so early and so deeply offended, the emperor spared the lives of the ringleaders, though, as a sheer matter of self-defence, he reduced some of them to the rank of commoners, and confiscated the estates of others.

Though the commencement of his reign was thus stormy, he was very little disturbed by revolts afterwards, to the time of his death in 1436. He was succeeded by Chin-tung, a minor; the empress-dowager being

his guardian, and the real state authority being divided between her and her chief adviser, the eunuch Wan-chin. This latter personage seems to have had nobler and more spirited notions of government than were commonly displayed by the effeminate and venal court favorites. He not only took prompt and active measures for repressing the Tartars, who annoyed the Tartar-Chinese with as much impartiality as though they had been still a purely Chinese people and government, but also took the field in person. Both he and the youthful emperor were taken prisoners, and matters began to look very prosperously for the Tartars, who were not only more expert in the use of the newly introduced fire-arms, but also invariably used them, which upon certain solemn days the Chinese, from superstitious notions, refused to do. As a matter of course, the Tartars always sought every chance of taking them at so great a disadvantage, and made fearful havoc whenever they contrived to do so. But the bold spirit which Wan-chin had infused into the councils of the imperial court soon turned the scale. The imperial authority was assumed by King-tae, who, however, subsequently showed that he had assumed such authority in the truest spirit of a loyal subject and most honorable man. He advanced against the Tartars, and opposed them with such skill, courage, and tenacity, that he completely defeated them, compelled them to restore the young Ching-tung to liberty unransomed, and then immediately abdicated, and placed upon the throne the young sovereign whom his valor and conduct had already restored to liberty. The remainder of the reign of Ching-tung, about ten years, was comparatively peaceful and prosperous.

The early part of the 16th century produced an event of which even yet the consequences are but partially and dimly seen—the appearance of the Portuguese at China. To India they had already made their way by the Cape of Good Hope, and in India they had an extremely flourishing settle-

ment. The governor of the Portuguese in India determined to send a somewhat imposing embassy to China; accordingly, Andrada and Perez, the two ambassadors, sailed to Canton, their own vessel being under a convoy of eight large ships, well manned and armed. Perez and Andrada, with two vessels, were allowed to proceed up the river on their embassy. While they did so the crews and merchants who were left with the other vessels in the Canton river, busied themselves in endeavoring to trade with the natives. As usual, wherever a turbulent body of seamen is concerned, the laws of *meum* and *tuum* were frequently set at naught, and this one-sided system of free-trading so greatly enraged the Chinese, that the little fleet was surrounded by the Chinese war junks, and only escaped capture by the opportune occurrence of a severe storm. Perez, though far up the country, and personally innocent, was seized by the Chinese as the scape-goat of his fellow-countrymen's offences. He was hurried back to Canton with the utmost ignominy, loaded with irons, and put into a prison, from which he never again emerged until death set him free.

About this time a state of bloodshed and horror existed in China, such as probably was never before equalled, even in that country of distraction, the annals of which are so confused by usurpations, intermingling of dynasties, and alterations in territorial extent and nomenclature, that the historian who desires to convey truth is not unfrequently obliged to allow his pen to pause until the current of the older histories becomes less turbid and torrent-like.

On the accession, in 1627, of Hwae-tsung, the Tartars, who, during the comparatively quiet seven years' reign of this emperor's immediate predecessor, had been preparing themselves for war, broke out fiercely and suddenly. The time was peculiarly favorable to their anticipated overthrow of the empire, which was overrun by two robbers, whose *armies* were not only more numerous than that of the emperor, but had already so



far beaten it as to have obtained possession of some important provinces. City after city had fallen before these fierce rebels, and the imperial general was at length so pressed by them, that being at once in despair of successful resistance, and determined not to surrender, he caused the dykes to be cut through which restrained the river Hoang-ho from inundating the country in which he was encamped, and he and the whole of the troops and inhabitants, in all above 200,000, were drowned.

If the affairs of the empire were desperate before, the loss of this force could not fail to complete the ruin. The rebels and robbers who had alone been so formidable, now united with the Mantchoo Tartars. The emperor, finding that there was no longer any hope or safety for him even in his own palace, strangled himself. The last city that endeavored to make head against the victorious and formidable Tartars and robbers was Tae-yuen. The inhabitants, and a comparative handful of imperial troops, defended this with a stern obstinacy, which, under a different state of things in the empire at large, would have been very likely to save it; the Tartars were repulsed again and again, until the very number of their slain enabled them to fill up the ditches and mount. Instead of admiring the gallantry of their conquered opponents, and treating them with mercy, the Tartars savagely put the inhabitants to the sword, and then gave the devoted city to the flames.

Woo San-quei, an able politician as well as a brave general, did not, even now that the emperor was slain, and the most precious parts of the empire in the hands of the Tartars or rebels, despair of retrieving affairs. By a lavish distribution of rich presents he engaged the Mantchoo leaders to abandon the cause of the rebels, and to join with him against their chief.

Woo San-quei's policy succeeded in procuring him the alliance of the Mantchoo Tartars; and, aided by them, he vanquished their former allies, the rebels, after a series

of achievements on both sides, that equal anything recounted in the wars of the most distinguished generals of ancient times.

But a new proof was now exhibited of the danger of purchased allies. The Tartars having put down the rebels, took possession of Peking, which they expressed their determination to 'protect,'—a word to which armed protectors attach a meaning very different from that assigned to it by the protected. They proclaimed Shun-che, a son of their own monarch, emperor of the northern provinces of China, the seat of his government being Peking, while the princes and mandarins of the southern provinces proclaimed Choo-yew, the seat of whose government was at Nankin.

There being a northern and a southern empire, and the thrones being respectively filled by a Tartar and a Chinese, it might easily have been foreseen that war and bloodshed would once more vex the unhappy people of both empires; and the opposite natures of the two emperors, far from decreasing, increased this probability. The emperor of the south was unworthy of his high station, and ill-calculated for its peculiar exigencies at that time. His indolence and gross sensuality added, no doubt, to the tyrannies of the subordinates to whom he committed the cares of state, while he abandoned himself to his indulgences, caused a spirit of revolt to show itself, which the northern emperor was not slow to avail himself of. Marching rapidly upon the southern provinces, he possessed himself of the capital, Nankin, and, after a long series of successes, became master of the whole empire, with the exception of some few comparatively unimportant portions; and the princes of even these may be said to have been his tributaries rather than independent rulers.

Shun-che was the first emperor of China who came into direct hostile collision with the Russians, who in his reign made their way to the great river Amur on the borders of Tartary. The Russians seized upon Dauri, a fortified Tartar town of some strength,

and in several battles obtained signal advantages. But subsequently the Chinese recovered their ground, and a treaty was entered into by which all the northern bank of the Amur, together with the sole navigation of that river, was assigned to the Chinese, and Tobolsk was fixed as the neutral trading ground of the two nations.

Busily and successfully as Shun-che was engaged in war, he seems to have been by no means insensible to the importance of the arts of peace. The Portuguese and other missionaries and scholars who, in despite of almost innumerable obstacles, had by this time settled themselves in China in considerable numbers, found at the hands of this warlike monarch a degree of friendship and patronage highly creditable to him. He not only prevented them from being subjected to any annoyance, but even appointed one of them, Adam Schaal, to the post of superintendent of mathematics,—a post that gave opportunity, of which Schaal in the next reign very skillfully availed himself, of obtaining the highest influence in the state.

Kang-he, who ascended the throne in 1661, was a minor, four principal personages of the empire forming the regency. The German, Schaal, was appointed to the important post of principal tutor. Such was the influence Schaal acquired in this position, that he was virtually for some time prime minister of China.

But the abilities of Schaal and the other missionaries, though they could raise them to power and influence, could not guard them from envy. The Chinese literati, and even the regents themselves, at length became excited to anger by the very learning they had availed themselves of, and by the influence it had procured for the foreigners through Schaal; for among the many services he had rendered to the State, it is said that on one occasion he actually preserved Macao from destruction. But envy was afoot, the most absurd charges were made against the missionaries, and they were at length deprived of all employment, while many of

them were loaded with chains and thrown into prison. Schaal, who was now far advanced in years and very infirm, sank beneath his afflictions soon after their commencement, and died at the age of seventy-nine. It is much to the credit of the young emperor that he had so well profited by the instruction of his foreign friends, that as soon as he attained his majority he restored them to their influence and appointments, the place of the deceased Schaal being bestowed upon the missionary Verbiest.

We have previously alluded to the skill and courage evinced by the general Woo San-quei, when the Mantchoo Tartars and the rebels caused so much misery to the empire. When the Mantchoo Tartars, after aiding him in putting down the rebels, had fairly established the Mantchoo dynasty upon the throne, the general was appointed governor of Kweichow and Yun-nan. His position in the north-west of the empire, discontent with his command, distinguished as it was, added, perhaps, to a natural restlessness and love of warfare, caused him now to levy war upon the neighboring places. His military skill and his great resources speedily enabled him to make himself master of the southern and western provinces. His success was at once so great and so rapid, that the emperor and his court were thrown into consternation, and Verbiest, who among his numerous abilities including that of a founder of great guns, was applied to to superintend the casting of some. From some inexplicable motives he declined compliance with the request, or rather the order, for as a high officer of the empire such he must have felt it. He persisted in refusing, until significant hints that his refusal was attributed to collusion with the rebels, showed him that his life would not be safe did he not comply with the emperor's wishes. Cannon were then cast, and the speedy consequences was, that Woo San-quei, who, probably, would in a brief space have been master of the capital and the throne, was beaten back within safe limits. Woo San-quei, after another unsuccessful endeavor at



usurping the empire, died in 1679, and was succeeded in what remained of his power by his son, who shortly after put an end to his own life.

In 1680 the Mongol Tartars assailed the emperor, but the European cannon enabled him to beat off these enemies with greater ease. He had the same success over the Elenths on the north-western frontier of the empire.

Successful in war by the aid of the missionaries, he was no less so in commerce: the czar, Peter the Great, would, in all probability, but for their mediation, have been prevented from concluding a peace with China; and though the commercial advantages which resulted from that peace were not immediate, they were vast and certain. As a whole, the reign of this emperor may be considered by far the noblest of all spoken of in his country's annals. As a military sovereign he will bear a comparison even with the daring and hardy Kublai, while he had the rare merit—scarcely inferior to genius itself—of skill in discovering genius, and of steady support to ministers possessing it, regardless of court intrigue and court jealousies. Canton, in his reign, even more than it has ever been since, was a port open to all nations, and China was enriched by commerce with all nations; and his people had real cause for grief when he died, in the year 1722.

Yung-ching, who now ascended the throne, began his reign by an act which held out but little hopes that he would distinguish himself by wisdom like that of his predecessor. It had been seen that in the preceding reign the missionaries had performed the most important services. In doing so, and in enjoying the high imperial favor which those services secured to them, it was to be expected that they should incur many enmities; and had the new emperor been as wise as his predecessor, to such enmities would he have attributed the host of complaints which now assailed his ears. But the emperor was at least equal to any man in his vast

dominions in fierce and bigoted hatred of Christianity; and he gladly received and implicitly listened to all complaints against the missionaries and their native converts, who at this time probably numbered about a quarter of a million. Orders were issued for the expulsion of the whole of the missionaries, with the exception of a few whose mathematical attainments rendered their services of the utmost consequence to the court; and there were a few sheltered at the imminent risk of both parties by the more zealous of their pupils, and thus enabled to evade the edict and in some measure to preserve the leading truths of their teaching among the native converts. But it was a very insignificant number of these missionaries that remained in China, owing to both these causes, and the whole of their chapels and stations were either sacked and destroyed by ferocious mobs, converted into public offices, or perverted to idolatrous worship. The excessive violence which this emperor displayed towards the catholic missionaries caused the king of Portugal in 1726 to dispatch an embassy to the emperor on their behalf. The ambassadors were received with distinction; but, though general promises were given even with profusion, the converts to Christianity derived not the slightest practical benefit from this interference on their behalf.

In the year 1726, a new and more terrible persecution took place. Both torture and imprisonment, the former in most cases terminating, after the most frightful agonies, in the death of the sufferers, were now resorted to in every corner of the land where a Christian could be discovered. Deep policy, however, was mixed up with this vengeful spirit; and to avoid the persecution it was only necessary to declare reconversion to Confucius or Buddha. It may easily be supposed that, under such circumstances, the number of Christians was, nominally at least, soon reduced to a mere handful. One of the causes of this terrible persecution was a dreadful famine which occurred in the previous year,

and which was attributed to the sin of conversion to Christianity. With the usual inconsistency of fanaticism, it was quite overlooked, that of the hundreds of thousands who perished, not one in a thousand had ever even heard of Christianity.

The year 1730 was marked by an event which Yung-ching's worst flatterers could not, after his two terrible persecutions of the Christians, venture to attribute to any undue encouragement of the new faith. The whole province of Pecheli—in which Pekin is situated—was shaken by an earthquake. The imperial city was for the most part laid in ruins; and the emperor, who was at the time walking in the garden, was violently thrown to the ground. In Pekin alone upwards of 10,000 souls perished, and at least thrice that number in other parts of the province. The emperor distributed upwards of a quarter of a million of money for the relief of the survivors.

The best that can be said of his reign is, that it was a peaceful one; and the interval of peace would have been infinitely more valuable than it was, had the Christians and their foreign and highly intelligent instructors been allowed to improve it to the best advantage. He died in the year 1735.

The throne was now filled by Keen-lung; whose first act was to recall the princes and courtiers who had been banished by his father. This done, he put down some revolts among the Elenths and other tribes on the north-western frontiers. Probably it was the vigor with which he executed this latter measure that caused a deputation to be sent from Russia to settle the disputes which were perpetually breaking out as to the trade between the two countries.

Ragusinki, who was at the head of the Russian embassy, acquitted himself with so much address, that he obtained a treaty by which a Russian caravan, not to exceed two hundred in number, was to visit China for purposes of trade once in every three years; a church was to be erected; and a limited number of Russians were to take up their

permanent abode in the Chinese capital for the purpose of acquiring the language.

The next important event of this reign was the expedition sent by the emperor in 1767 against the Burmese. This expedition seems to have originated wholly in the most wanton lust of war on the part of the Chinese, who, in the sequel, were very deservedly punished. An army of above 100,000 men marched into Burmah; but no regular army appeared to oppose its progress. As it penetrated farther, however, every foot of country, and especially where swamp or jungle rendered the route naturally more difficult, had to be traversed with active and daring hordes of guerillas hovering upon its rear and flanks, cutting off stragglers, pouring suddenly down upon weak detachments or divisions—such as the very nature of the country made inevitable; and, in short, acting with such efficient destructiveness, that the Chinese lost upwards of 50,000 men without ever coming to a general engagement! Incredible as it would seem in European warfare, of the immense army of 100,000 men, only 2,000 returned to China—the rest were all killed or taken prisoners; and all in the latter category were naturalized and settled in Burmah. Even this horrible loss of life did not prevent the emperor from persisting in his unjust scheme. He sent a still greater force under his favorite general A-quei, who was as fond of war and as ferocious as himself. Choosing what he thought a less difficult line of march, A-quei had scarcely entered the Burmese territory when he found that if he had fewer human enemies to contend against than his predecessor, he had a still more deadly and irresistible enemy, the jungle fever. He saw his men perish around him by thousands, and he was glad to hasten from the deadly place with even a diminished army, rather than remain to see it wholly annihilated. And the result of all this loss was, that China was obliged to agree to a treaty which confined her dominion within her natural frontiers, thereby giving to Burmah rich gold and silver mines



which otherwise would have remained undisputed in the possession of China.

Keen-Lung was engaged in several minor wars originating in endeavors of the more distant northern and western tribes to throw off the yoke.

The Mahometan Tartars, a brave and bigoted race, made an inroad into the province of Sheng-si: A-quei, who was sent against them, called upon them to surrender the city in which they had entrenched themselves, and, on being refused, took it by storm, and put every human being he found within the walls to the sword, save a few of the chiefs whom he sent to court. The emperor, whose bloodthirsty nature was such that he was accustomed to have criminals tortured in his presence, ordered these unhappy chiefs to be tortured before his assembled court, and then cut to pieces and thrown to the dogs! Not content with this sanguinary act, the monster gave orders to A-quei to march upon the Mahometan Tartars, and put all to the sword who were above fifteen years of age.

Many rebellions took place during this reign; among them was that of the people of the island of Formosa. The mandarins who acted as viceroys in this island were guilty of the most shameful exactions and cruelties. On one occasion they put to death a mandarin who had ill-treated them. The viceroy of Fuh-keen, being commissioned to avenge the death of the mandarin, sailed to the island and sacrificed victims to his manes, without regard to the guilt or innocence of those he immolated. The Formosans soon became so enraged that they rose *en masse*, butchered every Chinese and Tartar in the island, and were only at length induced to return to their yoke—after having bravely beaten off the imperial fleet—on being indemnified for their losses, and assured against the recurrence of the tyranny of which they complained.

As though fairly wearied out with the strife and bloodshed of sixty years of perpetual warfare, Keen-lung abdicated the throne

in favor of his son Kea-king. Though he never personally commanded his armies, he caused more bloodshed than, probably, any modern commander, with the single exception of Napoleon.

Kea-king's first use of his power was to renew those persecutions of the Catholics which in the last reign had seemed to be falling into desuetude. Torture and death were the fate of many; still more were sentenced to wear the cangou, or wooden collar, during their lives, or were banished to Tartary, which last was a singularly impolitic punishment, as the Tartars needed no discontented men to incite them to revolt.

A rebellion of a very threatening nature inasmuch as some members of the imperial family and other principal persons were concerned in it was planned a few years later. By some fortunate accident, or, still more probably, through the treachery of some of the confederates, the plot was discovered ere it was ripe for execution. Many of the principal conspirators were put to death, and others only escaped death to suffer the confiscation of their property, which was peculiarly acceptable to the almost utterly empty treasury of the emperor.

In 1792, Lord Macartney was sent as ambassador to China, to endeavor to establish trade with that country upon a better and surer footing, and more especially to obtain for the British factory a cessation of the insolence and extortion of the viceroy of Canton. The embassy was productive of but little good effect. The insolent and extortionate viceroy was recalled, it is true, but his successor was not long in office ere he went far beyond him in both of those bad qualities. The ambassador was blamed at home for having been too high and unbending in his demeanor; but the truth is, that the time had not come for a proper understanding to exist between the Chinese and any European nation.

When, in 1808, it was feared that Bonaparte would aim at the eastern trade of England, Admiral Drury was ordered to Macao;

but after much wordy disputation between the Chinese authorities there and the admiral, the latter retired after a slight collision, in which he lost one man. The Chinese pretended to have gained a great victory, a magniloquent account of the same was sent to Peking, and a pagoda actually erected to commemorate it.

In 1816, another ambassador, Lord Amherst was sent to China, but his mission was to the full as unsatisfactory as that of Lord Macartney.

After twenty-five years' reign, marked far more by despotic temper than by the talent necessary to render it effective, Kea-king died in the year 1820.

The trade of England, as well as of all other nations, with China has ever been subject to such restrictions, and been liable to so many interruptions, from the caprice of the Chinese, and from the insolence with which those caprices had been acted upon, that it has of necessity, from time to time, very much partaken of the character of smuggling—even as regards articles to which no moral exception could by possibility be taken.

Opium was imported into China as early as the seventeenth century, and it was not until toward the close of the eighteenth century that Kea-king prohibited it. It was high time to put some check upon the use of it; for though it was professedly important only as a medicinal drug, it was imported to the extent of one thousand chests per annum as early as 1776, and the importation has been perpetually increasing in amount up to 1796. Up to this time, be it remembered, the traffic was strictly legal; it paid a duty of five mace per catty, and was for the most part delivered to and bonded by the government.

It is clear that from 1796 the trade in this drug was mere smuggling; equally clear that whether John Tomkins or "The Company" was the trader, that trader was a smuggler. When the East India Company, having the monopoly of the eastern trade, compelled the ryots of Patna to grow opium

instead of rice, and compelled the ryots of divers other parts of the Anglo-Indian territory to do the same, the act was one which the English press ought loudly to have denounced, and which the English senate ought to have put a stop to, on pain of the loss of the Company's charter. All this is clear; but there is another consideration. The government of China is essentially paternal; from the emperor to the lowest officer of his state link connects link, as from the father of a family to his youngest child or his meanest servant. The trade in opium was forbidden from time to time by edicts; but the very officers who were charged with the duty of enforcing those edicts were themselves the virtual importers of opium! Had the Chinese authorities at Canton and along the coast not connived at the trade for enormous bribes, or as was even more frequently the case, been themselves actual traders in the article, the trade would have been at an end years ago, and when only a comparatively small portion of British capital was involved in it.

It was not until 1839 that anything in the shape of a real determination to put down the trade was exhibited by the Chinese.

Lin appeared at Canton, in that year, a "high commissioner"—an officer possessing almost dictatorial powers, and one who had not been more than thrice previously appointed during the present dynasty. In an edict, he said: "I, the commissioner, am sworn to remove utterly this root of misery; nor will I let the foreign vessels have any offshoot left for the evil to bud forth again." The British commissioner, and between two and three hundred British subjects, were then thrown into a state of close confinement; the guards placed over them heaped every insult upon them, and threatened them with being deprived of provisions and water. Captain Elliott, the British superintendent, under such circumstances, saw no means of evading the demands of the Chinese; and upwards of 20,000 chests of opium, valued at \$20,000,000, were delivered to commissioner Lin for destruction.



In 1840, war was declared by England against the Chinese. The leading events, however, which followed, being related in this work, in the history of Great Britain, it would be superfluous to give them here.

All differences being finally adjusted, and his celestial majesty being on terms of the strictest amity with her Britannic majesty, a ratification of the treaty between the two countries was announced on July 27, 1843. From that day the Hong merchants' monopoly and Consou charges were to cease; and the conditions upon which trade was in future to be carried on, appeared in a notice issued by Sir Henry Pottinger, the British plenipotentiary in China; who published an export and import tariff, and also a proclamation, in which he trusts that the commercial treaty will be found, in practice, mutually advantageous, beneficial and just, as regards the interest, honor, and the future augmented prosperity of the governments of the two mighty contracting empires and their subjects.

The next important event that appears in the history of China is the Tae-Ping rebellion. The government, as we have seen, after passing through the hands of almost every race of Eastern Asia, had been in the possession of the Mantchoo Tartars since the year 1644. The country had always been rent by civil and religious discussions, and the jealousies of the heterogeneous tribes which compose its population. At the time of the rebellion which we speak of, there were no less than three other insurrections in different parts of the empire. None of them, however, attracted such attention in Europe as that known by the name of Tae-ping. Hung-Sin-Tsuen, or, as he calls himself the Tien-Wang, the king of Heaven, its leader, was born in an insignificant village, not far from Canton. His parents were so poor that they could not afford to give him the education necessary to pass the State examinations, for those who seek posts under the government of China. For several years in succession he attended these examinations at Canton, without success. One of these times,

he met an American missionary who gave him a bundle of tracts in Chinese. He took them without noticing them, and laid them aside. Several years after this he had a severe attack of illness, during which he thought he saw visions, and heard wild prophecies about his future. Some time after he accidentally took up the tracts which had been given him, and perused them with attention. They seem to have wrought a great impression on his mind, for he immediately abandoned the system of Confucius, and went to the mountains to preach the new religion which he had devised by combining the Christian worship of God with the materialistic fancies of the Chinese. In 1840, having gained a considerable number of followers, he made an attempt to destroy the Pagan shrines of the Buddhists and Lao-lye. In the disturbance, that ensued two of his adherents were thrown into prison, where one of them died. Disappointed at this failure of his mission, he gave up his preaching for the time, and became a cattle herd. Although he disappeared from public view, he seems still to have been recognized as the leader of the God-worshippers, as his sect was called. Ten years afterward, in 1850, a rebellion broke out in the province of Canton, caused by the wretched condition of the people. The insurgents joined the God-worshippers, and took their name, in order to avail themselves of their influence. The imperialists tried to arrest Sin-Tsuen as their leader, when he, assembling his followers, took possession of a market-house, and fortified himself there. In this way the rebellion commenced. He organized his army, giving the name of Wangs (kings) to his chief officers. His religion, which had previously been a kind of barbarous Christianity, now became corrupted by the influence of his supreme power. He arrogantly called himself the brother of Jesus Christ and the son of God. He declared that he had been to heaven, and had seen his wife there. But with all these vagaries he showed a good deal of military ability. In August of the following year he

captured the city of Yung-au, and left it only to ravage the Province of Hoo-nan, through which he passed, destroying the cities, and devastating the country. In March, 1853, he captured the great city of Nankin, and put more than 20,000 of the inhabitants to death, justifying himself by quotations from the Old Testament.

He established his capital at Nankin, and neglecting the opportunity which lay open to him, of taking Peking by a rapid advance, he passed his time in the seclusion of his harem, composing prayers and proclamations. Before long the imperialists arrived and began to besiege the city, but as long as they did not close the river, the Tae-pings were able to obtain provisions; at last, however, this was effected by a fleet of junks, and starvation threatened the garrison. The Tien-Wang now composed a hymn, declaring that Providence would soon relieve them, which he obliged all his officers to recite every day. When their rations were nearly exhausted, two of the Wangs came up with their forces, and attacked the besiegers in the rear, while a rally was made at the same time from the town. This raised the siege, and the Tae-pings were at liberty. They next attacked Shanghai, but as it was defended by the English naval force with all the advantages of European artillery, they were repulsed with terrible loss.

While the allied forces of France and England were at war with China, the Tae-pings merely pillaged the country in the neighborhood of Nankin; but after the treaty of 1860, they showed more energy, and went so far as to take the free port of Ning-po. They did not molest the foreign merchants in the town, but they slaughtered the native inhabitants without mercy. They then proposed to treat Shanghai in the same way, but the allies warned them that that city was under their protection. Paying no attention to this, they continued to advance, when the allies on their side took the offensive, and attacked them, in April, 1862, and following up the

success which they obtained, in a very short time recaptured the principal cities that were in the hands of the rebels. The European forces, however, were soon compelled by the climate to confine themselves to the defense of Shanghai, and to leave the suppression of the rebellion to the native troops of the emperor.

During this period, the government itself had not been free from dissensions. The Emperor, Hien-ping, on the approach of the allies in 1860, had gone to his country residence in the interior. He died there on the 22d of August, of that year. He had succeeded to the throne while he was very young, and abandoning himself to the pleasures of the harem, he had suffered his power to be exercised by artful courtiers who robbed and oppressed the people. When he died, his son, a boy of seven years old, was proclaimed emperor, under the regency of his father's ministers, and his mother. The prince Kung who was a man of more character and integrity than the rest of the royal family, was not disposed to submit to this arrangement. He accordingly went to Jehoh, where the regency was established, and brought back the young prince and the empress mother to Peking. Here he proclaimed himself and the empress the joint regents of the kingdom, and ordered the ministers to be executed for usurping the power to which they had no claim, not having been appointed by the late emperor.

Prince Kung after establishing his position, turned his attention to improvements in the administration. He proclaimed greater liberties of religion, and opened new ports to foreign trade.

During the following year, the government, aided by France and England, gained many advantages over the insurgents. These victories were, however, attended by loss of many gallant officers. Admiral Protet, of the French navy, was killed in an attack upon Kiu-Ying, and the American General Ward died in September, 1862, from a wound which he received in an engagement



at Ning-po. He was succeeded in the command of the Chinese army by General Burgevine, who was soon obliged to retire in consequence of an altercation with a wealthy mandarin, holding the office of paymaster, about the pay for his troops. The interview ended in his carrying off \$40,000 by force, whereupon the mandarin denounced him as guilty of high treason, and offered a reward for his head, compelling him to take refuge on board a British man-of-war. Captain Holland was assigned to the command, and at the instance of Mr. Burlingame, the American minister, the charges against General Burgevine were withdrawn. The General thereupon joined the insurgents, but he soon became disgusted with their conduct, and left them.

It would be tedious, even if the space allotted to this sketch permitted, to follow out all the details of the movements of the rebels and the imperial army. We shall therefore allude only to the chief results obtained in the different campaigns. During the spring and summer, the English contingent under Major Gordon, captured most of the important town which had been held by the Tae-pings. A large part of the rebel forces surrendered on December 5th at Soochow, having made terms with the Imperialists under Major Gordon; but no sooner did the Chinese enter the city than they violated their treaty, plundering the town, and slaughtering the inhabitants as well as the capitulating army. Major Gordon strove to stop the massacre and to protect the people, but he could do little against the Footai, who was associated with him in the command.

An appeal was made to the Chinese government against the native officers, but no clear decision was obtained. About this time a good deal of interest was excited in England by a rather complicated negotiation between some English shipbuilders and the Chinese officials, in which the government of Great Britain was implicated.

The year 1864 opened with new disasters for the Tae-ping rebellion. Major Gordon in

the beginning of the year captured the cities of E-shing and Ly-ing, with a very slight loss of men, and compelled about twenty thousand rebels to lay down their arms. By the capture of this latter place the rebel district was divided into two portions, and communications were opened with the Imperialists. An attack upon the town of Kuitang, on the 21st of March, was repulsed with severe loss to the assaulting party, and Major Gordon himself was severely wounded.

The Tae-pings had now increased their army with ten or fifteen thousand of the most ferocious of the Chinese tribes. They travelled without any commissariat, devastating the country and committing horrible outrages upon the inhabitants, and they made no distinction in their violence between natives and foreigners. Gordon, after his repulse at Kuitang, determined on attacking this body of rebels. In the first engagement the Imperialists met with little success, but in April Major Gordon took the command in person and defeated a greatly superior force of the Tae-pings at Waisoo, and then moved upon the city of Chang-chow-foo, which he captured after a siege of some weeks. Soon afterward he retired from the Chinese service, in consequence of the violation of an agreement which he had made with the enemy, concerning the safety of some prisoners. After obtaining his discharge from active service he still aided the Chinese by his counsel, and by drilling their soldiers in a camp of instruction, which he formed at Shanghae. The city of Nankin, for a long time the headquarters of the rebellion, fell into the hands of the Imperialists on the 19th of July. It was entered by a breach made in the walls by a mine. The palace of Tien-Wang, the leader of the rebellion, was found burnt to ashes, and it was reported that he himself lay buried under the ruins. Chung Wang, one of the Tae-ping generals, was taken, and by the command of the emperor was "cut into a thousand pieces."

The Tae-pings again collected their forces and obtained at first some small advantages

over the Imperialists, but in November they were totally defeated, with the loss of their chiefs, in a battle fought in the province of Kiang-ti. Although their main army was thus entirely broken up and destroyed, scattered bands in different parts of the country still kept up the rebellion, and contributed, with two other insurrections which were then in progress, to keep up the confusion of the empire. The American general, Burgevine, was arrested by the mandarins in May, while on his way to join the Tae-pings at Changchow. His release was refused by the viceroy, and it was afterward officially announced that he had been drowned with other prisoners.

In the beginning of the year 1865, the rebellion of the Mohammedan Dhurganes in Western Tartary, which had broken out in 1862, took a more formidable shape, and increased so rapidly that in a few months the entire province of Ili, and the rest of western Tartary, passed beyond the control of the Chinese. The insurrection, also, of the Nien-Fu, which likewise had begun some time before now, rose to considerable prominence, and in the middle of the summer, with the assistance of some of the Mohammedans and Tae-pings, they advanced to Peking with the design of attacking it, but they were repulsed by the Imperialists. By this defeat the power of the Nien-Fu was completely shattered, and we hear little more of them as an independent force.

While the Imperial government was thus successful over its enemies, it did not neglect the reforms which were so much needed in its foreign policy. It encouraged native industry by removing the restrictions which had formerly been placed on trade, and encouraged intercourse with other nations. The Chinese were allowed to purchase foreign ships and to sail them themselves. With the greater facilities allowed to missionaries, Christianity began to make greater progress. Postal communications were regularly established throughout the empire, and new lines of steamers were established. The most im-

portant event to the United States in 1866, was the commencement of direct trade between China and the Pacific coast by the line of steamships of the Pacific Mail Company, which promises to bring a great part of the Eastern trade to the United States.

On the 12th of March, 1867, the American bark, *Rover*, of Port Jefferson, L. I., commanded by Captain Hunt, was wrecked on the island of Formosa, and the captain and crew were massacred. One of the crew, a Chinaman, managed to escape, and brought the news to the United States Consul at Swatoo. The general of the island, a Tartar, promised satisfaction, upon the representations of the Americans, but as he neglected any farther proceedings, Admiral Bell, the commander of the United States squadron, sent an expedition, composed of the *Hartford* and the *Wyoming*, to the scene of the massacre. They encountered the Formosans on the 13th of June. Owing to the extreme heat of the sun, and the impossibility of drawing the enemy from their jungle, the parties dispatched from the ships were compelled to withdraw. In this fight Lieut.-Commander Mackenzie was killed. The Chinese authorities were subsequently compelled to establish a military post on the island, and to guarantee the security of Americans.

One of the most remarkable events of the time, and one which shows the progress of China in European civilization, was the foundation of a college at Peking for the study of foreign languages and science.

By an Imperial decree November 21, 1867, the American minister to China, Mr. Anson Burlingame, was appointed a special ambassador to the foreign powers, to revise the treaties between them and the Chinese government, with power to adjust the complications which have hitherto arisen in their commercial intercourse. He left Peking in December for the United States, with an embassy composed of two Chinese officials of high rank, Chih Kang and Sun Chia Ku, six Chinese student interpreters, two speaking English, two French, and two Russian. Mr.







E. Drechsler.

1871

1871

Painting by Chappie

in the



J. McLeary Brown, of the British Legation, and Mr. E. Deschamps, a French gentleman, were appointed secretaries. Leaving Shanghai in February, the embassy first went to Japan, where they remained but a short time owing to the impossibility of carrying out any negotiations during the revolutionary disturbance then going on.

Mr. Burlingame and his suite finally arrived in the United States by the new line of steamers to San Francisco, and after concluding a treaty at Washington, by which important rights and privileges were guaranteed to Americans, and visiting the principal cities of the United States, he proceeded to Europe to revise the treaties of China with the European powers.

Of the spirit and object of his mission he himself says: "The mission means progress. It means that China desires to come into warmer and more intimate relations with the

West. It means that she desires to come under the obligations of international law, to the end that she may enjoy the advantages of that law. It means that China, conscious of her own integrity, wishes to have her questions stated; that she is willing to submit her questions to the general judgment of mankind. It means that she intends to come into the brotherhood of nations. It means commerce; it means peace; it means a unification in its own interests of the whole human race. It means that it is one of the mightiest movements of modern times. And though the ephemeral mission may pass away that great movement will go on. The great deed is done. The paternal feeling of four hundred millions of people has commenced to flow, through the land of Washington, to the older nations of the West, and it will flow on forever.'

## JAPAN.

IN history, the Japanese do not make the same pretence to extravagant antiquity as the Hindus and Chinese. They are content with going back to the commencement of the reign of their first spiritual monarch, whose name was Sinmu, or at full length Sinmu Tenu, meaning "the supreme of all men," and the "divine conqueror," a descendant of the gods. He was the first emperor, the supposed civilizer of the Japanese, and ascended the throne 660 B. C. From him to A. D. 71, there reigned only ten emperors, which gives an average of 73 years to each reign! The first of these emperors is reported to have lived 167 years, and to have reigned 79, and the last of them to have lived 139 years and to have reigned 98. From A. D. 71 to 1690, there reigned 104 emperors, which makes the average duration of a reign in this period only 15 years and 7 months, its shortness being in a good measure ascribable to the very frequent practice of abdication, sometimes voluntary, and sometimes compulsory. Borrowing from Kæmpfer, we may notice a few of the most remarkable events of this long period. In 693 the art of brewing saki was discovered. In 749, gold, which had heretofore been imported from China, was first discovered in Japan. In 788 a strange people, not Chinese, invaded Japan, and their final expulsion involved a war of eighteen years. In 1147 was born Yortiomoto, the first secular emperor. Placed in command of an army to suppress a rebellion, this personage used the power thus entrusted to him for his

own aggrandizement, by usurping nearly the whole temporal power of his sovereign, leaving him little more than the spiritual, and thus establishing the form of government which has existed down to our time. In 1284 the Mogul Tartar conquerors of China invaded Japan with an armada of 4000 ships, carrying a force, according to the Japanese, of 240,000 men. This was the celebrated expedition of Kublai Khan (grandson of the renowned Genghis,) the patron of Marco Polo. This great armada was nearly destroyed by a storm. Had it effected a landing in sufficient force, it is probably that it would have made a conquest of Japan, as the people who fitted it out had just made of China.

Japan was first made known to Europe by Marco Polo, who was in China at the time of the Mogul expedition. This, however, did not lead to its discovery. A Chinese junk, manned by Portuguese, was driven upon its coast by a storm in 1542, forty-four years after the arrival of the Portuguese in India. In 1549, seven years after the discovery, the Jesuits, headed by Francis Xavier, the famous apostle of the Indies, made their appearance in Japan, and forthwith the labor of converting the inhabitants went on prosperously until 1587, or for thirty-eight years, when it was partially arrested by the first persecution, which was of no great severity. That took place under the Emperor Taico Sama, the most illustrious of all the secular emperors of Japan—a man who, by mere force of character, had, from the condition of



a hewer of wood, raised himself to the throne. "The heathen priesthood," says Kæmpfer, "took alarm at the rapid spread of Christianity; and, in 1587, the emperor issued a proclamation prohibiting his subjects, under pain of death, from embracing the new religion; and several persons were executed for disobedience." It does not appear however, that more than six or seven and twenty suffered on this occasion. The son of Taico, himself an usurper, was dethroned by another usurper; and under him the persecution of Christianity became terrible, for, in 1590, it is stated that no fewer than 20,570 Christians were put to death. Another persecution followed in 1597, when among others that suffered were some European priests, who were crucified. After this, however, a lull of forty years took place, when the persecution was renewed in 1637; and in a single day of the ensuing year, the 12th of April, 37,000 Christians were put to death. The persecutions of Roman emperors were trifles to such wholesale butcheries. For the two following years the Spaniards and Portuguese were finally expelled the empire. The Romish priesthood boast that before the first persecution they had made 1,800,000 converts, and that in the year that followed it they had made 12,000; so that in all they had probably converted not fewer than two millions of the Japanese, reckoning among their proselytes several of the vassal princes.

The decree which isolated Japan from the rest of the world is as follows:—"No Japanese ship or boat whatsoever, nor any native of Japan, shall presume to go out of the country. Whoso acts contrary to this shall die, and the ship, with the crew and goods aboard, shall be sequestered, till further orders. All Japanese who return from abroad shall be put to death. Whoever discovers a Christian priest shall have a reward of from 400 to 500 schuets (from £305 to £381), and for every Christian in proportion. All persons who propagate the doctrine of the Christians (the worship of the fathers), or bear this scandalous name, shall be imprisoned in

the Ombra or common jail of the town. The whole race of the Portuguese, with their mothers, nurses, and whoever belongs to them, shall be banished to Macao. Whoever presumes to bring a letter from abroad, or to return after he has been banished, shall die, with all his family; also whoever presumes to intercede for him shall be put to death. No nobleman nor any soldier shall be suffered to purchase goods of any kind from a foreigner."

The Japanese government acted fully up to the letter of its bloody decree of prescription. In 1640, three years after its publication, and the year which immediately followed the practical expulsion of the Portuguese and Spaniards, the Portuguese government of Macao sent a mission to Japan, which, with its retinue, amounted in all to seventy-three persons. On their arrival at Nagasaki, the parties were arrested, and an order came in due time from the capital directing them to be beheaded, and it was carried into effect on all but twelve of the meanest persons, reserved for the purpose of carrying back a threatening message, to the effect that, "Should the king of Portugal, nay, the very God of the Christians, presume to enter his dominions, he would serve them in the very same manner."

The ceremony of trampling on the cross was instituted on the expulsion of the Christians, and seems still to be persevered in. It seems, however, always to have been confined to those parts in which the Christian religion had obtained the chief footing,—namely, the town of Nagasaki, and the provinces of Omura and Bungo, in the island of Kiu-siu. This is Kæmpfer's account of it:—"Another solemn and important act, in their opinion, is performed in the beginning of the year. This is the Jefume, that is, in the strictest sense, 'the figure-treading,' because they trample over the image of our blessed Saviour extended on the cross, and that of his holy mother, or some other saint, as a convincing and unquestionable proof that they for ever renounce Christ and his religion.

This detestable solemnity begins in the second day of the first month."

The proscription of one particular form of worship, while so many other religions or sects were tolerated, or viewed with indifference, is easily explained. The new religion was propagated by an energetic race of men, and its votaries inspired with an active zeal unknown to all the old forms of worship. Christianity, in a word, was proscribed, not on account of its tenets, but on account of the danger apprehended from those who taught it. The persecution was not a religious but a political one. Its ministers and followers threatened the subversion of the native government and institutions, and the substitution of a foreign yoke. They were deemed guilty of high treason, and punished according to the bloody code of Japan. According to the Japanese notions, a dangerous insurrection was suppressed by the extermination of the insurgents. In this matter the Japanese acted with foresight; for there can be little doubt but that the Portuguese and Spaniards would, in due course, and through the instrumentality of the Catholic religion, have effected the conquest of Japan, unless we suppose them, which is highly improbable, to have acted with a forbearance which neither Spaniards, Dutch, nor English have exhibited in other parts of the East. The Japanese not only saw this, but very plainly expressed it. Thus, when the Spanish governor of the Philippines, in the year 1597, sent an envoy to the Emperor Taico Sama to remonstrate with him respecting his persecution of the Christians, he thus addressed the Spanish official,—“Conceive yourselves in my position the ruler of a great empire, and suppose certain of my subjects should find their way into your possessions, on the pretence of teaching the doctrine of Sinto. If you should discover their assumed zeal in the cause of religion to be a mere mask for ambitious projects; that their real object was to make themselves masters of your dominions, would not you treat them as traitors to the state? I hold the Fathers to be traitors to my state,

and as such I treat them. You would do the same.”

The priests of the various ancient forms of worship, a numerous body,—for in the ecclesiastical capital alone they amounted to 52,169, with 6,020 temples,—were equally interested with the government in the suppression of the rival, and to them dangerous religion. The violence, insolence, and indiscretion of the Fathers, provoked the native priesthood beyond bearing. The Jesuits eulogize one of the converted tributary chiefs for his zeal, alleging that he had destroyed heathen temples and monasteries reckoned by some at no fewer than 3,000. Some of these tributary princes even went the length of sending an embassy to the Pope, and king of Spain, which the emperor would not fail to consider as an act of high treason. About the time that the first edict against Christianity was published, the emperor, who was the celebrated Taico Sama, dispatched two imperial commissioners to Father Cuello, the vice-provincial, demanding an answer and explanation to the following questions:—“Why he and his associates forced their creed on the subjects of the empire? Why they incited their disciples to destroy the national temples? Why they persecuted the bonzes? Why they and the rest of their nation used for food animals useful to man, such as oxen and cows? And finally, why they permitted the merchants of their nation to traffic in his subjects, and carry them away as slaves to the Indies?” Evasive answers only were given to these demands, but the destruction of the temples and the traffic in slaves were not denied. With such provocations as these, we cannot wonder at persecution, although shocked at the ferocity and vindictiveness of its excesses. “Now,” says Kämpfer, “as to the fall of the Portuguese, I heard it often affirmed by people of great credit among Japanese themselves, that pride and covetousness in the first place,—pride amongst the great, and covetousness in the people of less note,—contributed very much to render the whole nation odious.” In our time the



persecution, with the murder of ambassadors, would certainly be avenged by an invasion, very probably ending in a conquest of Japan. Even in the seventeenth century, Spain would probably have engaged in such an enterprise from the Philippines, had she not about this time been separated from Portugal; and the naval superiority of the Dutch, in alliance with the Japanese, proved an insuperable obstacle.

The Dutch made their first appearance in Japan in 1600, fifty-eight years after its discovery by the Portuguese, and about half-a-century after the latter nation had been carrying on trade with it. In common with the Portuguese, and eventually with the Spaniards, they carried on with it an active and profitable intercourse, down to the time of the exclusion of these two nations. The seat of this commerce was Firando, in the island of Kiu-siu. When the last persecution of Catholic Christianity was in progress, the Dutch furnished information of the political intrigues of their commercial rivals to the Japanese. They were called upon to assist in destroying the last refuge of the Japanese Christians in Simabarra, in Kiu-siu, and effected with the cannon of their ships what had baffled the skill of the imperial forces. This last event happened in 1639, and two years after, imperial commissioners arrived in Firando to remonstrate with them respecting what appeared to be very venial proceedings. They were thus addressed: "In former times, it was well known to us, that you both served Christ, but on account of the bitter enmity you ever bore each other, we imagined there were two Christs. Now, however, the emperor is assured to the contrary. Now, he knows, you both serve one and the same Christ. From any indication of serving him, you must for the future forbear. Moreover, on certain buildings which you have newly erected, there is a date carved, which is reckoned from the birth of Christ. These buildings you must raze to the ground forthwith." The order was incontinently complied with, but their prompt obedience did

not save the Dutch from being removed in 1641 from Firando and its comparative liberty to the virtual imprisonment on the island of Dezima in the harbor of Nagasaki.

In 1613 we have the first authentic information of the English having attempted an intercourse with Japan, but it is certain, from the accurate information concerning it given by the Elizabethan writer whom we have more than once quoted, that they must have frequented it much earlier. William Adams, an Englishman, who acted as pilot to the first Dutch vessel that arrived at Japan, and settled there, induced his countrymen to attempt to establish a trade. Accordingly, a ship called the Clove, commanded by Capt. John Saris, was dispatched for Japan, and reached Firando on the 11th of June, 1613.

Adams, who stood in high favor, obtained for his countrymen a most favorable reception, and, in a letter to the King of England, the emperor desires "the continuance of friendship with your Highness—and that it may stand with your good liking to send your subjects to any part or port of our dominions, where they shall be most heartily welcome; applauding much their worthiness in the admirable knowledge of navigation, having with much facility discovered a country so remote, being no whit amazed with the distance of so mighty a gulf, nor greatness of such infinite clouds and storms, from prosecuting honorable enterprises of discoveries and merchandizing—wherein they shall find me to further them according to their desires." The English, however, did not succeed, and, after a ten year's trial, in which they expended £40,000, they withdrew from the country.

In 1653 a fruitless attempt was made to renew their intercourse with Japan, said to have been defeated by the Dutch informing the Japanese that the Queen of England was a daughter of the King of Portugal. The failure is not to be regretted, since it is certain that under the blighting influence of a monopoly, trade could not have prospered in Japan, or anywhere else.

It is not necessary to advert to any of the subsequent small and futile attempts made to open an intercourse with the long-locked empire of Japan, since they are all superseded by the more successful attempts recently made.

To America undoubtedly belongs the credit of having been the first to re-establish commercial relations with Japan. The increased traffic in this part of the world, particularly between Eastern Asia and North-Western America, and the importance of the whale-fishery in the Japanese seas, had rendered it very desirable to have free access to at least some of the ports of Japan. Repeated attempts had been made by England, Russia, and the United States, but without success, when at length the United States government resolved to make an effort worthy of the object, and accordingly fitted out an expedition under the command of Commodore M. C. Perry. The commodore sailed from Norfolk in the Mississippi war steamer, on 24th November 1852, to be followed as soon as possible by the other vessels of the expedition. He arrived in the Bay of Yeddo on 8th July 1853, with four vessels, two war-steamer and two sloops of war, and after some negotiations he delivered the letter of the President, promising to return for an answer in the spring. The rest of the year was spent at Loo Choo and China, and on 12th February 1854, the squadron reappeared in the Bay of Yeddo, having by this time been increased to nine vessels, three steam-frigates, four sloops of war, and two store-ships. A treaty was concluded on the 31st of March, in terms of which the ports of Simoda in the island of Nipon, and Hakodadi in Yesso, are opened for the reception of American ships, where they will be supplied with wood, water, provisions, coal, and other articles, so far as the Japanese possess them. Ships in distress, or from stress of weather, may enter other ports; and seamen shipwrecked on any part of the coast are to be aided and carried to either Simoda or Hakodadi. Shipwrecked seamen and others

temporarily residing at these ports are, at Simoda, free to go anywhere within the limits of 17 English miles from a small island in the harbor, and in like manner at Hakodadi within 12 miles. Ships of the United States are also permitted to trade under such regulations as shall be temporarily established by the Japanese government for that purpose. All the privileges that may hereafter be granted to any other nation are to be accorded to the United States. On the 7th of September following, an English squadron, consisting of a frigate and three steamers, under the command of Rear-Admiral Sir James Stirling, entered the harbor of Nagasaki. The primary object of this visit to Japan was to search for Russian vessels, but it was also intended to attempt to establish friendly relations between the two nations. A treaty was entered into, the effect of which is to open absolutely and at once to British ships of every description, for effecting repairs and obtaining fresh water, provisions and other supplies, two of the most convenient harbors in Japan—Nagasaki and Hakodadi;—to open inferentially to British ships in distress any other port in Japan it may be expedient for them to seek shelter in; to secure eventually to British ships and subjects in every port of Japan which may hereafter be open to foreigners, equal advantages with the ships and subjects of the most favored nation, excepting only the advantages at present accorded to the Dutch and Chinese. It imposes, in return for these concessions, no other obligation on British ships and subjects than that of respecting the laws and ordinances of the ports they visit. More recently the Russians have succeeded in obtaining a similar footing in Japan. On the 17th of June a new treaty with the United States was negotiated by the Consul General Mr. Townsend Harris, by which the port of Nagasaki in addition to Simoda and Hakodadi was opened to American commerce, and additional privileges granted to American merchants. Subsequently, Mr. Harris concluded a still more favorable treaty, and the earl of



Elgin also obtained new advantages for the British trade. About this time the reigning tycoon of Japan died and was succeeded by his son. The famous Japanese embassy which attracted so much attention in the United States, and particularly in New York, where their reception furnished an opportunity for an extraordinary display of civic munificence, left Yeddo in 1860. After negotiating their treaty at Washington, they visited the principal cities and returned to Japan in the same year. This advance towards intercourse with foreign nations seems to have excited some opposition among the more conservative nobles of the empire, who were not disposed to give up their hereditary prejudices, for soon after the return of the expedition to the United States, the prime minister was assassinated, by the instigation of Prince Mito, as it was supposed. A short time after Prince Mito himself was killed, and an attack was made on several of the foreign representatives in Japan. The consul of the Netherlands was killed, and Mr. Olyphant of the British legation was wounded. An effort was made to bring the murderers to justice, and a number of them were discovered and executed. Mr. Alcock, the British minister, however, was not satisfied, and endeavored to excite his country to a war with Japan. The American minister, Mr. Townsend Harris, on the other hand, strove to promote peace with the United States, maintaining that the safety of foreign commerce would be better secured by showing a friendly disposition and honorably carrying out the treaties which had been made. In 1861, ambassadors were sent from Japan to France and England, but the embassy in neither case was accompanied by nobles, as was that which came to the United States. In the same year, Mr. Harris asked to be relieved on the ground of ill health, and Mr. Robert H. Pruyn, of Albany, was appointed in his place.

As has been said already, the opening of foreign trade produced two violent parties in the State. The Tycoon was the leader of

those friendly to foreign intercourse, while the Mikado, the spiritual emperor and actual reigning prince, was the chief of the opposition. The nobles who were generally on the side of the emperor, were engaged continually in instigating conspiracies against the Europeans and those who favored them. The violence of this faction now rendered it unsafe for any foreigner to remain in the country. In 1862, two English marines were murdered, and subsequently, a party of English travellers were attacked in a public road, and one of them was killed. Colonel Neale, the British representative, was instructed to demand reparation, and a fleet under Admiral Kuper was sent to support his requisition. The British government required the execution of the murderers, a formal apology from the Japanese, and a heavy indemnity in money. The French government at the same time instructed their fleet at Japan to assist the English if necessary. The Japanese officials at first tried to evade the question by endeavoring to throw the responsibility on the independent princes. by this means they obtained some delay, but Colonel Neale, at last, seeing that they had no intention of compliance, placed the matter in the hands of the fleet. The threat of an immediate bombardment of Yeddo, had the result of making the Japanese place the sum of 2,500,000 pounds in the hands of the British Ambassador.

The American representative, Mr. Pruyn, had succeeded amid all this difficulty, in keeping on friendly terms with the government. After the other foreign ministers had left, he still remained at Yeddo. On June 24th, all the foreign ambassadors were told that the emperor was determined to expel all the barbarians and to close the ports. Mr. Pruyn replied, that American citizens would still remain in Japan, and that the treaty of the United States would protect them if necessary. A few days after this, an American steamer was attacked in the Straits of Simonosaki, by two Japanese vessels. The steamer succeeded in escaping, and Mr. Pruyn

dispatched the United States Steamer Wyoming, on the 16th of July, to the place. After a short fight she destroyed both the Japanese vessels, and silenced the batteries on shore, losing in the engagement four killed and seven wounded.

About the same time, the French naval force had an encounter at the same place. Soon afterwards, a meeting of the foreign representatives was held at Yokohama, and it was agreed, that the inland sea which the outrageous acts of the Prince of Nagato had closed, should be forcibly opened by the naval forces of the United States, France, Great Britain, and the Netherlands. Mr. Seward, in answer to the representations of the American minister, sent him instructions to demand full compliance with the treaty and large indemnity for the outrages which had been committed. In consequence of the failure of Colonel Neale's negotiations with the Prince of Satsuma, Admiral Neale proceeded with the English to Ragodima, the stronghold of that potentate, and, on the 14th of August, he attacked the forts and city, and destroyed three Japanese vessels that were in the harbor and several junks. The town was said to have been completely demolished. The fleet lost two officers and seven sailors. Though the result of the engagement was not as great as was expected, the Prince was induced to send ambassadors to Colonel Neale, and it was finally arranged that he should pay the sum which had been demanded, and that he should try to bring the murderers of Mr. Richardson to justice.

This lesson from the English and the demonstration of the United States and France which had preceded it, had a wholesome effect on the people; for, although the internal dissensions of the government with respect to foreigners did not cease, yet no more outrages were perpetrated for some time. The native party, however, was still strong; and, in less than a year afterwards, another attack by the Prince of Nagato on a United States vessel, and at the same time the refusal of the authorities to ratify a treaty with

France which had been concluded by their ambassadors, caused a second expedition for the purpose of putting a stop to the outrages of the native princes. The allied fleets of Great Britain, France, and Holland, attacked the forts at Simarosaki on the 5th of September. No American vessel of war was at Japan at that time, but the flag of the United States was displayed from a steamer chartered by the American minister. The next day a body of marines were landed, and the works were taken by assault. After this the expedition moved on to Hakusima, but they found that the natives had already retired, alarmed at the destructive power of the Armstrong guns, which had been so effectively employed on the day before. A flag of truce was presently sent off from the shore, asking that terms for peace might be considered. The result of the negotiations was a treaty, by which the prince complied with all the demands of foreign ministers, and the Gorogio, or Council of State, promised never again to oppose the intercourse of the people with other nations.

This treaty, however, was no better observed than the others which preceded it, and towards the end of the next year the foreign ministers were again obliged to call in the aid of the navy. The appearance of the force proved sufficient, and negotiations were entered upon without the usual preliminary bombardment. Although during their councils the Japanese thus managed to maintain peace with the Europeans, the violent struggle between the parties in the government almost created a civil war among themselves. At length, however, the Daimios were obliged to yield, and the Mikado finally ratified the treaty which had been demanded by the English, French, and Dutch representatives. The most important privileges thus obtained were considered to be the opening of the ports of Osaka and Hiogo, which took place on the first of January, 1868.

The new Tycoon, Stotbashi, entered upon the duties of his position in January, 1867. He showed a more enlightened spirit than



his predecessors, and seemed to appreciate the advantages which his country would derive from a more unrestricted trade with foreigners. Such opinions of course aroused the hostility of the nobles, and conspiracies against his life were frequent, and there were rumors of his assassination. Unable to exercise the functions of his office amid this opposition, he resigned his power in December, 1867, to the new Mikado. These changes in the government have had no influence on the foreign policy of Japan. The treaties with foreign nations are now tolerably well observed, although outrages on foreign vessels by some of the half independent princes still occur occasionally. The in-

creased facilities of intercourse with Japan, and the growing importance of her commerce, have excited of late years more interest in the institutions and customs of her people, but the operation of her government, the different powers of her officers, and the relation of the Tycoon to the Mikado, are still very indistinctly understood.

A fact which serves to show the introduction of Western ideas and civilization into Japan, in spite of the conservatism of the people, is the order for \$25,000 worth of American school books and apparatus, which was given to a New York publisher by the last embassy which passed through Washington.

## THE ORIENTAL ARCHIPELAGO.

IT is only from the time of the Javanese conversion to the Mohammedan religion, which all parties are agreed in asserting to have been consummated by the overthrow of the most potent Hindu state of the island in 1478, that the history of JAVA begins to have some faint semblance of congruity. All that transpired previous to this date is more a matter of archæology than of history or chronology. They possess chronological tables, but in these the earlier period is palpably fabulous; the dates, after the manner of the Hindus, being expressed, not in numeral characters, or in words representing numbers, but in mystical terms, differently interpreted by different parties. It is a favorite notion with Javanese chronologists that the islands of Sumatra, Java, Bali, Lombok and Sumbawa, formed at one time a continuous land, and they assign precise dates preposterously modern, to the times in which they became so many different islands. Sumatra, according to these statements, was separated from Java in the year 1192, Bali from Java in 1282, and Lombok from Sumbawa in 1350,

that is above half a century after Marco Polo had passed through the Archipelago.

From the eleventh century the Javanese chronology assumes an air of at least some feasibility; but even from that time down to 1478, there is much discrepancy between different statements, according as the mystic words in which dates are expressed are interpreted. Thus, the "thousand temples" of Brambanan, the finest remains of Hinduism in the island, are said by one account to have been built in 1096, and by another in 1266.

The great events of Javanese history are the respective conversions of the people to Hinduism and Mohammedanism. Of the time when the first of these took place, or the manner in which it was brought about, we have no positive information. The evidence derived from language and ancient monuments, sufficiently attests the general prevalence, if not, indeed, the universality of some form or modification of the religion of the Hindus over the island; but anything beyond this is matter of inference or conjecture. Ancient states existed which had ac-

quired a considerable amount of civilization and power, as is shown by the ruins of palaces and temples; but none of them had any durability,—none of them ruled over the whole island, while several of them, according to tradition, existed at one and the same time.

The Hindus, it is highly probable, migrated to Java and established their religion in it at a very early period, probably as early as the sixth century. That the Hindus and their religion, however, existed in Java from the end of the thirteenth to that of the fifteenth century, is a matter of certainty, proved by monumental dates entirely reliable.

The history of the conversion of the Javanese to the religion of Mohammed, even at this comparatively recent period, is much enveloped in fable. The parties who effected the conversion were the mixed descendants of Arabs, Persians, Malays, and Mohammedans of Hindustan,—parties who had settled on its northern coast for the purposes of trade; who were intimately acquainted with the natives of their country and their language; and who, in process of time, had acquired wealth and influence. Of such men were the real missionaries of Islam in Java composed, and the work of conversion was certainly a slow one. As early as the year of our time 1358, an unsuccessful attempt had been made by missionaries of this description to convert the Sunda nation. Another was made in 1391 to convert the proper Javanese; and the tomb of one of the reputed saints who made this attempt, one Maulana Ibrahim, still exists in Gressik, bearing the year of Salivana, 1334, or of our time 1412. In the year of Christ 1460, the Mohammedan converts assembled a force for the conquest of Majapait, the capital of the principal Hindu state, but were defeated; and it was not until 1478, eighteen years after, that they succeeded in capturing the capital, overthrowing the state, and establishing their own power and faith.

It was in the reign of the second prince of this dynasty, that the Dutch made their first appearance in Java, under Houtman, in 1595.

In 1610 they obtained permission from the Sunda prince of Jacatra, to build a fort near to the spot on which now stands the city of Batavia. In 1619 this fort was besieged by the joint forces of the princes of Jacatra and Bantam, aided and abetted by the English. It was relieved by a Dutch fleet under Admiral Koen, and the assailants defeated and driven off. It was after this event that the name of Batavia, first given to the fortress, was bestowed on the town. In 1628 Batavia was besieged by a numerous army sent against it by the reigning prince of Mataram, with the hope of expelling the Dutch from the island; but by the skill and courage of the European garrison, the rude and disorderly host was baffled and routed. From this time the history of Java is properly that of its European conquerors. No considerable territorial acquisition, however, was made until 1677, when the Dutch obtained a cession of the principality of Jacatra. From that time up to the year 1830, every war carried on by them with the native princes, whether as principals or auxiliaries, invariably ended in a cession of territory to the former; so that, at present, hardly one-fourteenth part of the island is in possession of native rulers, and even that is entirely tributary and dependent.

Of the early history of SUMATRA we know next to nothing. Mohammedanism is said to have been first introduced in the thirteenth century, when the Arabians were in the habit of undertaking voyages to the East Indies and to China. About the end of the twelfth century the Malays began to spread themselves from their original seats in Sumatra over the peninsula of Malacca and the Sunda Islands, where they continued to be the dominant race until the fourteenth century. When the Portuguese landed here in 1509, they found that the ancient Malay kingdom of Menangcabau had been dissolved; but there was a powerful monarch ruling over Acheen, who endeavored to exclude the strangers from his country. In 1575 the Portuguese shipping in the harbor of Acheen



was destroyed by the natives, and in 1582 an attempt which they made to gain possession of the town proved quite unsuccessful. No permanent settlement was made on the island till 1600, when the Dutch established a factory at Pulo Chinko, on the west coast. The kingdom of Acheen had by this time begun to decline in power, being distracted by internal wars and discords. The success of the Dutch was at first greatly promoted here, as in the other parts of the East Indies, by the fact that they arrived at a time when the natives were bitterly and justly exasperated against the Portuguese, on account of the oppression and cruelty which they in many cases exhibited, and to which the conduct of the new-comers afforded a favorable contrast. But it soon appeared that the commercial eagerness of the Dutch was no less grasping and aggressive than had been the Portuguese lust of plunder and conquest. They rapidly increased the number of their factories and settlements, founding one at Padang in 1649, at Palembang in 1664, and in many other parts of the island, and securing to themselves the monopoly of the profitable trade in pepper.

The English followed the Dutch in this island, and founded a colony at Bencoolen in 1685; but they never made so much progress here as their rivals. In 1811, the Dutch settlements in the East Indies fell into the hands of the British; Holland having been at that time annexed by Napoleon to France. But by the peace of 1816 these colonies were restored to the Dutch, who have since retained them. In 1824 they exchanged the settlement of Malacca for the British colony of Bencoolen. A singular war which took place subsequently in Sumatra led to a material extension of the Dutch possessions. It was occasioned by a religious sect called Padries, who first made their appearance here about the beginning of the century. Their principles were at first harmless enough, being simply abstinence from gambling, smoking opium, and drinking intoxicating liquors; and, for about eighteen years, they

flourished in peace. But about 1815 a society of this sect was formed for the purpose of spreading their doctrines and practices by force; and this speedily roused resistance and opposition. The Malays and Battas made common cause against the Padries; and for a long time a fierce struggle was carried on, which devastated Menangkabau and the neighboring regions. At length the assistance of the Dutch was called in against the Padries, and with their help the sect was entirely put down. The indirect results of this war were the annexation of Menangkabau to the Dutch possessions, in 1835, and the opening up to them of the Batta country, from which foreigners had previously been excluded.

BORNEO is one of the largest islands in the world, being 1,500 miles in circumference. It is seated under the equator, and occupies nearly the centre of the eastern archipelago. The west and northeast sides of it are a desert, and the east is comparatively little known. The inland parts are mountainous; and the southeast, for many leagues together, is an unwholesome morass.

Borneo was discovered by the Portuguese in 1521. The English and Portuguese several times attempted to found establishments on its coasts without success. The sovereignty of the south coast was ceded to the Dutch by the sultan of Banjarmassin in 1787; but the most important event in the recent history of Borneo is the enterprise of Sir James Brooke, who first visited the island in 1839, and has since been actively engaged in the suppression of piracy, the diffusion of education, and the encouragement of commerce and manufactures.

The Dyaks are divided into numerous tribes, the chief being those of the interior, or hill Dyaks, and the Dyaks of the coast, many of whom are daring pirates. The Dyaks of the north coast have been conquered by the Malays, who treat them with great cruelty. The island is divided into many separate states, governed by native chiefs;

the best known of these is Borneo Proper, which extends over the level space on the north coast. On the north coast, near the northwest part of the island, is the territory of Sarawak, which was placed under the rajahship of Sir James Brooke. This territory enjoys an excellent climate, and is rich in mineral and agricultural products.

THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS were discovered in 1521 by Magelhaens, who named them the Archipelago of St. Lazarus. In 1565 they were taken possession of by a fleet which was dispatched from Mexico, in consequence of orders from Philip II. of Spain, and first stopped at the island of Zebu, which was soon wholly subdued. In 1570 a fleet sailed from the island of Panay for Luzon, and after several engagements with the princes of the country, effected a settlement on the Bay of Manilla. In 1571 the Spanish admiral took possession of the town of Manilla, which he constituted the capital of the Spanish possessions in the Philippines (so named after Philip II.), and proceeded in his reduction of the island under the Spanish authority. Towards the conclusion of the sixteenth century a considerable trade was openly carried on with Japan; and many rich cargoes were brought from that country to Manilla, which had now become an emporium of the trade with China, Java, the coast of Coromandel and Mexico. In 1590 the island of Sooloo was attacked by the Spaniards, but they were repulsed with great slaughter by the natives; nor could the Spanish maritime force make any impression on the Soloo pirates, who continued for nearly three centuries the scourge of these seas. In 1762 Manilla was attacked by the British under Admiral Cornish and General Draper, and the place was stormed

on the 5th of October. A capitulation was agreed upon next day, when, in order to redeem the city from general plunder, a ransom was agreed upon of one million sterling. Manilla was restored to the Spaniards at the peace of 1763, and has ever since remained in their possession. Besides Manilla and the larger establishments in Luzon, the Spaniards have many smaller settlements scattered over the islands to the southward; but they were long unable to protect them against the attacks of the pirates who infest these seas. In 1851, however, the governor-general sent an expedition against the Sooloo islands, with a view to putting a stop to these attacks. In this he proved successful, having destroyed the power of the sultan of Sooloo, and formed a settlement in the principal island.

The MOLUCCAS were first visited by the Portuguese in 1510; but shortly after, their right of possession was disputed by the Spaniards under Magelhaens, at the head of a small fleet sent out by Charles V. This dispute at length terminated in favor of the latter. It was not till 1596 that the Dutch made any permanent settlements on these islands. The Dutch East India Company, founded in 1603, had obtained in 1618 the supremacy over many of the princes of the Moluccas, who were allowed to retain their authority subject to the company. This company was dissolved in 1795, and the Moluccas became immediate dependencies of Holland. During the French war of 1796, however, they were taken by the British, who held possession of them till 1800, when they were returned to Holland. The islands were again occupied by the British in 1810, but were finally restored to the Dutch in 1814, by the treaty of Paris.



## BURMAH AND SIAM.

THE Burmans appear to be inferior to the Hindus, and still more to the Chinese, in arts, manufactures, and industry, and in all the institutions of civil life. Their Government is a pure despotism, the king dispensing torture, imprisonment, or death, according to his sovereign discretion. One of his customary titles is, lord of the life and property of all his subjects; and they frequently find to their cost that this is no vain title. The chief object of government seems to be the personal honor and aggrandizement of the monarch; and the only restraint on the exercise of his prerogative is the fear of an insurrection. He is assisted in his administration by a public and a privy council.

The country at large is ruled by provincial governors; and is divided into provinces, townships, districts, villages, and hamlets.

The criminal code of the Burmese is barbarous and severe, and the punishments inflicted are shocking to humanity.

The Burmese are not votaries of Brahma, but sectaries of Buddha, who is universally considered by the Hindus as the ninth Avatar, or descent of the Deity in his capacity of preserver; and the rites, doctrines, and priesthood are nearly the same as in other countries where Buddhism prevails. Neither Christianity nor Mohammedanism has made any progress. Foreigners enjoy religious toleration, but the Burmese rulers view any attempt to convert the natives to the Christian or any other foreign faith as an interference

with their allegiance, and they discourage all such schemes.

The ancient history of Ava is very imperfectly known; the more early records relating chiefly to dynasties of which little more is given than their names. We learn from the Portuguese navigators, that about the middle of the sixteenth century, four powerful states ruled over those countries which lie between the south-east province of British India, Yunnan in China, and the Eastern Sea, namely, Arracan, Ava, Pegu, and Siam. By the help of the Portuguese, the Burmans subdued the Peguans, and maintained their supremacy over them throughout the seventeenth and during the first forty years of the eighteenth century, when the Peguans revolted, and a war ensued, in the course of which, by the aid of arms procured from Europeans, they gained several victories over the Burmans; and, having taken their capital Ava, and made the king a prisoner, they reduced the whole country to submission. Alompra, who had been left by the conqueror in charge of Monchaboo, an inconsiderable village, planned the deliverance of his country. He attacked the usurpers at first with small detachments; but, when his forces increased, he suddenly advanced and took possession of the capital, in the autumn of 1753. In 1754, the Peguans, anxious to recover their lost conquests, sent an armament of war-boats against Ava; but after an obstinate and bloody battle they were totally defeated by Alompra. In the districts of Prome, Donabew, Loonzay,

etc., the Burmans revolted, and succeeded either in expelling or putting to the sword, all the Pegu garrisons in their towns. In 1754, Prome was besieged by the king of Pegu, who was again defeated by Alompra in a severe battle, and the war was transferred from the upper provinces to the mouths of the navigable rivers, and the numerous creeks and canals which intersect the lower country. In 1775, Alompra defeated in a general battle, Apporaza, the king of Pegu's brother, after which the Peguans were driven from Bassein and the adjacent country, and were forced to withdraw to the fortress of Syriam, distant twelve miles from Rangoon. Here they enjoyed a brief repose, Alompra being called away to quell an insurrection of his own subjects, and to repel an invasion of the Siamese; but, returning victorious, he laid siege to the fortress of Syriam and took it by surprise, when the garrison were mostly put to the sword, the Europeans being made prisoners. In these wars the French sided with the Peguans, the English with the Burmans. Dupleix, the governor of Pondicherry, had sent two ships to the aid of the former, but the master of the first was decoyed up the river by Alompra, when his vessel was taken, and he, along with his whole crew was massacred. The other escaped by being accidentally delayed, and carried accounts of this disaster to Pondicherry. Alompra was now master of all the navigable rivers; and the Peguans, being entirely shut out from foreign aid, were finally subdued. In 1757, the conqueror laid siege to the city of Pegu, which finally capitulated on condition that the king should govern the country, but that he should do homage for his kingdom, and should also surrender his daughter to the victorious monarch. Alompra, with Asiatic perfidy, never contemplated the fulfillment of the earlier of these conditions; and, having succeeded in obtaining possession of the town through the imbecility of the king, abandoned it to the fury of his soldiers. In the following year, the Peguans endeavored to throw off the yoke, but they were overthrown

in a decisive engagement near Rangoon; and Alompra arriving soon after, quelled the rebellion. He afterwards reduced the town and district of Tavoy, and finally undertook the conquest of the Siamese. His army advanced to Mergui and Tennasserim, both of which towns were taken; and, he was besieging the capital of Siam when he was taken ill. He immediately ordered his army to retreat, in hopes of reaching his capital alive; but he expired on the way, in 1760, in the fiftieth year of his age, after he had reigned eight years. He was succeeded by his oldest son, Namdojee Praw, whose reign was disturbed by the rebellion of his brother Shembuan, and afterwards by one of his father's generals. By his vigor he succeeded in quelling these revolts; and, he afterwards turned his arms against the refractory Peguans, whom he reduced to subjection. He died in a little more than three years, leaving one son in his infancy. On his decease the throne was seized by his brother Shembuan. He was intent, like his predecessors, on the conquest of the adjacent states; and he accordingly made war in 1765, on the Munnipore Cas-sayers, and also on the Siamese, with partial success. In the following year he renewed the war with the latter, defeated the Siamese and, after a long blockade, obtained possession of their capital. But, while the Burmans were extending their conquests in this quarter, they were invaded by a very large Chinese army from the province of Yunnan. This army was hemmed in by the skill of the Burmans; and, being reduced by the want of provisions, it was afterwards attacked and totally destroyed, with the exception of 2500 men, who were sent in fetters to work in the Burmese capital at their several trades.

In the meantime, the Siamese revolted from the Burmese yoke; and while the Burman army was marching against them, the Peguan soldiers who had been incorporated in it rose against their companions, and commencing an indiscriminate massacre, pursued the Burman army to the gates of Rangoon, which they besieged, but were unable to cap-



ture. In 1774, Shembuan was engaged in reducing the marauding tribes. He took the district and fort of Martaban from the revolted Peguans; and, in the following year he sailed down the Irrawaddy with an army of 50,000 men, and, arriving at Rangoon, put to death the aged monarch of Pegu along with many of his nobles, who had shared with him in the offence of rebellion. He died in 1776, after a reign of twelve years during which he had extended the Burmese dominions on every side, having reduced to a state of vassalage the petty states in the neighborhood, and the uncivilized tribes in the western hills, as well as those in the mountainous tracts to the east of the Irrawaddy. He was succeeded by his son, a youth of eighteen, who proved himself a bloodthirsty despot, and was put to death by his uncle, Mindragee Praw in 1782, who ascended the vacant throne, and in 1783, sent a fleet of boats against Arracan, which was conquered and the Rajah and his family were made prisoners. Cheduba, Ramnee, and the Broken Isles soon afterwards surrendered.

The Siamese, who revolted in 1771, were never afterward subdued by the Burmans. They retained their dominion over the seacoast as far as Mergui; and in the year 1785 they attacked the island of Junkseylon with a fleet of boats and an army. But they were ultimately driven back with loss; and a second attempt by the Burman monarch, who, in 1786, invaded Siam with an army of 30,000 men, was attended with no better success. In 1793 peace was concluded between these two powers, the Siamese yielding to the Burmans the entire possession of the coast of Tenasserim on the Indian Ocean, and the two important seaports of Mergui and Tavoy.

In 1795 the Burmese were involved in a dispute with the British in India, in consequence of their troops, to the amount of 5,000 men, entering the district of Chittagong in pursuit of three robbers who had fled from justice across the frontier. Explanations being made, and terms of accommo-

dation offered by General Erskine, the commanding officer, the Burmese commander retired from the British territories, when the fugitives were restored, and all differences for the time amicably arranged.

But it was evident that the gradual extension of the British and Burmese territories would, in time, bring the two powers into close contact along a more extended line of frontier, and in all probability lead to a war between them. It happened, accordingly, that the Burmese, carrying their arms into Assam and Munne pore, penetrated to the British border near Sylhet, on the northeast frontier of Bengal, beyond which were the possessions of the chiefs of Cachar, under the protection of the British government. The Burmese leaders, arrested in this manner in their career of conquest, and flushed with past success, were impatient to measure their strength with their new neighbors. They attacked a party of sepoys within the frontier, seized and carried off British subjects, and at all points their troops, moving in large bodies, assumed the most menacing positions. The island of Shaparee, at the mouth of the Naaf river, had been occupied by a small guard of British troops. These were attacked on September 23, 1823, during the night, by the Burmese, and driven from their post with the loss of several lives; and to the repeated demands of the British for redress no answer was returned. Other outrages ensued; and at length, in February, 1824, war was declared by the British government.

After two years of varying fortune, the Burmese war was brought to a successful termination by Sir Archibald Campbell. The peace, however, was not of very long continuance, and in 1852 another war broke out; as in the former, the English finally triumphed, and the province of Pegu was annexed to the British Empire.

The government of Siam is a pure despotism, uncontrolled by laws, ancient usages, or any form of assembly. There is, indeed, a body of laws occupying, it is said, about sev-

enty volumes, but the king has the power of at any time superseding the ordinary course of justice. He has, indeed, absolute power over the property, liberty, and lives of his subjects. A large part of the population is in a state of slavery; and every man above the age of twenty is bound to devote four months of the year to the service of the king. The parent has absolute power over his children, and may even sell them for slaves; but he cannot take away their life. Polygamy is legal, but there is always one wife in chief who has the pre-eminence and control over the rest. Marriage is a purely civil rite, and divorces are frequent and obtained with little difficulty.

The religion of Siam is Buddhism. The priests, or bonzes, are very numerous, exceeding, it is said, a hundred thousand. They generally live in convents attached to the temples, and are relieved of all taxes or services to the king or state. Every male must, at some period of his life, become a candidate for the priestly office, and remain for at least three months in a monastery, after which he may return to his secular condition.

The Siamese annals begin about five centuries before the Christian era, with the usual amount of fable; but from the founding of the city of Ayuthia, the ancient capital of the kingdom, about the middle of the fourteenth century, they seem to be tolerably reliable. The first European nation that established communication with Siam was the Portuguese, when engaged in the siege of Malacca, in 1511. Soon after this a considerable number of Portuguese seem to have located in the country, and we find them rendering valuable assistance to the Siamese in their wars with the neighboring nations. About the beginning of the seventeenth century the Dutch obtained a footing in the country, and from that time Portuguese influence gradually declined. Toward the end of the seventeenth century, a Greek sailor

named Phaulcon arrived in the country, and so ingratiated himself with the king as to be appointed prime minister. He persuaded the king to cultivate friendship with the European countries, and induced him to send ambassadors to the court of Louis XIV. These arrived in France in 1684, and also visited London, when a commercial treaty was concluded with the government of Charles II. The French king, in 1685, dispatched an embassy to Siam, with a view to convert the King of Siam to the Catholic faith. This not succeeding, two years later a second embassy was sent out with five hundred soldiers, which also failed in its object; and soon after, a revolution happening in the country, the royal family were driven from the throne, Phaulcon was murdered, and the French were expelled from the country. About 1766 the country was overrun by the Burmese, who took by assault the capital, Yuthia, and committed great slaughter.

The English seem to have had little intercourse with the Siamese till very recently. In 1822 Mr. John Crawford was commissioned by the Marquis of Hastings, then Governor-General of India, to visit Siam and endeavor to establish commercial relations between that country and India, but met with comparatively little success. In 1826 a commercial treaty was concluded with England, and a similar treaty was concluded with the United States in 1833. In 1855, Sir John Bowring visited Siam, was very favorably received, and succeeded in concluding a treaty of friendship and commerce between her British Majesty and the King of Siam. A British consul is now allowed to reside at Bangkok, and British subjects may reside permanently there or within a certain distance from that town. British vessels may trade freely at any of the seaports of Siam, and in place of the previous heavy restrictions, merchandise is now subject to slight import or export duties. A similar treaty has since been concluded with the United States.



## INDIA.

PRIOR to Alexander's expedition into India, which took place 327 years before the Christian era, the Greeks appear to have known little of these eastern countries, except from the confused accounts of travellers; and nothing whatever of the countries beyond the sandy desert of the Indus, which, with its tributary streams, was the limit of Alexander's progress eastward. The men of science who accompanied this warlike prince brought to Europe full and accurate accounts of the countries which he had conquered; and the spirit of inquiry, now awakened amongst the Greeks, was still further gratified by the ample accounts of Megasthenes, the ambassador sent to India by Seleucus, and who resided long at Palibothra, the capital of the Prasii, near the mouth of the Ganges. The Greek writers, drawing their information from those sources, describe the leading features of Indian society and manners, and with an accuracy which stamps authenticity on their narratives. It is unnecessary to dwell upon the particulars of Alexander's expedition, which are fully described in many other works; and from that until the period of the Mohammedan conquest, when the native records commence, there is nearly a complete chasm in the annals of Hindustan. The Hindus had either no records, or these had been destroyed during the intestine commotions which have always prevailed in India. The historical poem, the Mahabarat, is a tissue of extravagant fables. Ferishta's history, written early in the seventeenth century, is

supposed to have been collected from Persian authors; and the most valuable part of it begins after the commencement of the Mohammedan conquests. It was about the year 1000 that Hindustan, formerly ruled by a pure Hindu monarchy, fell under the sway of the Mohammedan conquerors, who subdued all the provinces west of the Ganges, and formed them into one great empire. On the fall of this empire, India became one scene of commotion and war, and her finest provinces were laid waste. It was then that the Mahratta empire arose, like a meteor in the political sky, blazing for a while, and soon fading into obscurity; and by its fall paving the way for the ascendancy of the British, whose powerful sway now extends from the Himalaya Mountains to Cape Comorin. We shall endeavor to sketch the leading and most eventful scenes of that political drama, which has thus terminated in the subjection of all India to one great ruling power.

The Mohammedan powers having subdued Persia and the neighboring countries, made occasional inroads into India; and, about A. D. 1000, Mahmoud entered Hindustan, in which he effected a permanent establishment. This prince was the grandson of Subuctagi, the ruler of Ghizni, consisting of the tract which composed the kingdom of Bactria after the division of Alexander's empire, namely, the countries lying between Parthia and the Indus, and south of the Oxus. He invaded India twelve several times, massacring in his intolerant rage the Hindus as

infidels, and defacing and destroying their temples. "Nothing," observes Major Rennell, with his usual force, "offends our feelings more than the progress of destruction, urged on by religious zeal, as it allows men to suppose themselves agents of the divinity, thereby removing those checks which interfere with the perpetration of ordinary villainy, and thus makes conscience a party where she was meant to be a judge." The last invasion of India by Mahmoud was in 1024, and in four years afterwards he died. His dominions comprehended the eastern provinces of Persia, nominally all the Indian provinces westward of the Ganges, to the peninsula of Gujerat, and from the Indus to the mountains of Ajmere. The Punjab, or the tract watered by the Indus, and its five tributary rivers, was all that was subjected to the regular government of the Mohammedans. The rajpoots of Ajmere defended their rugged mountains and close valleys with obstinate valor. The Ghiznian empire was in the year 1158 divided into two; the western portion being seized on by the family of the Gaurides (so denominated from Gaur or Ghir, a province or city lying beyond the Indian Caucasus), whilst the countries on the Indus were possessed by Chusero or Cusroe, who fixed the seat of his empire at Lahore. The Mohammedans now extended their conquests eastward; and Mohammed Gori, in 1194, took the city of Benares, which he abandoned to pillage. He carried his arms to the south of the river Jumna, and took the fortress of Gualior; he also reduced the eastern frontier of Ajmere. He was succeeded in 1205 by Cuttub, who fixed his capital at Delhi, and founded in Hindustan the dynasty of the Patans or the Afghans, who inhabited the mountainous tract situated between India and Persia. The Emperor Alt-mush succeeded him in 1210, and extended his conquests over Bengal. In his reign the renowned Genghis Khan subdued the western empire of Ghizni; and the Moguls, or the Monguls, his successors, about the year 1242, made frequent irruptions into the north-

western provinces of Hindustan. The country was in the meantime a scene of intestine commotion, from the contests of rebellious chiefs aspiring to supreme authority, and from the irruptions of the predatory hill tribes into the plains below. In 1265, about 100,000 of these plunderers were put to the sword, and a line of forts constructed along the foot of the hills. In the mean time, the Patan monarchs of Delhi were prosecuting their conquests eastward, and the Moguls were making incursions into the western provinces; and a considerable number of them under Ferose II. were at length permitted to settle in the country in the year 1292. In 1293 this emperor invaded the Deccan, or the country lying to the south of the Nerbuddah and the Cuttack rivers. He was deposed and murdered by Alla, the governor of Gurrah, who advised the expedition, and who extended his conquests in the Deccan. Cafoor, one of his generals, penetrated into the Carnatic, or the peninsula lying to the south of the Kistna river, in 1310. Rebellions breaking out in Tellingana, a principality in the Deccan, it was again subjugated in 1322 and in 1326, in which year Alla died, and the Carnatic was ravaged from sea to sea. Under a succeeding emperor, Mohammed III., the Mohammedans were driven from the Deccan and Bengal, and lost much territory in Gujerat and the Punjab. Ferose III., who succeeded, was more intent on domestic improvement, and in constructing canals, than on foreign conquest. He died in 1388, and Mahmoud III. succeeded, during whose minority great confusion ensued; and in 1398 the country was invaded by Tamerlane, who advanced to Delhi, which submitted without a struggle, and was abandoned to the fury of the soldiery, who continued for several days to massacre the defenceless inhabitants. The military irruption of Tamerlane into Hindustan was more for the sake of plunder than of conquest, though it added to the existing anarchy of the country. In 1413 Mahmoud died, and with him ended the Patan dynasty, founded by Cuttub in 1205. A period of



great confusion followed, and numerous competitors contended for dominion. This state of anarchy, which came to a height under Ibrahim II. in 1516, paved the way for the conquest of Hindustan by Sultan Baber, a descendant of Tamerlane and of Genghis Khan, who reigned over a kingdom composed generally of the provinces situated between the Indus and Samercand. Being dispossessed of the northern portion of his dominions by the Usbecks, he invaded India, and in 1525 defeated the emperor of Delhi, and conquered the northeastern province of India. He was succeeded, after a reign of five years, by his son Humaioon, who was driven from his throne by the rebellion of Sheer Khan, whose successful usurpation was succeeded by such a period of disorder, five sovereigns having appeared on the throne in the course of nine years, that Humaioon was recalled in 1554, and died the following year, leaving his son, the celebrated Acbar, only fourteen years of age, the heir to the throne. His was a long and glorious reign of fifty-one years, in which the revolted provinces were reduced from Ajmere to Bengal, and consolidated into one empire by the unlimited toleration of the Hindus and all others, and generally by a just and wise policy. In 1585 and the subsequent years he invaded the Deccan, which, by the dissolution of the Bahmenee empire, was divided among the sovereigns of Bejapoor, Ahmednagur, and Golconda, whilst another army was reducing the country of Cashmere in an opposite direction. At the time of Acbar's death, in 1605, he had possession of the western part of Berar, Candeish, Tellingana, a division of Golconda, and the northern part of Ahmednagur, the capital of which was taken in 1601, after a long and bloody siege, and an unsuccessful attempt to relieve the place by the confederate princes of the Deccan. Acbar died in 1605, at which time his empire was divided into fifteen viceroyalties, called subahs; namely, Allahabad, Agra, Oude, Ajmere, Gujerat, Bahar, Bengal, Delhi, Cabul, Lahore, Moulton, Malwah, Berar, Can-

deish, and Ahmednagur. He was succeeded by his son Selim, under the title of Jehanguire. It was in his reign, in 1615, that Sir Thomas Roe, the first English ambassador, was sent to the Mogul emperor of Hindustan; and the Portuguese had by this time acquired considerable settlements in Bengal and Gujerat. Shah Jehan, who disturbed his father's reign by constant rebellions, succeeded to the throne in 1627, and pursued his conquests in the Deccan with renewed vigor, filling the country with plunder and devastation. It was in this reign, in the year 1633, that the first serious quarrel took place between the Portuguese and the Moguls, when the former were expelled from Hooghly on the Ganges. In 1658 the country was again distracted by the civil wars of the emperor and his sons, and of the sons amongst themselves contending for dominion. Shah Jehan died on the 21st of January 1666, after being seven years confined in the Castle of Agra. The Mogul empire at his death extended from Cabul to the Nerbuddah, westward of this river to the Indus, and eastward it comprehended Bengal and Orissa; and to the south the Moguls had reduced a large tract of country bounded by Berar on the east, westward by the hills towards Concan, and by the dominions of Golconda and Benjapore to the south. These convulsions, by which India was at this time distracted, ended in the elevation to the throne of the renowned Aurungzebe, the youngest son of Shah Jehan, whom he had deposed; he had also murdered or expelled his three brothers. In 1660, Aurungzebe, who took the title of Allumgere, or Conqueror of the World, was firmly seated on the throne; and from that period until the year 1678, Hindustan enjoyed more profound peace than it had ever before known. In the mean time Aurungzebe invaded the Deccan, which during the latter part of his reign was, with the exception of a few mountainous tracts, subdued by his victorious arms, and rendered tributary to the ruler of Delhi. He was afterwards engaged, in 1678, in quelling the rebellion of the Patans be-

yond the Indus, and the Rajpoot tribes, by whom he was hemmed in amongst the mountains, and narrowly escaped. He again invaded the country in 1681, and took and destroyed Cheitore, the capital, and all the objects of Hindu worship found there. The obstinate resistance of these gallant mountaineers at last extorted peace from the mighty monarch of the Mogul Hindustan empire.

But Aurungzebe had now to contend with another enemy for the dominion of India. In the south the Mahratta power was fast rising into importance. Sevajee, the founder of this new state, was a millitary chief, the illegitimate son of the rana of Odeypoor, the chief of the Rajpoot princes. In his youth he resided at Poonah, on a zemindary estate obtained by his father. Here he collected around him a numerous banditti, and plundered the country. The number of his followers gradually increasing, he extended his ravages still farther into the dominions of Bejapore, and acquired an immense booty, which enabled him to increase his force, and openly to resist the troops of Aurungzebe which were sent against him. He expired in his fortress of Raynee, of an inflammation in the chest, at the age of fifty-two, on the 5th of April 1682. His whole reign was one continued scene of war and political intrigue, in which he displayed the talents of a consummate general and an able and crafty statesman. "He met," says Orme, "every emergency of peril, however sudden and extreme, with instant discernment and unshaken fortitude; the ablest of his officers acquiesced in the eminent superiority of his genius, and the boast of the soldiers was to have seen Sevajee charging sword in hand." At his death, his empire, with the exception of the small territory of Goa on the south, Bombay, Salsette, and an inconsiderable tract on the north, comprised a tract of country about 400 miles in length and 120 in breadth. He was besides in possession at one time, towards the Eastern Sea, of half the Carnatic. By his own talents he had thus acquired a permanent sovereignty, "established," says

Orme, "on a communion of manners, customs, observances, language, and religion, united in common defense against the tyranny of foreign conquerors, from whom they have recovered the land of their own inheritance." Sevajee was succeeded by his son Sambajee, who was afterwards betrayed into the hands of Aurungzebe, and barbarously put to death. Aurungzebe died in 1707, in the ninetieth, or, according to some, the ninety-fourth year of his age, at Ahmednagar, in the Deccan, in the subjugation of which he had been engaged from the year 1678 until his death. He was for the most part engaged in the field during the last fifteen years of his life. Whilst he was absent in the Deccan, the peace of the empire was disturbed by insurrections of the Rajpoots in Upper India, and of the Jauts, now for the first time known in any other character than that of banditti. Under his reign the Mogul empire attained to its height. His dominions extended from the tenth to the thirty-fifth degree of latitude, with nearly as many degrees of longitude; and his annual revenue was equal to thirty-two millions sterling.

After the death of Aurungzebe, the sovereignty of the empire was disputed by his four sons, Munzum, Azem, and Kaum Buksh, who severally contended with their elder brother, and Achar, who thirty years before had been engaged in rebellion, and fled to Persia. Munzum and Azem met in the field with armies of 300,000 men on each side, when the latter was defeated and slain, and Munzum ascended the throne under the title of Bahader Shah. He reigned five years, and the empire had been so distracted by civil wars and anarchy, that it required all his exertions to restore order. He was soon after his accession called into the Deccan by a rebellion of his brother Kaum Buksh, which was quelled by his death. He now turned his arms against the Rajpoots and the Sikhs, who for the first appeared in arms in the province of Lahore. These insurgents he reduced after much trouble and delay; and he took up his residence at Lahore, where he



died in 1712, after a short illness, having never during his reign visited either Agra, or Delhi his capital. He left four sons, who immediately commenced a contest for the throne. Azem Ooshawn, who took possession of the treasures, was killed in a battle with his own brothers. Jehan Shah, the youngest, next lost his life in a battle with Jehamder Shah, who was the eldest, and who successfully disputed the possession of the throne with the remaining brother. At the end of nine months, however, he was dethroned by Feroksere, a son of Azem Ooshawn, and great grandson of Aurungzebe, who was elevated to the throne by the influence of two brothers, Abdoola Khan and Hussun Khan, Seids by birth, or descendants of the prophet, whose talents had raised them to reputation and power. It was in this reign that the English East India Company obtained their famous firman or grant, by which they were exempted from all custom duties on the export and import of their goods. This was considered as the commercial charter of the company as long as they required protection for their trade. In 1717 Feroksere was deposed and blinded by the two Seids, Hussun and Abdoola, to whom he owed his elevation to the throne. In his place they chose Ruffieh-ul-Dowlat, a son of Bahader Shah; and in less than a year deposed and put him to death. His brother, who by their means was also made king, met with the same treatment; so that in the course of eleven years from the death of Aurungzebe, four princes of his line had ascended the throne, whilst six others had met the usual fate of unsuccessful aspirants to that dignity. Mohammed Shah, the grandson of Bahader Shah, was placed on the throne by the Seids in 1718, from whose influence he contrived at length to free himself, though not without a rebellion and a battle, in which they were both slain. In the mean time Mohammed Shah was deficient in the vigor which his difficult situation required, and the provincial governors at a distance began to show symptoms of independence. Nizam-ul-Muluck,

the viceroy of the Deccan, was the most formidable of those pretenders to sovereignty. He had reduced the provinces of Gujerat and Malwah; and having paid a visit to the imperial court, and observed the dissolute administration of affairs, he quitted the capital in disgust, under pretence of a hunting excursion, for his government of the Deccan. He was deprived of the administration of Gujeret and Malwah, the two provinces which he had acquired. In revenge he encouraged the rulers of these provinces to resist the imperial authority; whilst at his instigation also the Mahrattas invaded the country, and after a severe struggle succeeded, about the year 1732, in completely reducing this long-disputed territory.

But a more dreadful calamity was now impending over the distracted empire. The sceptre of Persia had been long swayed by a feeble race of monarchs, and the country became an easy prey to the hardy mountaineers of Afghanistan, who in 1722 laid siege to Ispahan, when the feeble Hussun Shah surrendered the crown to the invader. He had a son Thamas, however, who escaped from the general massacre which ensued, and who was joined by many partisans, amongst others by Nadir, a son of a shepherd of Khorassan, who, with his band of followers, soon distinguished himself as a brave and active supporter of the fallen prince. In 1729 he retook Ispahan, and finally, by his talents, raised himself to the throne of Persia in 1736, having put out the eyes of the unfortunate son of the late monarch. Being afterwards engaged in an expedition against the Afghans, he advanced to the frontier of Hindustan, but without any ulterior views of hostility, when a messenger and his escort, whom he had dispatched to the emperor at Delhi, were murdered at Jellalabad by the inhabitants; an outrage which being approved by Mohammed Shah, Nadir prepared for revenge. He gave up the offending city to be pillaged by his soldiers; and, advancing to Delhi, was met by the imperial troops, who were totally defeated. The views of the conqueror, however, were not

hostile, and two crores of rupees would have purchased his retreat from Hindustan. But this amicable arrangement was frustrated by a dispute between Saadut Khan, subahdar of Oude, and the nizam of the Deccan, for the vacant office of Ameer-ul-Omrah, formerly paymaster of the forces. Saadut Khan, the disappointed candidate, persuaded Nadir Shah that the proffered sum was no adequate ransom for Hindustan; on which Nadir advanced to the capital, which opened its gates to receive him; and, for two days thereafter the Persian troops observed the most exact discipline. But, in the course of the night, a rumor was spread that Nadir was killed, on which the inhabitants rose against their invaders, and massacred many of them. Nadir took severe and immediate revenge. He dispersed his irritated soldiers throughout every quarter of the city, with orders to spare neither age nor sex; and, in this indiscriminate slaughter, 100,000 persons are said to have perished, while the city was set on fire in several places. The imperial treasure was plundered; plate, jewels, and specie, were carried off to the incredible amount of thirty-two millions sterling. Rich bankers and others were forced by torture to disclose their hidden wealth, and a heavy contribution of thirty millions was imposed on the city by the relentless conqueror. Nadir Shah departed from Delhi, of which he had held possession thirty-seven days, in the year 1739; and the nizam still retained possession of the whole power of the empire, which he sacrificed to his own views in the Deccan, where he established an independent kingdom. Nadir Shah died in 1747. In the subsequent confusion, the eastern provinces of Persia, and those bordering on India, were formed by Abdalli, one of his generals, into an independent state, which comprised the ancient empire of Ghizni, and was known under the name of the kingdom of the Abdalli. Mohammed Shah died the same year, after a reign of twenty-nine years. Every day had disclosed the growing weakness of the empire, and strong symptoms of its early and

entire dissolution. In 1738, Bengal became independent under Aliverdy Kahn, and it was soon afterwards invaded by a numerous army of Mahrattas from Poonah and Berar. About the same time, the Rohillas, a tribe from the mountains which separate India from Persia, erected an independent state on the Ganges, within eighty miles of Delhi. Mohammed Shah was succeeded by his son, Ahmed Shah, and, in the reign of the latter, the Mogul empire was finally dismembered. A small territory around Delhi was all that remained to the house of Timur, and it was the scene of devastation, massacres, and famine. The last imperial army that ever assembled was defeated in 1749 by the Rohillas.

In 1753 the Emperor Ahmed Shah was deposed by Gazi, the son of Gazi o'Dien, vizir to Mohammed Shah, who placed on the throne Allumguire II., grandson of Bahader Shah, and invested himself with the office of vizir. His perfidious conduct to the family of the viceroy of the provinces of Moulton and Lahore, under Abdalli, the king of the Afghans, involved the emperor in a quarrel with that powerful prince, who advanced from Candahar to Lahore, and thence to Delhi, the gates of which were opened by the feeble emperor, and the defenceless city abandoned for weeks to a licentious soldiery. After the retreat of the Abdallis, the vizir advanced with an army to Delhi, which he entered after a siege of forty-five days. The Mogul emperor was now reduced to the most abject state of dependence, and was at last assassinated by order of the vizir, who was irritated by his correspondence with the Afghan monarch Abdalli Shah, the Rohillas, and the nabob of Oude, with whom he himself was at war. His son took the title of Shah Aulum; he escaped from Delhi when it was besieged by the vizir, and, after a series of misfortunes, at last surrendered to the British, who gave him an asylum, and a pension for his support; and with him, the last of the Mogul sovereigns who enjoyed independent power, closes for ever the glory of



this renowned empire. In the meantime, amidst anarchy and desolation, the Mahrattas were daily increasing in power; they were engaged in every scene of politics and warfare, from Gujerat to Bengal, and from Lahore to the Carnatic; they possessed extensive sway and vast armies; and their ambition was now to reconstruct a new Hindu empire out of the decayed fragments of the Mogul power. The rising influence of the Afghans under the rigorous sway of Abdalli was the only obstacle to this patriotic or ambitious scheme; and the Mahrattas, in the progress of their conquests northward, encountered for the first time their great rival for the dominion of India. Ahmed Abdalli, king of the Afghans, was taken prisoner when very young by Nadir Shah; he was first his slave, afterwards his mace-bearer, and at his death, having collected a body of troops and other adventurers, he proceeded to his own country, and proclaimed himself king of the Afghans, with the title of Doordowran, or pearl of the age, which was corrupted into that of Dooranee, and became the name of one of the Afghan tribes. Ahmed had extended his dominion over the frontier provinces of Moultan and Lahore, which, in retiring from India, he had left under the administration of his son. These provinces were first invaded by the Sikhs, and afterwards by the Mahratta generals, who advanced to Lahore and expelled the Abdalli prince, and afterwards extended their conquests to the Indus. Ahmed Shah, roused by the loss of his provinces and the dishonor of his arms, collected his troops and encountered the Mahratta army, amounting to 80,000 veteran cavalry, which was almost entirely destroyed, and the general Duttah Sindia slain. The news of this defeat spread alarm among the Mahrattas, and roused them to the greatest exertions. A vast army took the field, and being unable to cross the Jumna, still swollen by the rains, proceeded to plunder Delhi, the capital. Ahmed Shah, with 150,000 well-disciplined troops, now advanced, and, in his impatience to meet the enemy, plunged with

his whole army into the foaming waves of the Jumna, which he crossed in safety. The Mahrattas, struck by this daring exploit, retired to the plain of Paniput, and the armies continued in sight of each other from the 26th October to the 27th January, 1761, during which interval several bloody skirmishes took place. On this latter day was fought the battle of Paniput, one of the most decisive and sanguinary recorded in history. The Mahrattas were overthrown with a dreadful carnage. This great battle gave an irreparable blow to the Mahratta power, which from this time sensibly declined, and the victorious Abdalli sought no other fruit of his victory. He returned to his capital after remaining a few months at Delhi, having recognized the grandson of Allumguire as emperor, under the title of Shah Aulum the Second.

A new scene was now about to open in India. The Europeans, who as traders had long maintained establishments on the coasts, began to assume an entirely different character; to contend with each other in the field for dominion, and to mingle in all the wars and politics of the interior. It was necessary for carrying on the domestic trade of India, and more especially in providing goods for the supply of Europe, that a body of experienced servants should reside on the spot, in order to collect and to purchase commodities for exportation; an employment which, owing to the poverty and abject state of the natives, and their peculiar customs, involved duties of the most minute and laborious detail. During the decline of the Mogul government, the tranquillity of India was frequently shaken by the contentions of rival chiefs; and the slight security afforded, even in the best times to commerce, became in this manner more imperfect. For the reception of the goods which it was necessary to collect and store up, that cargoes might always be in readiness for the Company's ships, warehouses were built, which, with the counting-houses and other apartments for the agents and business of the place, constituted

the factories of the Company. These factories contained a valuable store of property, which, in the disordered state of India, it became necessary to secure from the rapacity both of governments and of individuals. They were, therefore, strongly built and fortified; their inmates were armed and disciplined; and, for better security, regular troops were occasionally maintained in those mercantile garrisons. In these defensive arrangements of the Company we may discern the rudiments of their future empire.

In 1784, France and England, from being auxiliaries, became principals in the war which was then raging in Europe, and the flame soon communicated to their distant colonies. In India the two rival powers were quickly involved in hostilities, which, however, were followed by no important result; and the English settlement of Madras, which had been taken by the French king, was restored at the peace of Aix-la-chapelle. It was soon after this that the French and English, in supporting the contending claims of the native princes, again came into collision. At the respective settlement of the two Companies, the number of troops assembled during the previous war was greater than was necessary for defense, and the servants of the Companies, with such means at their disposal, now began to meditate schemes of conquest. The intricacies of Indian politics, and the family connexions of the different claimants who contended for power and dominion, need not be described in detail, as it would neither be instructive nor acceptable to the general reader. A brief sketch is all that will be necessary to explain the nature of those transactions which so deeply affected the future condition of India, and the relations of the parties engaged in them.

In 1748 the Nizam Al Mulck died, at the age of 104, and was succeeded by his son Nazir Jung, to the prejudice of his elder brother Gazi, vizir to the nominal emperor. The contest that followed on this occasion, for the throne of the Deccan and the nabobship of Arcot, first engaged the British and

French to act as auxiliaries on opposite sides. Immediately after the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, the French commandant, M. Dupleix, began to sow dissension among the nabobs, who had by this time usurped the sovereignty of the country.

On this occasion Mr. (afterwards lord) Clive first appeared in a military capacity. He had been employed before as a writer, but seemed very little qualified for that department of civil life. He now marched towards Arcot at the head of 210 Europeans and 500 Sepoys; and in his first expedition displayed the qualities of a great commander. His movements were conducted with such secrecy and despatch, that he made himself master of the enemy's capital before they knew of his march; and gained the affections of the people by his generosity, in affording protection without ransom. In a short time, however, he found himself invested in Fort St. David's by Rajah Saib, son to Chunda Saib, an Indian chief, pretender to the nabobship of Arcot, at the head of a numerous army; the operations of the siege being conducted by European engineers. But Mr. Clive, having intelligence of the intended attack, defended himself with such vigor, that the assailants were everywhere repulsed with loss, and obliged precipitately to raise the siege. He then marched in quest of the enemy; and, having overtaken them in the plains of Arani, attacked and entirely defeated them. This victory was followed by the surrender of the forts of Timery, Conjaveram, and Arani; after which, he returned in triumph to Fort St. David's. In the beginning of 1752, he marched towards Madras, where he was reinforced by a small body of troops from Bengal. Though the whole did not exceed 300 Europeans, with as many natives as were sufficient to give the appearance of an army, he boldly proceeded to a place called Koveripank, about fifteen miles from Arcot, where the enemy lay to the number of 1,500 Sepoys, 1,700 horse, with 150 Europeans, and eight pieces of cannon. Victory was long doubtful, until Mr. Clive having



sent round a detachment to fall upon the rear of the enemy, while the English attacked the entrenchments in front with their bayonets, a general confusion ensued, the enemy was routed with considerable slaughter, and only saved from total destruction by the darkness of the night. The French to a man threw down their arms on this occasion, and surrendered themselves prisoners of war; all the baggage and cannon falling at the same time into the hands of the victors.

M. Dupleix, mortified at this bad success, proclaimed Rajah Saib, son of Chunda Saib, nabob of Arcot; and afterwards produced forged commissions from the Great Mogul, appointing him governor of all the Carnatic from the Kristnah to the sea.

Next year both parties received considerable reinforcements; the English by the arrival of Admiral Watson with a squadron of ships of war, having on board a regiment commanded by Colonel Aldereroon; and the French by M. Gadeheu, commissary and governor-general of all their settlements, on whose arrival M. Dupleix departed for Europe; and a provisional treaty and truce were concluded, on condition that neither of the two companies should for the future interfere in any of the differences that might take place in the country.

Matters, however, did not long continue in a state of tranquillity. Early in 1755 it appeared that the French were endeavoring to get possession of all the Deccan. M. Bussy, the successor of Dupleix, demanded the fortress of Galconda from Salabat Zing; and M. Leyrit encouraged the governor, who rented Velu to take up arms against the nabob. He even sent 300 French and as many Sepoys from Pondicherry to support this rebel, and oppose the English employed by the nabob to collect his revenue from the tributary princes.

Alverdi Khan, an able and prudent subahdar, who had for fifteen years been nabob of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, having died in 1756, Surajah Dowla succeeded to the nabobship. He was congratulated on his accession by Mr. Drake, the English president at Cal-

cutta, and readily promised protection to his countrymen; but he soon after took offence at the imprisonment of Omichund, an eminent Gentoo merchant, who had lived several years under the protection of the English government. Of this circumstance, however, Surajah did not directly complain; but founded his pretence of war upon the conduct of the English in repairing the fortifications of Calcutta; which, indeed, was absolutely necessary, on account of the great probability of a war with the French. The nabob, however, threatened an attack if the works were not instantly demolished. With this requisition the president and council pretended to comply; but they nevertheless went on with them. Surajah Dowla took the field on May 30, 1756, with an army of 40,000 foot, 30,000 horse, and 400 elephants; and on June 2, detached 20,000 men to invest the fort at Cassumbaza, a large town on an island formed by the west branch of the Ganges. This fort was regularly built, with sixty cannon, and defended by three hundred men, principally sepoy. The nabob pretending a desire to treat, Mr. Watts, the chief of the factory, was persuaded to put himself in his power; which he had no sooner done than he was made a close prisoner, along with Mr. Batson, a surgeon, who accompanied him. The two prisoners were treated with great indignity, and threatened with death; but two of the council who had been sent for by the tyrant's command were sent back again, with orders to persuade the people of the factory to surrender at discretion. This proposal met with great opposition; but was at last complied with, though very little to the advantage of the prisoners; for they were not only deprived of everything they possessed, but stripped almost naked, and sent to Hoogly, where they were closely confined. The nabob, encouraged by this success, marched directly to Calcutta, which he invested on the 15th.

It was impossible that the garrison could long defend themselves against the great force brought against it; little or no attempt

was, therefore, made at resistance; the fort was consequently soon taken, and the effects of the factory destroyed. Many of the English escaped in boats and ships down the river, but many were taken; of these 146 were confined for the night in a room twenty feet square, named the Black Hole, and which the English had made for a place of confinement. The dreadful heat and want of air quickly deprived some of existence; others lost their reason, and expired raving mad; their entreaties and offers of money to their guards to give them water, or to remove them, were mocked at or disregarded; and when the door of the dungeon was opened next morning, only twenty-three were taken out alive. Having plundered the town, Surajah Dowla departed, leaving in it a garrison of 3,000 men.

The news of this disaster put an end to the expedition projected against M. Bussy; and Colonel Clive was instantly despatched to Bengal with 400 Europeans and 1,000 sepoys, on board of the fleet commanded by Admiral Watson. They did not arrive till December 15 at a village called Fulta, situated on a branch of the Ganges, where the inhabitants of Calcutta had taken refuge after their misfortune. Their first operations were against the forts of Busbudgla, Tanna, Fort William, and Calcutta, now in the hands of the enemy. All these were reduced almost as soon as they approached them. Hoogly, the place of rendezvous for all nations who traded to Bengal (its warehouses and shops being always filled with the richest merchandise of the country), was likewise reduced and destroyed, with the granaries and storehouses of salt on each side of the river. This proved very detrimental to the nabob, by depriving him of the means of subsistence for his army.

Surajah Dowla, enraged at the success of the English, now seemed determined to crush them at once by a general engagement. From this, however, he was intimidated by a successful attack on his camp, which induced him to conclude a treaty on February 9, 1757,

on the following conditions:—1. That the privileges granted to the English by the Mogul should not be disputed; 2. That all goods with English orders should pass by land or water, free of any tax; 3. All the company's factories which had been seized by the nabob should be restored; and the goods, money, and effects accounted for; 4. That the English should have liberty to fortify Calcutta; and 5. To coin their own gold and silver.

As intelligence was now received of a war between France and England, an attack was meditated on Chandernagore. It remained, therefore, only to obtain the consent of the nabob; but in ten days after the conclusion of the treaty, he sent a letter to Admiral Watson, complaining of his intention, and surmising that the English conspired to turn their arms against him as soon as they made themselves masters of Chandernagore. This was strenuously denied by the admiral; and a number of letters passed, in which the latter made use of expressions which were supposed to imply a tacit consent that Chandernagore should be attacked. An attack was therefore made, and it soon capitulated. This intelligence, however, seemed to be by no means agreeable to Surajah Dowla. He pretended displeasure on account of the English infringing the treaties, and complained that they had ravaged some parts of his dominions. This was denied by the admiral; but from this time both parties made preparations for war. The nabob returned no answer till the 13th of June, when he sent a declaration of war. The English council at Calcutta now resolved on the deposition of the nabob; which at this time appeared practicable, by supporting the pretensions of Meer Jaffier Ali Khan, who had entered into a conspiracy against him. Meer Jaffier had married the sister of Alverdi Khan, the predecessor of Surajah; and was now supported in his pretensions by the general of the horse, and by Jugget Seet, the nabob's banker, the richest merchant in all India.

Colonel Clive began his march against Surajah Dowla on the 13th of June. The de-



cisive action at Plassey followed (June 23), in which the treachery of Meer Jaffier, who commanded part of the nabob's troops, and stood neuter during the engagement, rendered the victory easy. At daybreak the nabob's army of 15,000 horse and 15,000 foot advanced to attack the English. Clive's troops were posted in a grove defended by mud-banks. After cannonading them till noon, the enemy retired to their fortified camp; and shortly after, Clive stormed an angle of it, put them to the rout, and pursued them for a space of six miles. The unfortunate nabob fled to his capital, but left it the following evening disguised like a fakir, with only two attendants. By these he appears to have been abandoned and even robbed; for on the 3rd of July he was found wandering forsaken and almost naked on the road to Patna. Next day he was brought back to Muxadabad, and a few hours after privately beheaded by Meer Jaffier's eldest son.

Meer Jaffier and his English allies now took possession of the capital in triumph. On the 29th of June, Colonel Clive went to the palace, and, in presence of the rajahs and grandees of the court, solemnly handed him to the musnud (or carpet) and throne of state, where he was unanimously saluted subahdar, or nabob, and received the submission of all present. While these transactions were going forward, the utmost efforts were used to expel the French entirely from Bengal. It had all along, indeed, been the opinion of Clive that it was impossible for the French and the English to coexist in India.

Both parties now received considerable reinforcements from Europe; Admiral Pocock being joined on the 24th of March by Commodore Stevens with a squadron of five men-of-war and two frigates. The British admiral went in quest of the French fleet, and an engagement took place, in which the French were defeated with the loss of 600 killed and a great number wounded.

In the treaty concluded by Clive with the new subahdar, it was stipulated that one hun-

dred lacs of rupees should be paid to the East India Company for their losses and the expenses of the campaign, with compensation to all the sufferers at the taking of Calcutta; the company was also to have the zemindary (or right of farming the produce of the soil claimed by the crown) of a tract of country to the south of that city. The subahdar was also profuse in his donations to those to whom he was indebted for his throne. His gifts to Clive amounted to 180,000*l*; and however much the latter may have been censured at the time for receiving a reward from the subahdar, he was justified by the usages of Asia, and there seems to be no reason why he should refuse a gift from the prince whom he had so greatly benefited.

The remainder of the year 1759 proved entirely favorable to the British arms. D'Ache, the French admiral, who had been very roughly handled by Admiral Pocock on the 3rd of August 1758, having refitted his fleet, and being reinforced by three men-of-war at the islands of Mauritius and Bourbon, now ventured once more to face his antagonist. A third battle ensued on the 10th of September 1759, when the French, notwithstanding their superiority both in number of ships and weight of metal, were obliged to retreat with considerable loss, having 1,500 men killed and wounded, while those on board the English fleet did not exceed 570. By the 17th of October the British fleet was completely refitted; and Admiral Pocock, having been joined by a reinforcement of four men-of-war, soon after returned to England. All this time the unfortunate General Lally had been employed in unsuccessful endeavors to retrieve the affairs of his countrymen; but his fate was at last decided by laying siege to Wandewash, which had lately been taken by Colonel Coote. The advantage in number was entirely in favor of the French general; the British army consisting only of 1,700 Europeans, including artillery and cavalry, while the French amounted to 2,200 Europeans. The auxiliaries on the English side were 3,000 black troops, while

those of the French amounted to 10,000 black troops and 300 Caffres; nor was the difference less in proportion in the artillery, the English bringing into the field only fourteen pieces of cannon, and one howitzer, while the French had twenty-five pieces in the field and five on their batteries against the fort. The battle began at noon (Jan. 22, 1760), and in three hours the whole French army fled towards their camp; but quitted it on finding themselves pursued by the English, who took all their cannon except three small pieces. They collected themselves under the walls of Cheltaput, about eighteen miles from the field of battle, and soon after retired to Pondicherry.

Colonel Coote now caused the country to be wasted to the very gates of this fortress, by way of retaliation for what the French had done in the neighborhood of Madras. He then set about the siege of Cheltaput, which surrendered in one day; a considerable detachment of the enemy was intercepted by Captain Smith; the fort of Timmery was reduced by Major Monson, and the city of Arcot by Captain Wood. This last conquest enabled the British to restore the nabob to his dominions, of which he had been deprived by the French, and it greatly weakened both the French force and interest in India. M. Lally, in the meantime had recalled his forces from Syringham, by which means he augmented his army with 500 Europeans. These were now shut up in Pondicherry, which was become the last hope of the French in India. To complete their misfortunes, Admiral Cornish arrived at Madras with six men-of-war; and, as the French had now no fleet in these parts, the admiral readily engaged to co-operate with the land forces. The consequence was the reduction of Carical, Chellambrum, and Verdachellum, by a strong detachment under Major Monson; while Colonel Coote reduced Permacoil, Almamverpa, and Wal-dour. He was thus at last enabled to lay siege to Pondicherry itself; and the place capitulated on the 15th of January 1761, by which an end was put to the power of the French in this part of the world.

While the British were thus employed, Meer Jaffier, the nabob of Bengal, who had been raised to that dignity by the ruin of Surajah Dowla, found himself in a very disagreeable situation. The treasure of the late nabob had been valued at sixty-four crore of rupees, (about 80,000,000*l.* sterling), and in expectation of this sum, Meer Jaffier had submitted to the exactions of the English. On his accession to the government, however, the treasure of which he became master fell so much short of expectation, that he could not fulfill his engagements to them, and was reduced to the extremity of mortgaging his revenues. In this dilemma his grandees became factious and discontented, his army mutinous for want of pay, and himself odious to his subjects. To this it may be added, that Mr. Vansittart, the successor of Clive, who knew but little of the merits of the respective parties, was willing to conclude a treaty with Cossim Ali, the nabob's son-in-law, for his dethronement; by which the provinces of Burdwan, Nidnapore, and Chit-tagong were to be made over to the Company, and large rewards given to the members of council.

Meer Cossim was accordingly raised to the musnud; and the old nabob was hurried into a boat with a few of his domestics and necessaries, and sent away to Calcutta in a manner wholly unworthy of the high rank he so lately held. So unblushingly, indeed, was the whole of this affair conducted, that the servants of the company who were the projectors of the revolution, made no secret that there was a present promised them of twenty lacs of rupees from Cossim, who was desirous of making the first act of his power the assassination of Jaffier; and was very much displeased when he found that the English intended giving him protection at Calcutta.

It could scarcely be supposed that Meer Cossim, raised to the nabobship in this manner, would be more faithful to the English than Meer Jaffier had been. Nothing advantageous to the interests of the Company



could indeed be reasonably expected from such a revolution. No successor of Meer Jaffier could be more entirely in subjection than the late nabob, from his natural imbecility, had been. This last consideration had induced many of the council at first to oppose the revolution; and, indeed, the only plausible pretence for it was, that the administration of Meer Jaffier was so very weak, that, unless he was aided and even controlled by some persons of ability, he himself must soon be ruined, and very probably the interests of the Company along with him. Meer Cossim, however, was a man of a very different disposition from his father-in-law. As he knew that he had not been served by the English out of friendship, so he did not think of making any return out of gratitude; but, instead of this, considered only how he could most easily break with such troublesome allies. For a while, however, it was necessary for him to take all the advantage he could of his alliance with them. By their assistance he cleared his dominions of invaders, and strengthened his frontiers, and he reduced the rajahs who had rebelled against his predecessor, obliging them to pay the usual tribute; by which means he repaired his finances, and thereby secured the fidelity of his troops.

Having thus, by the assistance of the English, brought his government into subjection, he took the most effectual means of securing himself against their power. As the vicinity of his capital Muxadabud to Calcutta gave the English factory there an opportunity of inspecting his actions, and interrupting his designs when they thought proper, he took up his residence at Mongheer, a place 200 miles farther up the Ganges which he fortified in the best and most expeditious manner. Sensible of the advantages of the European discipline, he now resolved to new model his army. For this purpose he collected all the Armenian, Persian, Tartar, and other soldiers of fortune, whose military characters might serve to raise the spirits of his Indian forces, and abate their natural timidity. He also

collected all the wandering Europeans who had borne arms, and the sepoy who had been dismissed from the English service, and distributed them among his troops. He changed the fashion of the Indian match-locks to muskets, and made many excellent improvements in the discipline of his army. But it was soon discovered that all the pains taken by Meer Cossim to discipline his troops had not rendered them able to cope with the Europeans. Several acts of treacherous hostility on his part were followed by a formal declaration of war; and several engagements took place, in all of which the British army proved victorious, and Cossim's army retreated. His active enemy accordingly penetrated into the heart of his territories, crossed the numerous branches of the Ganges, and traversed morasses and forests in search of the native foe. At length the two armies met on the banks of a river called Nunas Nullas, August 2d, 1763. Cossim had chosen his post with great judgment, and his forces had much of the appearance of a European army, not only in their arms and accoutrements, but in their division into brigades, and even in their clothing. The battle was more obstinate than usual, being continued for four hours: but, though the Indian army consisted of no fewer than 20,000 horse and 8,000 foot, the English proved in the end victorious, and the enemy were obliged to quit the field with the loss of all their cannon.

It is impossible for us to pursue this history of Anglo-Indian warfare into all its details. Our readers must, therefore, be content with rapid descriptions or passing remarks, as may happen, in the narration of events sufficiently important in themselves to require a lengthened notice in works of magnitude wholly devoted to the subject. We pass on, then, by observing that Meer Cossim was subdued and deposed; and that Meer Jaffier was once more seated on the musnud. His reign was, however, very short; and, on his death, the council of Calcutta raised to it his son, Nujum-ud-Dowla, making him pay, as usual, a large sum for his elevation.

The high character which Lord Clive had already gained in the east, justly marked him out for the government of India; and, on the 3d of May, 1765, he landed with full powers as commander-in-chief, president, and governor of Bengal. He remained in India about two years, during which period he effected the most desirable reformatations in both the civil and military departments.

Sujah-ad-Dowla, subahdar of Oude, and the nominal emperor of Delhi, Shah Alem II, having assisted Meer Cossim, the English marched against them. Allahabad and Lucknow were taken. The nabob was glad to purchase peace by paying the expenses of the war; and the emperor conferred upon the English the revenues of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, and his imperial confirmation of all the territories conquered by them within the nominal extent of the Mogul empire. The East India Company had now acquired territory equal in extent to the most flourishing kingdom of Europe; and from this date, A.D. 1765, commences the recognized sovereignty of the English, in Hindostan. It is worthy of notice that, though actually independent, the great subahdars continued to the last moment of the empire to solicit imperial firmans or patents from the court of Delhi, confirming them in the power they already possessed.

In the south of India, besides the real authority in the Carnatic, the English had received the northern circars in grant from the nizam, on condition of furnishing a body of troops in time of war. This alliance involved them in a series of contests with Hyder Ali, who had made himself sultan of the Hindu state of Mysore.

The political importance acquired by the East India Company induced the government of Great Britain to claim a share in the administration of the Indian territories; and, in 1773, it was determined in parliament, that all civil and military correspondence should be submitted to the king's ministers; that a supreme court of judicature should be sent out from England; and that the three presidencies should be subject to a governor-gen-

eral and council, the former to be approved of by the king.

Warren Hastings, the first governor-general, found the Company's finances in India much embarrassed, and a general confederation against the English in progress amongst the native powers. Notwithstanding violent opposition in his council, he conducted the government through its difficulties, repulsed Hyder, humbled the Mahrattas, and obtained from Asef-ad-Dowla, the subahdar of Oude, the zemindary of Benares. On his return to England, Warren Hastings was impeached by the house of commons for corruption and oppression, and tried before the house of lords. The trial, owing to frequent interruptions, was protracted for seven years, at the end of which he was honorably acquitted. Those proceedings, however, are not necessary to be here dwelt upon, as they belong more especially to the parliamentary history of England. During his twelve years' government in India, Warren Hastings had raised the revenue to double its previous amount; but he had added twelve millions and a half to the debt of the Company.

Lord Cornwallis succeeded as governor-general in 1786. The relations between the British government and those of Lucknow and Hyderabad, were revised and strengthened; and, in a war with Tippoo Saib, who had succeeded Hyder, in the principality of Mysore, Lord Cornwallis defeated his armies, and besieged his capital, Seringapatam. The sultan, to obtain peace, gave up considerable territory to the British. It was under the administration of Lord Cornwallis, who was possessed of first-rate qualities for this office, that the principal judicial and revenue regulations were enacted, particularly the perpetual settlement of the revenue of Bengal with the zemindars.

In 1793, Lord Cornwallis returned to England, and was succeeded by Sir John Shore, but the pacific system of policy followed by him forfeited that consideration which the British government held in his predecessor's time among the native states. In 1798, he



was succeeded by Lord Mornington, afterwards Marquis of Wellesley.

Tippoo had greatly augmented his army, and many severe battles had been fought between him and the British, but without humbling his tone, or much diminishing his power. For several years, in fact, the affairs in India had continued in a state of doubtful tranquillity. The jealousy of the British was at length justly aroused, by a proclamation of the French governor, of the isle of France, in 1798, which openly mentioned an alliance formed between Tippoo and the French republic, for the destruction of the British power in India. The governor-general on this, demanded an explanation of him, which being evasive and evidently intended to procrastinate military operations, the reduction of the fort of Seringapatam was immediately resolved on.

After having been repulsed with considerable loss, in an attack of the Bombay army under general Stuart, Tippoo Saib retreated to Seringapatam. The main army under General Harris, consisted of 31,000 men, besides the nizam's cavalry, all completely equipped: that under General Stuart was equally efficient. On the 3d of April, the army came within sight of Seringapatam, took its position on the 5th, and on the 6th the principal outposts were in possession of the British. Several letters passed, and on the 20th, General Harris received an overture of peace from Tippoo Saib, which he answered on the 22d, with a draft of preliminaries; but the terms were too severe for the enemy to accept. On the 22d of May, therefore, the British batteries began to open, and in the course of the day a breach was made in the faussebray wall; the main rampart was shattered; and, to complete the misfortune of the besieged, a shot having struck their magazine it blew up with a dreadful explosion. The breach being thought practicable, on the night of the 4th of May, 4,000 men were stationed in the trenches before day-break. The assault was led on by General Baird, and began at one o'clock. In six min-

utes the forlorn hope had reached the summit of the breach, where the British colors were instantly planted. In a few minutes, the breach, which was 100 feet wide, was covered with men. After a short conflict the panic became general in the fort; thousands quitted it, and others laid down their arms. A flag of truce was soon after sent to the palace of the sultan, offering protection to him and his friends upon surrendering unconditionally. The young prince surrendered to General Baird, and the body of Tippoo was afterwards found in the gateway of the fort, lying among heaps of slain, covered with wounds.

His dominions were now partitioned among his conquerors, and the Mahrattas were admitted to a share, from motives of policy, though they had taken no part in the war. A descendant of the ancient rajahs of Mysore, about five years old, was sought out and placed on the throne with great ceremony, under certain conditions; and the sons and relations of Tippoo were removed to the Carnatic. Thus terminated one of the most important wars in which the Anglo-Indians have been ever engaged; and for some time at least it secured them from the reappearance of a formidable enemy. A. D. 1799.

As the conquests of Tippoo and Hyder were retained by the British, and a subsidiary treaty had been formed with the nizam, by which the defense of his dominions was undertaken by them upon his providing for the expense, the greater part of the Deccan was now, directly or indirectly, subject to their authority.

Arrangements were now concluded with the nabob of Oude, by which the lower part of the Douab and other countries were ceded to the British for the support of a subsidiary force. Under these transactions followed a war with the Mahratta chiefs, Scindia, and Ragoji Chosla, rajah of Berar, whose armies were defeated in the south by Sir Arthur Wellesley, brother of the governor-general, and in the north by Lord Lake; and the upper part of the Douab, with Delhi and Agra,

were taken possession of in the north ; whilst in the south, Cuttack on the eastern, and part of Guzerat on the western coast, were annexed to the British dominions. A war with Holkar, another Mahratta prince, followed. He made a rapid incursion into the Douab, and committed some ravages ; but was pursued by Lord Lake to the Sikh country, and all his territories occupied by a British force. The whole, however, was restored to him at the peace.

Such was the situation of British India at the period of the marquis of Wellesley's return to Europe. He had conducted public affairs in this quarter of the globe with an oriental magnificence of design, and perhaps of expenditure ; but he seems fairly to claim the merit of having crushed in a most masterly manner the alarming combinations of Mahratta and French enmity, and entirely to have laid the basis of the measures which were successfully followed out by Lord Cornwallis.

In 1805 Lord Wellesley was succeeded by Lord Cornwallis, again appointed governor-general. His policy was of a pacific character ; and upon his death, soon after his arrival in India, it was adopted by his temporary successor, Sir George Barlow.

Lord Minto arrived in India in 1807. His attention was chiefly directed to the subjugation of the remaining possessions of the French in the east ; and the isle of France and Mauritius, and the large island of Java, were subdued by armaments fitted out in India.

At the end of 1813 the Marquis of Hastings arrived as governor-general. The determination of his predecessors to abstain from interference with the native states had been attended with deplorable dissensions amongst themselves, and had encouraged them to commit outrages on the British dominions, the repression of which soon led to active warfare. On the northern frontier the conduct of the Goorkha government of Nepaul having provoked hostilities, the Himalaya was traversed by the British armies, and an extensive

tract of mountain country permanently annexed to the state.

The aggressions of the Pindarees, a set of freebooters, secretly supported by the Mahratta princes, were next punished by the annihilation of their hordes. In 1844 these bands comprised about 40,000 horse, who subsisted wholly on plunder. In the course of the operations against them, the peishwa and the rajah of Nagpore attempted, by treachery and murder, to rid themselves of British control ; and hostilities ensued, which placed the territories and persons of both princes in the hands of their enemies, A. D. 1818. The Pindarees were at first bodies of mercenary horse, serving different princes for hire during war, and in time of peace subsisting upon plunder. Lands along the Nerbuddah had been assigned to some of their leaders by the princes of Malwa ; and from hence they occasionally made incursions into the British provinces, devastating the country in the most ferocious manner, and disappearing before a force could be assembled against them. It was resolved, however, in the year 1817, to hunt them into their native holds, and either to exterminate them, or to drive them from the position which they occupied, in the very center of India. By the end of the rainy season of that year, a numerous army took the field for this purpose. The plan was that the armies of the different presidencies should advance southward, and gradually converging to a common centre, hem in, on every side, the territory of the robbers. This was at length effected ; the great part of them being destroyed, and the rest humbled to complete submission.

Upon the reestablishment of peace, Puna, and part of the Mahratta territories, were retained and the rest restored to the rajah of Satara. Appa Saib, the rajah of Nagpore, who had escaped from confinement, was deposed and a grandson of the former rajah elevated to the throne. Holkar, a youth, was taken under the British protection, which was also extended to the Rajput princes. By these arrangements the whole of Hindustan



was brought under the power of control of the British government.

In 1823 the Marquis of Hastings quitted his government, leaving British India in a proud and prosperous condition. At the end of the same year Lord Amherst arrived from England. In 1824 war broke out with the Burmese, who had for many years given much trouble on the eastern frontier. An expedition was sent to Rangoon, which, in the second year of hostilities, advanced nearly to Ava, the capital; and the Burman government was glad to purchase peace in 1826 by the cession of Assam, Aracan, and the Tenasserim provinces. The beginning of the same year was signalized by the capture of Bhurtpore, a strong fortress in upper India.

The events which took place between this time and the outbreak of the great Indian mutiny of 1857 will be found recorded in the *History of England*. But the narrative of that memorable revolt cannot be well given except in the history of that country which it proposed to deliver from British supremacy.

On the 29th of February, 1856, Lord Caning arrived in Calcutta, to succeed Lord Dalhousie as governor-general of India. Almost his first act was to decree the annexation of the kingdom of Oude to the East Indian territories. This step was justified by the continued failure or refusal of the king of Oude to introduce and maintain a fitting administration of justice throughout the country, which was described as in a state of utter misery without remedy or hope of relief.

Whether this annexation in any way hastened the outbreak of that terrible mutiny which all but overthrew British dominion in India it is not easy to say. A number of causes combined to bring out discontent and suspicions which had long been smouldering; but, although it gave to the mutiny a more frightful appearance at the time, it was a fortunate thing for the British government that it was rather a military than a civil movement. If the people here and there took active part

with the revolted sepoys, there was none of that steady cooperation which shows that a nation throws its heart into an enterprise; and the very absence of this feeling deprived the struggle of any redeeming features which generally soften the warfare of a subject population against rulers whose yoke they are seeking to throw off. Misrepresentation and falsehood were the great promoters of this movement. An impression had gone forth, and many took diligent care to keep it up, that the British government intended to force Christianity on all the inhabitants of India, that it purposed studiously to insult the prejudices of caste and the traditions of Mohammedanism and Brahminism by enforcing the use of cartridges greased with the fat of pigs and cows. But throughout the war it was evident that the fiercer antagonism came from the Mohammedans, who dreamed of reviving once more the worn-out empire of the Great Mogul. Whether or not they put faith in the absurd lies which were spread abroad against the English, there can be little doubt that the Hindu sepoys really put faith in them, and in many instances reluctantly joined a movement from which it was scarcely in their power to keep themselves free. That the sepoy when once committed to resistance belied all his long-sustained reputation for gentleness and loyalty, and showed himself vindictive and cruel, will cause no surprise to those who have made themselves well acquainted with oriental character, and well considered all the circumstances of his condition. Early in February, 1857, it was found that great uneasiness prevailed in the minds of the sepoys at Barrackpore on the subject of the cartridges used for the Enfield rifles. On the 6th, a sepoy divulged a plot to burn the bungalows and to seize fort William, or, failing that, the treasury at Calcutta. General Harvey allayed the alarm at Barrackpore for the time; but not long afterwards the troops at Berhampore refused to use the cartridges, and an order was issued that the regiment should be disbanded; and this was carried out on the last day of March. But two days

before this time a sepoy, drunk with bhang, had at the same place fired at Lieutenant Baugh and shot his horse. The man was caught, tried, and sentenced to death: but he was not hanged till the 21st of April, as the sentence needed the confirmation of the commander-in-chief, who was at Simla. When brought out to execution, he confessed his guilt and warned his comrades against listening to and being lead astray by bad advice. But on further inquiry it was thought advisable to disband the regiment to which he belonged.

During the month of March, much attention was roused by the transmission of *chupatties*, or small unleavened cakes, which with wonderful rapidity were sent about by the *chowkeydars* or native policemen. But as the same thing, when done a few years before, had been followed by no serious consequences, it caused some curious speculation, but no very great anxiety. Early in May, eighty-five troopers were sentenced at Meerut (thirty-eight miles distant from Delhi,) to ten years imprisonment for refusing to fire with the Enfield cartridges. All remained quiet till the evening of the following day, when the native troops rose in mutiny, fired on their officers, and broke open the gaol. A crowd of prisoners were set free, and these with the soldiers attacked every European, and murdered all whom they could find, whether women or children. The English soldiers were preparing for 'Church parade,' they immediately marched to the lines, when the mutineers fled and took the road to Delhi. The night was dark, the station was blazing, and the English troops could not pursue them; but their escape lit up the flame of rebellion throughout India. Early on the following morning, a party of horsemen were seen from the ramparts of Delhi riding furiously toward the town. They were the vanguard of the great army who flocked to Delhi, there to make a stand against the dominion of the foreigner. As soon as they had entered the Calcutta gate, they began to murder every European whom they met. On

hearing the news, a native regiment was sent down to oppose them. The troopers murdered all the officers, and then shook hands with the sepoys. The residents then, so far as they were able, escaped to the Flagstaff Tower, still trusting in the fidelity of the native troops; but the hope was doomed to disappointment, and at length Colonel Graves, the brigadier, advised all who could to make their escape. Many Europeans found their way or were taken to the palace, but all were murdered in the presence of the king and his sons. A few only, after facing incredible dangers and hardships, escaped beyond the reach of their enemies. It was plainly hopeless to hold the fortifications against the rebels, but it was resolved that they should not become possessed of the powder-magazine; and Lieutenant Willoughby with some others as heroic as himself, determined to sacrifice his own life to defeat the object of the mutineers. He was so severely injured by the explosion that he died a few days afterwards; lieutenants Forrest and Rayner survived. General Anson, the commander-in-chief, was at this time at Simla for his health. On hearing of the mutiny he hastened towards Delhi, but was carried off by cholera at Kurnaul. His successor, General Reed, was far too ill to be fitted for the duties required of him, but, on the 8th of June, he reached the camp of Sir Henry Bernard at Aleepore, which is one day's march from Delhi. Here he was joined by General Wilson; and the combined force carried the position of the enemy at Badulee Ke-Serai, where they divided and took two different roads, meeting again at Hindoo Rao's house, near the Moree gate of Delhi. Thus was commenced the siege whose victorious close dealt the death-blow to any hopes which the rebels might have of re-establishing the old Mogul supremacy in India. It is unnecessary to dwell at any length on the details of the outbreaks as they occurred at different places; but, in justice, it should be mentioned that these atrocities were not universal. At more than half the stations of revolt no general massacres were committed,



and, in some instances the sepoys, while joining in the mutiny, exerted themselves strenuously to secure the safety of their officers with their families. At Allahabad almost all the officers were murdered, and women and children killed with horrid cruelties; but colonel Neill arrived on the 11th of June, and inflicted a severe chastisement on the rebels. Officers, women, and children were indiscriminately murdered at Jhansi, in Bundelcund, to the south of the river Jumna; and martial law was proclaimed in the districts of Meerut, Moozuffurnuggur, Boolundshuhur, and the Delhi territory east of the Jumna. At Benares an outbreak was promptly repressed, and the place was not threatened again. All popular attempts at insurrections were sternly put down by colonel Neill. But the mutiny spread at Shahjehanpore, Bareilly, and Mooradabad, and the revolted regiments hastened to join the insurgents at Delhi.

The first solid ground of hope for the British came from the country where it might have been thought that there would be the least reason for expecting it. Only a few years before, the people of the Punjaub were the most determined enemies; in the present struggle they were the most valuable allies, and fought throughout with the most implacable hostility against the sepoys. Early in May, Sir John Lawrence, the chief commissioner of the Punjaub, found it prudent to disarm the sepoy regiments at Lahore; and this task was accomplished with consummate tact and promptitude. The most efficient aid was also given by the rajah of Putteeala (whose territory bordered on the district of Umballah), as well as by the Rajah of Jheend. In Peshawur Colonel Edwardes was strenuously aided by the native chiefs, who sent powerful levies to join in the siege of Delhi.

Still the mutiny of regiments went on at Jhelum, at Rawul Pindee and other places. At Sealkote, they broke out with great barbarity, but they soon underwent a terrible defeat at the hands of General Nicholson.

At Gwalior, the troops of Maharajah Scindia joined the mutineers, but the Maharajah himself opposed them resolutely and could not be driven from his resolution to protect the Europeans, and to give them all aid in their attempts to escape. To the reply that they were fighting for their *dun*, or faith, he retorted that robbery and murder were no part of religion, and that he could not join men who used such weapons as these. But the flame was spreading far and wide. At Saugor, at Nusseerabad, at Neemuch, Agra and Dinapore, the same scenes of mutiny were repeated, and many acts of cruelty perpetrated. In Oude the mutiny was general. From Seetapore it spread to Shahjehanpore and Fyzabad. At Lucknow the first attempts at revolt were promptly suppressed by Sir Henry Lawrence, who occupied himself busily in strengthening the fortifications to the utmost; but within a few weeks all the native forces had mutinied, and the Europeans were reduced to a state of siege.

But more than all others, the town of Cawnpore is associated with the most frightful memories of the Indian mutiny. There the revolted sepoys joined the troops of Nana Sahib at Bithoor, who marched on Cawnpore, plundered the treasury and seized the magazine, which had not been blown up. The Europeans were within the entrenchments which did not deserve the name of defences or fortifications; and their sufferings soon became intense. On the 24th of June Nana Sahib promised to allow them all to go in safety to Allahabad, if they would give up all the treasure and stores in the camp. This was finally agreed to, and the compact was ratified with a solemn oath by the Nana. On the 27th conveyances were sent to carry the women and children to the river side. When they reached it, the officers found the boats high up in the mud; and while they proceeded to get them clear of the bank, the sepoys opened fire, and very few indeed escaped the massacre. Those who were not killed were carried back to Cawnpore, where the men were shot, and the women and chil-

dren shut up in a building which had been used as an assembly-room.

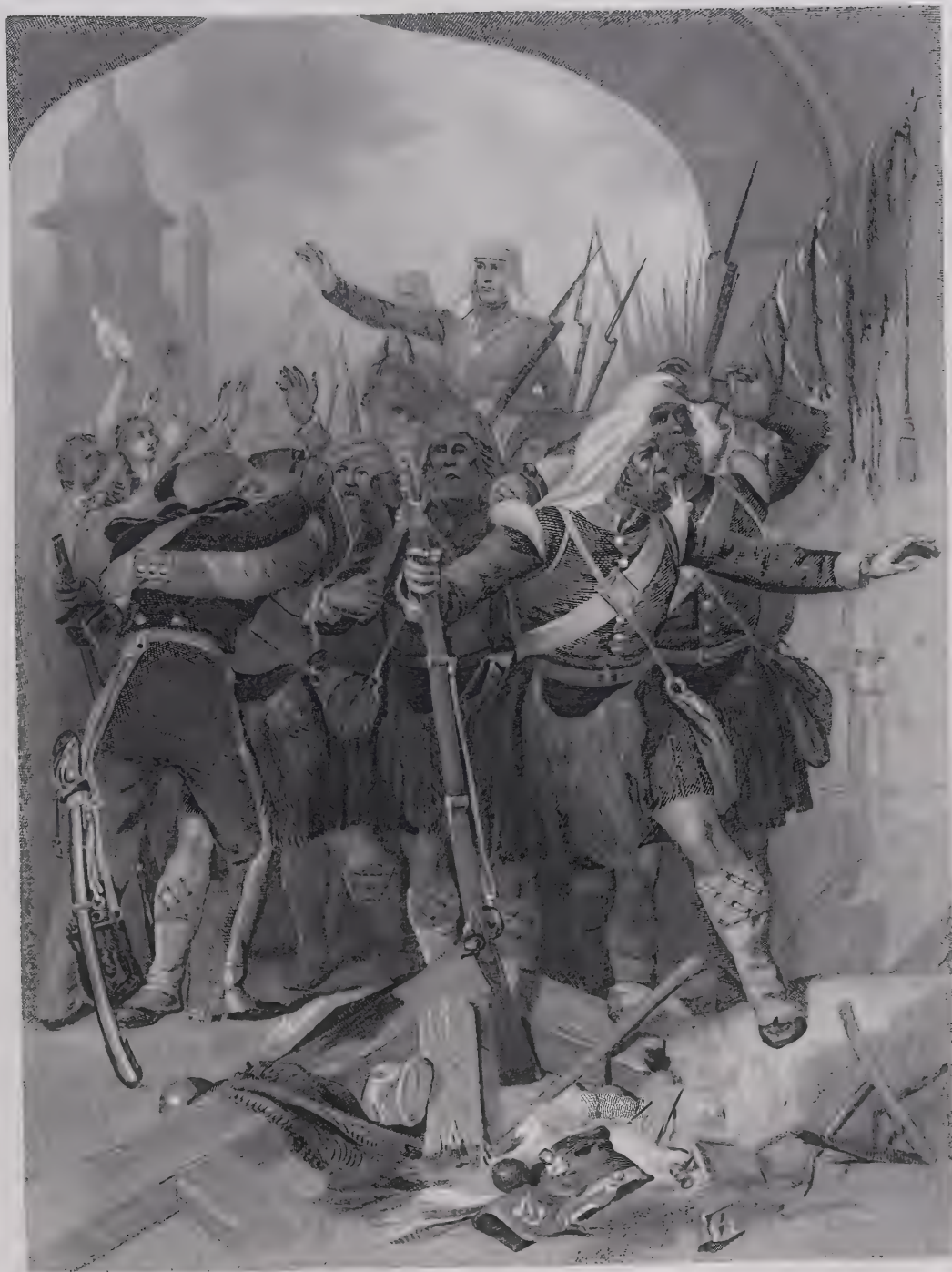
General Havelock had now returned from the war in Persia; and he hastened with all speed to Allahabad, to organize the British force of 1,400 for the relief of Cawnpore. He encountered and defeated the enemy at Futtehpore; but before he could accomplish the purpose of his expedition, the nana had executed the most horrible atrocity which disgraced this fearful war. He ordered all the women and children to be murdered and their bodies thrown into a well. General Havelock said that he spoke without exaggeration in saying that the blood of these victims rose above the soles of his boots as he made his way to the scene of the butchery. He found Nana Sahib intrenched in a very strong position at Ahirwa and utterly defeated his army. The next morning Nana Sahib blew up the magazine and evacuated Cawnpore. He did not attempt to make any stand at Bithoor, and the English took possession of his palace with twenty guns which he had left there. Leaving Colonel Neill in command, General Havelock advanced to the relief of Lucknow. He engaged the enemy several times, and always with the same signal success: but with the forces at his disposal it was hopeless to attempt to reach Lucknow, and accordingly he awaited at Cawnpore the arrival of reinforcements under Sir J. Outram. His troops were reduced to 700; and he wrote, stating as much to Colonel Inglis, who was commanding the garrison at Lucknow, and advising him to cut his way out, if possible. Colonel Inglis explained the impossibility of doing this with a number of helpless women and children, but said that they had provisions to last them till the 10th of September.

Meanwhile, the siege of Delhi was prosecuted with unabated vigor. In every sortie the besieged were defeated, and sometimes with fearful loss: but the fortifications resisted for many weeks the efforts of the besiegers, without sustaining much apparent injury. On the 17th of July, General Reed,

from ill health, handed over the command to General Wilson, and on the 10th of August, Brigadier-General Nicholson arrived, bringing with him a force of 2,500 Europeans and Sikhs; the numbers of the besiegers were thus raised to about 9,000, of whom one-half were Europeans. An attempt of the besieged to start out of the city and attack the camp in the rear was frustrated, and early in September the position of the besiegers was materially improved by the arrival of a siege train from Meerut. On the 11th a terrific and incessant fire was commenced against the town; with the most determined bravery a party of officers and men blew open the Cashmere gate, almost at the muzzle of the enemy's guns; but some days passed before the whole line of outer defences was taken. The gate of the palace was at last blown in, and it was occupied by the troops on the 20th. On the day following the aged King of Delhi, who had made his escape, was brought back a prisoner. His two sons were taken in the tomb of the Sultan Humayun, and shot by Captain Hodgson, who affirmed that he did so, as thinking that an attempt would be made to rescue the Princes. Two other sons of the King were subsequently tried, condemned, and executed.

On the 16th of September, general Outram reached Cawnpore with the reinforcements for which General Havelock was obliged to wait, and three days afterwards the relieving force crossed the Ganges. They had to encounter a fierce opposition under the most disadvantageous circumstances before they could reach the brave garrison who for so many weeks had kept a whole army at bay. During the siege Sir Henry Lawrence had died from the effects of a wound inflicted by a shell which burst in the room where he was sitting; the buildings had been thoroughly riddled with shot, the sick and wounded were killed in the middle of rooms where it was thought no shot could reach them. The garrison had to fight by night and by day, worn out with sickness and want of food,









while the women and children were utterly prostrate from the misery and hardships they were compelled to undergo. But with all this there was not only no complaining, but an indomitable resolution to take part in the defence, as far as their powers might enable them. Still when the relieving force had made its way to the residency, it was found impossible to convey the women and children to Cawnpore, without the greatest risk of being annihilated on the way: they determined therefore to wait till Sir Colin Campbell should arrive with new troops from England. The first ship with troops left England on the 1st of July; but it was not till the 9th of November that Sir Colin Campbell was able to march from Cawnpore to relieve the force at Lucknow. On the 16th this work was at length accomplished, but it yet required great skill to remove the sick and wounded without exposing them to the enemy's fire; and this was done by removing them quietly during the night, when by a furious fire in front the enemy had been led to suppose that an immediate attack was intended. On the 22nd of November General Havelock died of dysentery, after a career of unbroken victory, not less beloved for the goodness of his life than valued for his wisdom and bravery as a leader. Before the month ended, General Windham received a severe check near Cawnpore, and indeed ran the narrowest risk, not merely of being defeated, but of being cut to pieces by the enemy. Fortunately Sir Colin Campbell arrived in time to prevent the catastrophe. He found Cawnpore completely in possession of the enemy, and he had first to provide for the passage of his sick and wounded by the bridge, which was the only means of crossing the Ganges. A constant fire was kept upon the rebels from the left bank till all had crossed, and at length on the 6th of December, a battle began, in which the naval brigade, under Captain Peel, contributed greatly to secure the victory. General Grant was then sent with orders to destroy the building belonging to Nana Sahib at Bithoor, and falling in with the enemy at

Ghat, a ferry across the Ganges, he defeated them without losing a single man.

Few things were more strange about this mutiny than the want of concert with which the regiments of sepoy seem to have acted. Not a few of them revolted when the rebellion was all but crushed, and when mutiny appeared the very height of childish absurdity. Thus the 34th N.I. at Chittagong, not far from Calcutta, chose the 18th of November for its outbreak. But the real danger was now past. The civil measures, taken by the government, if not so severe as the military, were on the whole not less judicious. In June, the ex-king of Oude and his vizir were arrested and imprisoned in fort William. The liberty of the Indian press was suspended for one year; and on the 31st of July, an order was issued regulating the punishment to be inflicted on the mutineers. This order was severely criticised, if not condemned as impracticable, by those who had to carry it out; but the cogency of its reasoning cannot be disputed. An extreme severity, "after the requisite impression has been made on the rebellious and disorderly," would, it affirmed, only "exasperate the people, and would probably induce them to band together in large numbers for the protection of their lives, and with a view to retaliation," while "it would greatly add to the difficulties of settling the country hereafter." Against the adverse criticism so called forth, the governor-general effectually defended himself by referring to instances in which the indiscriminate burning of villages was producing the worst effects on the agriculture of the country, and where the repression of this severity had been followed by the most encouraging results.

Thus in a few months the great centre of the rebellion had been destroyed, and this had been effected before the arrival of any of the troops who had been sent out from England, and solely by the forces organized in the northwestern parts of India. The loss in revenue was estimated at nearly six millions, that from the plunder of stores and

treasures at nearly three millions, yet the area of cultivation was probably nowhere diminished; in Bengal it had even increased before the end of the year. In the district between the Ganges and Jumna, which is known as the Doab, the mutiny had been practically suppressed, but Rohilcund on the north of the Ganges was still in possession of the enemy, who also held Calpee and cut off the communication between Agra and Allahabad. They were also still formidable in Bundelcund; but the whole of Oude had been in effect lost. All the defeated regiments were flying to Lucknow, determined there to make the last stand against the British power with all the resources of a large city, and aided by a fighting population who were animated by the strongest hatred of English rule.

In January 1858, the king of Delhi was tried in the palace for his share in the rebellion, found guilty, and sent to end his days at Rangoon in Burmah. The campaign of this year consisted of an almost unbroken series of victories, and at one or two places only was anything like a really formidable resistance encountered. After the recovery of Neemuch and Indore, Sir Hugh Rose took the fort of Ralghur, one of the strongest in Central India; and then advanced to Saugor, where a number of English, with women and children, had been besieged for many months. The place was relieved on the 3rd of February; but a more important work was the march on Jhansi, the road to which was strongly occupied by the rebels. There was a good deal of hard fighting in which the enemy was always defeated, and at length the troops reached Jhansi itself, which was garrisoned by about 12,000 men, headed by the Ranee, a woman of very determined character. The place was very strong, and it was evident that the garrison were resolved to defend it to the uttermost, for with the fall of Jhansi the cause of the rebels in Central India must be irretrievably lost. But their efforts were unavailing. After having lost some 5,000 men, the Ranee

with her troops abandoned the town. This was followed by the siege of Awa and Calpee, which latter place had been held by Tantia Topee, almost the only rebel leader who had acquired any military reputation during this war. This chieftain made his way towards Gwalior, and with others defeated Scindia near his own capital. Scindia was compelled to fly, and he took refuge in the British cantonments at Agra. Rao Sahib, a nephew of Nana Sahib, was placed on the throne of Gwalior. But when Sir Hugh Rose approached the city, Tantia Topee quitted Gwalior and left the Ranee of Jhansi to lead the sepoys and the Gwalior contingent against the English. On the 19th of June, the final battle took place, and the Ranee died fighting hand to hand with her enemies; but her body was never found, and it was probably burnt after her death.

At Lucknow the rebel forces had made many attempts to dislodge Sir James Outram from his position at the Alumbagh before the arrival of Sir Colin Campbell, but none of these efforts were successful, and on the 9th of March he attacked the enemy and seized their position. The final assault took place on the 21st, the city was taken, and the head of the rebellion in Oude was crushed.

The first colonization of CEYLON is by no means well ascertained, though, if we allow, as there is reason for doing, that the island was at a remote period joined to the Indian continent, it will not be difficult to conceive whence it derived its first inhabitants. In the great Hindu epic, the Ramayana, we learn of the conquest of a part of Ceylon by the hero Rama and his followers, who besieged and took the capital of its king Ravana. No permanent occupation of the country took place at this time, and the island continued to be governed by a number of petty sovereigns until the advent, in 543 B.C., of Ayāra an Indian prince who, arriving from the mainland with a small band of followers, succeeded in establishing himself as sole ruler of the country.



To this king is attributed the introduction of *caste* into Ceylon, an institution which, although far less rigorously observed than on the continent, is still maintained.

Under him and his successors Ceylon attained a degree of civilization scarcely to be looked for in that remote age of oriental despotism. The purity of the religious and moral code, the strict administration of justice, and the well-defined and carefully protected rights of the king and his many classes of subjects, excite our admiration not less than our astonishment. It is impossible, however, to follow the subsequent current of Singhalese history through its many intricate windings. It must suffice if we say, that the descendants of Hijaya the conqueror continued to hold the reins of government with varied ability and unequal success. Some of them were distinguished for their learning, their military prowess, their benevolence and the length of their reigns. Others lived amidst civil dissensions and foreign invasions, which not unfrequently cost them their lives. The incursions of the Malabars upon their territories were not less frequent and fatal than those of the Danes in England; during a period of four or five centuries, these marauders continued to pour their bands of armed men into the island; and so far had the country fallen off from its ancient prosperity and strength, that when in the year 1505 the Portuguese adventurer D'Almeida landed at Colombo, he found the island divided into seven separate kingdoms.

The first settlement of the Portuguese was effected in 1517, when Albergaria succeeded in obtaining permission from the king of Cotta, whose territories closely adjoined Colombo, to erect a small factory on the latter spot for purposes of trade. Once established, the new-comers lost no opportunity of strengthening their position and extending their intercourse with the natives. Stone walls quickly took the place of palisades; the factory became a fort; whilst bristling cannon commanded alike the approaches by

land and the entrance by sea. Alarmed at these unequivocal signs of military possession, the Singhalese kings attempted to expel their newly-formed friends from the island, in which they were joined by the Moorish and other traders opposed to the progress of the Portuguese. But their efforts were both late and ineffectual; and after a series of unequal and sanguinary conflicts, the Europeans found themselves in secure possession of the west coast of Ceylon.

The bigotry and intolerance of the Portuguese were the constant source of dissension with the natives; and when, in the year 1601, the Dutch, under Admiral Spilbergen, landed on the east coast and sought the alliance of the king of Kandy, in the interior of the island, every encouragement was held out to them with the view of inducing them to aid in expelling the Portuguese. Nothing seems to have come of this until 1639, when a Dutch expedition attacked and razed the Portuguese forts on the east coast; and in the following year landed at Negombo, without, however, establishing themselves in any strong post. In 1643 Negombo was captured and fortified by the Dutch, and fifteen years later the fall of Columbo gave that people entire possession of the sea-board of Ceylon.

Pursuing a wiser policy than their predecessors, the Dutch lost no opportunity of improving that portion of the country which owned their supremacy, and of opening a trade with the interior. More tolerant and less ambitious of military renown than the Portuguese, they so far succeeded in their object as to render their commerce between this island and Holland a source of great profit. Many new branches of industry were developed. Public works were undertaken on a large scale, and education, if not universally placed within the reach of the inhabitants of the maritime provinces, was at least well cared for on a broad plan of government supervision.

That which they had so much improved by policy they were, however, unable to de-

fend by force when the British turned their arms against them. A century and a half passed within seven degrees of the equator had wrought great changes in the physical and mental status of the Dutch colonists. The territory which in 1653 they had slowly gained by undaunted and obstinate bravery, they as rapidly lost in 1796 by imbecility and cowardice.

The first intercourse of the English with Ceylon took place as far back as 1766, when an embassy was dispatched from Madras to the king of Kandy, without, however, leading to any result. On the rupture between Great Britain and Holland in 1795, a force was sent against the Dutch possessions in Ceylon, where so slight was the opposition offered, that by the following year the whole of their forts were in the hands of the English commander.

At first the island was placed under the care of the Honorable East India Company, but in 1802 reverted to the crown, whose dominion, however, extended no further than the maritime provinces. The central tract of hilly country, hedged in by impenetrable forests and precipitous mountain ranges, remained in possession of Wickrama Singha, the last of the Malabar dynasty of kings, who showed no signs of encouraging communication with his European neighbors.

Minor differences led in 1803 to an invasion of the Kandian territory; but sickness, desertion, and fatigue proved more formidable adversaries to the British forces than the troops of the Singhalese monarch, and peace

was eventually concluded upon terms by no means favorable to the English. The cruelty and oppression of the king now became so intolerable to his subjects, that disaffection spread rapidly amongst them. Executions of the most horrible kinds were perpetrated.

The utmost stretch of despotism failed to repress the popular indignation; and in 1814 the British, at the urgent request of many of the Adigars and other native chiefs, proceeded against the tyrant, who was captured near Kandy, and subsequently ended his days in exile. With him ended a long line of sovereigns, whose ancestral pedigree may be traced though upwards of two thousand years.

By a convention entered into with the Kandian chiefs on the 2d of March 1815, the entire sovereignty of the island passed into the hands of the British, who in return guaranteed to the inhabitants civil and religious liberty. The religion of Buddha was declared inviolable, and its rights, ministers, and places of worship were to be maintained and protected; the laws of the country were to be preserved and administered according to established forms; and the royal dues and revenues were to be levied as before for the support of the government.

With the exception of a serious outbreak in some parts of the interior in 1817, which lasted for upwards of a year, and of two minor attempts at rebellion easily put down, in 1843 and 1848, the political atmosphere of Ceylon has remained undisturbed since the deportation of the last king of Kandy.



## ASSYRIA, MEDIA, AND BABYLONIA.

ASSYRIA was a country and empire of Asia, the capital of which was Nineveh. The boundaries of the country have been variously given by Greek and Roman historians. In its strictest and most original sense, it was applied to a long narrow district lying on the east side of the Tigris, and which is commonly called Assyria Proper. In a more extended sense, it comprehended the whole country watered by the Euphrates and Tigris, between the mountains of Armenia on the north, those of Kurdistan on the east, and the Arabian desert on the west; thus including not only Assyria Proper, but also Mesopotamia and Babylonia. It was also applied to the empire, the boundaries and extent of which varied with the character of its monarchs.

Assyria Proper was bounded on the north by Armenia, on the west and southwest by the Tigris, which separated it from Mesopotamia and Babylonia, on the southeast by Susiana, and on the east by the Zagros chain, separating it from Media. It corresponded to the modern pashalic of Mosul, including the plains below the Kurdistan and Persian mountains.

Being in the vicinity of Ararat, this district was early peopled after the flood. From the word Asshur being used in Hebrew both as the name of Shem's second son, and for the country of Assyria, ambiguity has arisen as to the founder of this empire. In Genesis x. 11, the sacred historian, in speaking of Nimrod and his kingdom, adds: "Out of

that land went forth Asshur, and builded Nineveh," or it may be translated as in the margin, "Out of that land he (*i. e.* Nimrod) went out into Assyria, and builded Nineveh." For reasons which it would be foreign to our present purpose to narrate, the latter reading is generally considered to be the more correct, and Nimrod is regarded as the founder of the Assyrian empire. For several centuries after this, Scripture is silent respecting the history of this country. In the days of Abraham, Chedorlaomer, a king of Elam, is mentioned (Gen. xiv.) as having, along with three other kings, invaded the territory of five petty princes of Palestine. These four kings, according to Josephus, were only commanders in the army of the Assyrian king, who had their dominion over Asia. In the time of the Judges, the Israelites became subject to a king of Mesopotamia, Chusan-rishathaim, who is by Josephus styled King of the Assyrians.

According to the Greek historians, the founder of the Assyrian empire was Ninus, who is represented as having conquered Babylon, Media, Egypt, and other countries. He was succeeded by his widow Semiramis, who must not, however, be confounded with another queen of that name who reigned some centuries later. She was succeeded, after a long and glorious reign, by her son, Ninyas, who, however, preferred luxurious ease and indulgence to martial glory. His example was followed by a long line of successors. In the reign of Teutames, one of these, the Trojan war broke out. Troy was

then, according to Ctesias and other Greek writers, subject to the king of Assyria. This, however, seems very doubtful, as neither Homer nor Herodotus makes any allusion to it. Of this degenerate race, Sardanapalus, the last of the dynasty, was the most effeminate and voluptuous. His feeble administration prompted Arbaces, the governor of Media, to revolt, a measure in which he was encouraged by the advice and assistance of Belesys, a Chaldean priest, who persuaded the Babylonians also to assert their independence. These provinces, aided by the Persians and other allies, attacked the Assyrians, defeated their army, and took the capital after a siege of two years. The king, to prevent his falling into the hands of his enemies, collected all his treasures, his wives, and concubines, within the palace, which he then set on fire, and thus perished.

After the death of Sardanapalus, the Assyrian empire was divided into three kingdoms, namely, the Median, Assyrian, and Babylonian. Arbaces retained the supreme power in Media, and nominated governors in Assyria and Babylon, who were honored with the title of *kings*, while they remained subject and tributary to the Median monarchs.

The first king of Assyria alluded to in Scripture is he who reigned at Nineveh when the prophet Jonah was sent thither. Hales supposes him to have been the father of Pul, the first Assyrian monarch whose name is mentioned in Scripture, and dates the commencement of his reign B. C. 821. By that time the metropolis of the empire had become a magnificent and populous city; but one pre-eminent in wickedness. Pul invaded the land of Israel during the reign of Menahem, and obliged that king to purchase peace at the price of 1,000 talents of silver (2 Kings xv. 19, 20). According to Newton, this event took place in the year 770 B. C. Hales agrees with Newton in supposing that at Pul's death his dominions were divided between his two sons, Tiglath-pileser and Nabonassar—the latter ruling at Babylon,

and giving name to the "era of Nabonassar," which took its rise in his reign B. C. 747. In the sixth year of the reign of Tiglath-pileser, Rezin, King of Syria, and Pekah, King of Israel, came up against Ahaz, and besieged him in Jerusalem. Ahaz thereupon sent messengers, with a large present, to Tiglath-pileser, King of Assyria, requesting his assistance. The Assyrian king accordingly invaded the territories of the confederate kings, annexed a portion of them to his own dominions, and carried captive a number of their subjects. In the year B. C. 729, he was succeeded by Shalman, Shalmaneser, or Enemessar. He made Hoshea, King of Israel, his tributary vassal, but finding him secretly negotiating with So or Sobaco, King of Egypt, he laid siege to the Israelitish capital, Samaria, and took it after an investment of three years (B. C. 719). He then reduced the country of the ten tribes to a province of his empire, carried into captivity the king and people, and settled Cuthæans from Babylonia in their room. Hezekiah, King of Judah, seems to have been for some time his vassal. We learn from Josephus, on the authority of the Tyrian annals, that he subdued the whole of Phœnicia with the exception of Tyre, which successfully resisted a siege of five years, and was at length relieved by his death in B. C. 715. Sargon, mentioned in Isaiah (xx. 1) as being King of Assyria, in whose reign Tartan, elsewhere mentioned as a general of Sennacherib, besieged and took Ashdod in Philistia, is by some supposed to be Shalmaneser or Esarhaddon, Sennacherib's successor; but Gesenius is probably more correct in thinking that he was a king of Assyria who succeeded Shalmaneser, and reigned only for two or three years.

The result of Tartan's expedition against Egypt and Ethiopia was predicted by Isaiah, while that general was yet on the Egyptian frontier at Ashdod. In the reign of Sennacherib, Hezekiah, King of Judah, threw off the Assyrian yoke, and allied himself with Egypt. This brought against him Sennacherib with a mighty host, who attacked and



subdued the fenced cities of Judah, and compelled him to purchase peace with 300 talents of silver and 30 talents of gold. But notwithstanding this agreement, the king of Assyria was not long in returning to invest Jerusalem. By the divine interposition, however, a pestilence destroyed in one night the Assyrian army. Sennacherib himself fled to Nineveh, where he was slain by his sons Adrammelech and Sharezer, about B. C. 709. The parricides fled to Armenia, and a third son, Esarhaddon, the Sacherdon or Sarchedon of Tobit, and the Asaradinus of Ptolemy's canon, ascended the throne. The earlier part of his reign seems to have been employed in subduing the provinces that had revolted against him. He settled colonists in Samaria; and it seems to have been in his reign that the captains of the Assyrian host invaded Judah, and carried Manasseh, the king, captive to Babylon, which appears to have been at that time the capital of the Assyrian empire. The subsequent history of the empire is involved in much obscurity. The Medes had already shaken off the yoke, and the Chaldeans soon appear on the scene as the dominant nation in Western Asia; yet Assyria, though much reduced in extent, existed as an independent state for a considerable period after Esarhaddon. Hales, following Syncellus, gives as his successor a prince called Ninus (B. C. 667), who was succeeded (B. C. 658), by Nebuchodonosor, for the transactions of whose reign Hales relies on the apocryphal book of Judith, the authority of which, however, is very questionable. The last monarch was Sarue, (called also Sardanapalus,) in whose reign Cyaxares, king of Media, and Nabopolassar, viceroy of Babylon, besieged and took Nineveh, (B. C. 606). What remained of the empire was divided between the two victorious powers, and Assyria Proper became a province of Media.

MEDIA derived its name from Madai, the third son of Japhet; as is plain from Scripture, where the Medes were constantly called *Medai*. Amongst profane authors, Strabo

derives the name from Medus, the son of Jason and Medea, others from Medea herself, and some from the *medial* position of the country.

The government of the various tribes into which the country was divided was originally monarchical, and they seemed to have had their own kings even in the earliest times. They were first brought under a foreign yoke by Pul, said to have been the founder of the Assyrian monarchy, or by his immediate successor, Tiglath-pileser. From the time of Pul, or Tiglath-pileser, who succeeded his father in the year 740, B. C., they remained subject to the Assyrians till about the latter end of the reign of Sennacherib, 710, B. C., when, emancipating themselves from Assyrian bondage, they fell into a state of anarchy. It was accordingly found necessary to appoint a king; upon which Dejoces was named to the sovereignty, and with universal applause placed upon the throne, 710 B. C. No sooner had he been vested with the supreme power, than he threw off the mask and became a tyrant. Ecbatana was built and chosen for the royal residence, and a stately palace was erected. Dejoces having enacted various laws for the government of the kingdom, and having in a considerable degree civilized his unpolished subjects, entertained thoughts of extending the limits of his new kingdom, and with this view, he invaded Assyria. Nebuchodonosor, however, at that time king of Assyria, met him in the plain of Rhagæ, and a battle ensued, in which the Medes were utterly defeated, and Dejoces was slain, after a reign, according to Herodotus, of fifty-three years. The Assyrian king, following up his success, reduced several cities of Media, and almost utterly destroyed Ecbatana. Dejoces was succeeded by his son Phraortes, 647 B. C. This prince, not satisfied with the kingdom of Media, invaded Persia, and is said to have brought that nation under subjection. Such is the account of Herodotus. Others, however, ascribe the conquest of Persia, not to Phraortes, but to his son and successor, Cyaxares. Phraortes, however, subdued several

neighboring nations, and made himself master of almost all Upper Asia, lying between Mount Taurus and the River Halys. Emboldened by his success, he invaded Assyria, subdued a great part of the country, and even laid siege to Nineveh, the metropolis. He fell before that city in the twenty-third year of his reign.

His son Cyaxares was not less valiant and enterprising than his father, and had better success against the Assyrians. With the remains of that army which had been defeated under Phraortes, he not only drove the conquerors out of Media, but obliged Chyniladan to shut himself up in Nineveh. To this place he immediately laid close siege; but was obliged to abandon the enterprise on account of an irruption of the Scythians into his own country. Cyaxares engaged these new enemies with great resolution, but was utterly defeated; and the conquerors overran not only all Media, but the greater part of Upper Asia, extending their conquests into Syria, and as far as the confines of Egypt. They continued masters of this vast tract of country for twenty-eight years, till at last Media was delivered from their yoke by a general massacre at the instigation of Cyaxares.

The Medes afterwards encountered the Lydians; and during the engagement there happened a total eclipse of the sun, which is said to have been foretold by Thales the Milesian. Both nations were terrified, and soon afterwards concluded a peace by the mediation of Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon, and Siennesis, King of Cilicia. This peace was confirmed by the marriage of Aryenis, the daughter of Halyattes, and Astyages, the eldest son of Cyaxares; and of this marriage was born in the ensuing year, Cyaxares II, who, in the book of Daniel, ch. v. 31, is called Darius the Mede. Cyaxares, disengaged from the Lydian war, resumed the siege of Nineveh; and, having formed a strict alliance with Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon, they joined their forces, and took and destroyed the city (606 B.C.). With this

prosperous event commenced the great successes of Nebuchadnezzar and Cyaxares; and thus was laid the foundation of the two collateral empires—as they may be called—of the Medes and Babylonians, which rose upon the ruins of the Assyrian monarchy. After the reduction of Nineveh, the two conquerors led the confederate army against Pharaoh-Necho, King of Egypt, defeated him near the Euphrates, and compelled him to resign what he had formerly taken from the Assyrians. After this victory they reduced all Colesyria and Phœnicia; they then invaded and laid waste Samaria, Galilee, and Scythopolis; and, at last, besieged Jerusalem, and took Jehoiakim prisoner. Nebuchadnezzar afterwards pursued his conquests in the West, and Cyaxares subdued the Assyrian provinces of Armenia, Pontus, and Cappadocia. Again uniting their forces, they reduced Persia and Susiana, and accomplished the conquest of the Assyrian empire. The prophet Ezekiel, (ch. xxxii. 22, etc.) enumerates the chief nations who were subdued and slaughtered by the two conquerors, Cyaxares and Nebuchadnezzar.

After this victory, the Babylonian and Median empires seem to have been united; but upon the death of Nebuchadnezzar, or rather towards the close of his life, a war ensued, which was only extinguished by the dissolution of the Babylonian empire. The Medes under Astyages, the son of Cyaxares I, withstood the power of the Babylonian monarchs, and, under Cyrus and Cyaxares II, utterly destroyed their empire by the taking of Babylon. After the death of Cyaxares the II, the kingdom fell to Cyrus, by whom the seat of the empire was transferred to Persia. After the time of Cyrus, the union between the Medes and Persians became so close, that many of the customs of the latter, are believed to have been derived from Media; and the name by which the Persians were known to the Greeks was that of Medes, while in sacred history they are always called Medes and Persians. On the dismemberment of the Persian empire they came under the do-



minion of the Seleucidæ, and subsequently, of the Parthians.

The Medes were fond of equestrian exercises, and were great adepts in archery. The priests of the Median religion were called *Magi*; and the principal objects of worship, were the sun, moon, and five planets. The seven concentric walls of Ecbatana, the capital, were, according to Herodotus, decorated with various colors, which were probably symbolical of these objects of adoration; and the correctness of this description has been recently confirmed by the discovery of similarly colored terraces at Birs Nimroud, near the ruins of Babylon.

BABYLONIA, or CHALDÆA, was a country and kingdom of Asia, the capital of which was Babylon. The country was bounded on the north by the desert part of Mesopotamia, on the east by the Tigris, on the south by the Persian Gulf, and on the west by the Arabian desert. The confines of the kingdom, however, were at times much more extensive.

Passing over the early portion of Babylonian history, which is obscure and doubtful, we shall limit ourselves to a short account of the events which terminated in the subversion of the kingdom.

A war which had begun between the Medes, Persians, and Babylonians, in the reign of Neriglissar, the father of Nabonadius, had been carried on with very bad fortune on the side of the Babylonians. Cyrus, who commanded the Median and Persian army, having subdued the several nations inhabiting the great continent from the Ægean Sea to the Euphrates, bent his march towards Babylon. Nabonadius, hearing of his march immediately advanced against him with an army. In the engagement which ensued, the Babylonians were defeated; and the king, retreating to his metropolis, was blocked up and closely besieged by Cyrus. The reduction of this city was no easy enterprise. The walls were of a prodigious height, the number of men employed to defend them was great, and the place was stored with all

sorts of provisions for twenty years. Cyrus, despairing of being able to take such a city by storm, caused a line of circumvallation to be drawn quite around it, with a large and deep ditch; reckoning that if all communication with the country were cut off, the besieged would be obliged to surrender through famine. That his troops might not be too much fatigued, he divided his army into twelve bodies, appointing each body its month to guard the trenches; while the besieged, trusting to their high walls and magazines, insulted him from the ramparts, and ridiculed all his preparations, as so much unprofitable labor.

After Cyrus had spent two whole years before Babylon, without making any progress in the siege, he at last thought of the following stratagem, which put him in possession of it. He was informed that a great annual solemnity was to be held at Babylon, and, that the inhabitants on that occasion, were accustomed to spend the whole night in drinking and debauchery. This he, therefore, thought a proper time for surprising them; and, accordingly sent a strong detachment to the head of the canal leading to the large lake, with orders, at a certain time, to break down the great bank, which was between the lake and canal, and to turn the whole current into the lake. At the same time, he stationed one body of troops at the place where the river entered the city, and another where it came out; ordering them to march in by the bed of the river as soon as they should find it fordable. Towards the evening, he opened the head of the trenches on both sides of the river above the city, that the water might discharge itself into them; by which means, and the breaking down of the great dam, the river was soon drained. The troops then entered the channel, the one body commanded by Gobryas, the other by Gadates; and finding the gates all left open, in consequence of the disorders of that riotous night, they penetrated into the very heart of the city without opposition, and meeting, according to agreement, at the pal-

ace, they surprised the guards and cut them to pieces. Those who were in the palace opened the gates to know the cause of this confusion, when the Persians rushed in, took the palace, and killed the king, who came out to meet them sword in hand. Thus, an end was put to the Babylonian empire; and Cyrus took possession of Babylon for one

called in Scripture, Darius the Mede, most probably Cyaxares, II, uncle to Cyrus. From this time, Babylonia never formed a distinct kingdom, but has always followed the fortune of those great conquerors, who, at different times, have appeared in Asia. It is now subject to the Turks, under the name of Irak Arabi.

## PARTHIA.

**P**ARTHIA, a celebrated empire of antiquity, was bounded on the West by Media, on the North by Hyrcania, on the East by Aria, and on the South by Caramania and Persis. It was surrounded on every side by mountains or deserts, and its surface was hilly and rugged.

The history of the ancient Parthians is involved in obscurity. All we know about them is, that they were first subject to the Medes, then to the Persians, and lastly to Alexander. After the death of the Macedonian conqueror, the province fell to Seleucus Nicator, and was held by him and his successors till the reign of Antiochus Theus, about two centuries and a half B.C. At this time the Parthians revolted, and chose Arsaces as their king. Seleucus Callinicus, the successor of Antiochus Theus, attempted to reduce Arsaces; but the latter having had time to strengthen himself, defeated his antagonist, and drove him out of the country. In a short time, however, Seleucus undertook another expedition against Arsaces, which proved still more unfortunate than the former; for being defeated in a great battle, he was taken prisoner, and died in captivity. Arsaces being thus established in his new kingdom, reduced Hyrcania and several other provinces; but he was at last killed in a battle against Ariarathes, King of

Cappadocia. From this prince all the other kings of Parthia took the surname of *Arsaces*, as those of Egypt did that of *Ptolemy* from Ptolemy Soter.

Arsaces was succeeded by his son, who, having entered Media, made himself master of that country whilst Antiochus the Great was engaged in war with Ptolemy Euergetes, King of Egypt. Antiochus, however, had no sooner found himself disengaged from that war, than he marched with all his forces against Arsaces, and at first drove him completely out of Media. But the latter soon returned with an army of 100,000 foot and 20,000 horse, with which he put a stop to the progress of Antiochus; and a treaty was soon afterwards concluded, by which it was agreed that Arsaces should remain master of Parthia and Hyrcania, upon condition of assisting Antiochus in his wars with other nations.

Arsaces II. was succeeded by his son Priapatus, who reigned fifteen years, and left three sons,—Phraates, Mithridates, and Artabanus. Phraates, the eldest, succeeded to the throne, and reduced the Mardians, who had never been conquered by any but Alexander. His brother Mithridates, who was next invested with the regal dignity, reduced the Bactrians, Medes, Persians, and Elymeans, and overran a great part of the



East, penetrating beyond the boundaries of Alexander's conquests. Demetrius Nicator, who then reigned in Syria, endeavored to recover these provinces; but his army was entirely destroyed, and he himself taken prisoner, in which state he remained till his death. After this victory, Mithridates made himself master of Babylonia and Mesopotamia; so that all the provinces between the Euphrates and Ganges were now subject to his sway.

Mithridates died in the thirty-seventh year of his reign, between 138 and 130 B.C., leaving the throne to his son Phraates II. But the latter was scarcely settled in his kingdom, when Antiochus Sidetes marched against him at the head of a numerous army, on the pretence of delivering his brother Demetrius, who was still detained in captivity. Phraates was defeated in three pitched battles, in which he lost all the countries conquered by his father, and was reduced within the limits of the ancient Parthian kingdom. Antiochus, however, did not long enjoy his good fortune. His numerous army being obliged to scatter themselves over the country, were attacked at disadvantage by the inhabitants, and all the invaders, along with their monarch, were exterminated. Phraates elated with this success, proposed to invade Syria; but happening to quarrel with the Scythians, he was cut off, with his whole army, by that people.

Phraates was succeeded by his uncle Artabanus. The new king, however, enjoyed his dignity for a very short time, being a few days after his accession, killed in another battle with the Scythians. He was succeeded by Pacorus, who entered into an alliance with the Romans. Who was the next occupant of the throne has not been ascertained; but the next king whose reign is authenticated was Sanatroces. He died about 70 B.C., after a reign of seven years, and was succeeded by Phraates III. This monarch took under his protection Tigranes, the son of Tigranes the Great, King of Armenia, gave the young prince his daughter in mar-

riage, and invaded the kingdom with a design to place him on the throne of Armenia; but he soon thought proper to retire, and to remain at peace with the Romans. Phraates was murdered by his children Mithridates and Orodes; and soon afterwards the former was put to death by his brother, who thus became the sole master of the Parthian empire.

In this reign happened the ever-memorable war with the Romans under Crassus. It had its origin in the spirit of rivalry which existed between the triumvirs who then presided over the destinies of Rome. Pompey had conquered Mithridates and the pirates; Cæsar had subdued Gaul; and Crassus felt the necessity of maintaining his position by the achievement of some military exploit. Accordingly, no sooner had he been elected consul in 55 B.C., and obtained Syria for his province, than he resolved to invade Parthia. This expedition, owing to the fact that it was directed against a friendly people, met with considerable opposition at its very outset. The Senate refused to sanction it. The presence of Pompey was required to save it from an attack of popular dissatisfaction as it passed through the streets of Rome. When it issued from the city, the tribune Ateius, posted at the gate, with strange and awful incantations and anathemas, devoted it and its leader to perdition. Nevertheless, Crassus persisted in his enterprise. He marched to Brundisium, and sailed to Macedonia. Continuing his route through Macedonia and Thrace, across the Hellespont, and through Galatia and the northern part of Syria, he crossed the Euphrates, and commenced hostilities. Yet scarcely had a few towns yielded to the Roman arms, than that imprudence of Crassus which led to the ruin of the expedition began to manifest itself. Instead of following up his success, pressing onwards, and attacking the enemy unprepared, he returned to Syria, and passed the winter in inactivity. It was not deemed necessary to collect information and to provide resources for the coming campaign. The

soldiers were allowed to neglect their training and discipline. He himself spent his time in inquiring into the revenues of cities and weighing gold in the temple of Hierapolis. This infatuation reached a climax when the time for taking the field again, and advancing into the heart of Parthia, arrived. In vain did his ally Artavasdes, King of Armenia, advise him to direct his route along the chain of the Armenian mountains, where his march might be safe from the attacks of the enemy's cavalry. In vain did the quæstor, the famous Caius Cassius, suggest to him the expediency of marching along by the side of the Euphrates, where the army might be supplied with provisions from the ships. His ear was given unreservedly to an Arab chief, who professed the most devoted fidelity to the Romans, but who had come expressly to betray them into the hands of the Parthian king. By the advice of this smooth-tongued barbarian, he resolved to advance right through Mesopotamia. A series of disasters, unsurpassed in ancient history for their tragic interest, was the result. The army had not advanced far before they found themselves in the midst of a waste sandy plain stretching away on all sides to the horizon. There were no trees to shield them from the burning sun, no herbs to supply fodder for their horses, no streams to slake their parched throats. Want and destruction seemed to be closing around them. At this juncture they received intelligence that the foe was at hand. Then there rushed upon their minds the reports they had formerly heard of those formidable Parthian horsemen who were clothed in impenetrable mail, who drove their arrows sheer through the shields and breast-plates of their enemies, and who, while fleeing, turned round upon their saddles and shot down their pursuers with deadly certainty. Their courage began to falter. Crassus himself was so paralyzed with terror that he was at a loss how to arrange his forces for the coming onset. At first he extended them in a long line, to prevent them from being surrounded. Then he

formed them into a solid square, flanked by squadrons of cavalry. In this order they were hurried on over the toilsome desert until they came in sight of the Parthians under the command of Surenas. The Parthian army appeared to be neither large nor well-equipped. But no sooner had the signal for battle been given, than up from its rear, as if from the bosom of the earth, sprung battalion after battalion of barbarian soldiers. At the same instant their coats of skin, which had aided in concealing them from the eye, were dropped off, and they stood under the summer sun a living mass of glittering steel. The order to advance was passed, and on they came, marching to the crash of kettledrums, and exasperating their valor to the pitch of frenzy with savage yells and bellowings. With a well-directed flight of arrows, they drove the advancing battalions of the invaders back into the ranks of their densely-crowded square. Then, surrounding that mass of living beings, they began to pour in upon it a continuous shower of deadly shafts. At first the Romans expected that their assailants would lay aside their bows, and come to a hand-to-hand engagement. They therefore stood passively for a while under the winged destruction which fell upon them. When they perceived, however, that there were camel-loads of arrows, furnishing a continual supply to the quivers of the archers, their strained patience gave way. A part of the army under young Crassus charged out upon their foes, and finding that they retreated, pursued them at full speed. Yet no sooner had the Parthians drawn their pursuers to some distance away from the main body of the Roman army, than wheeling suddenly round under concealment of a cloud of dust, they caught them completely off their guard. Cutting off their retreat, and hemming them in on all sides, they brought them to bay upon a small eminence, and showered in arrows upon them till not a man was left. Then they returned with redoubled valor, and with loud shouts of victory, to renew their onslaught upon the main



body of the invading army. Their heavy cavalry drove in and compressed the enemy's square with their pikes, as their light cavalry thinned it with their arrows. The approach of darkness alone put a stop to their destructive attacks. As the diminished numbers of the Romans encamped that night among their dead, they were in great perplexity about their impending fate. Crassus lay prostrate upon the earth in the stupor of despair, and could take no measures for the common safety. It became the duty of the quæstor Cassius and the lieutenant Octavius to call a council of war. The resolution was adopted of escaping immediately while the enemy was at a distance passing the night. Leaving the wounded behind to bewail their fate, they hastened away with all possible speed, and arrived at Carhæ (the *Haran* of the Bible) before they could be overtaken. The ill-fated Romans, however, were still within the toils of their artful enemy. When they would have tarried within the town for reinforcements from Armenia, they found their Parthian pursuers encamped before the walls, and ready to commence an assault. When they determined to depart from the city by night, and continue their retreat, a citizen named Andromachus plotted their destruction. He first informed Surenas of their intention. Then undertaking to guide them in their flight, he retarded their escape by leading them in a zig-zag course, and completed their bewilderment by landing them in a morass. Cassius, indeed, disentangled himself from this snare, and, at the head of five hundred horse, found his way to Syria. But day came and showed Crassus with four cohorts still floundering in the swamp, and the Parthians close at hand. He had only time to get out of the marshes, and to station his troops on a height, when the enemy came up. Surenas now saw reason for changing his tactics. A range of mountains was near; the least delay might allow the Romans to escape thither, and there they would be secure from the onset of the Parthian cavalry. He resolved to try

stratagem. Advancing from among his men to the foot of the height, with bow unbent and hand outstretched, he invited the Roman general to a peaceful conference. In obedience to the clamorous demand of his troops, Crassus went down the hill with a few attendants. "What!" exclaimed the wily barbarian; "a Roman general on foot! Let a horse be brought." A richly-caparisoned steed was led up. A significant glance from Surenas informed the Parthian attendants what they were to do. They lifted Crassus roughly on to the saddle, and began to hurry him away. The Romans who had come along with him interfered; a scuffle ensued; and the unfortunate triumvir was slain. The triumph of the Parthians was now easily completed. A part of the Romans surrendered; those who attempted to escape were pursued and cut to pieces; and King Orodes celebrated the victory by ordering molten gold to be poured into the mouth of Crassus, in mockery of the avarice of the deceased.

But Surenas did not long enjoy the pleasure of his victory; for Orodes, jealous of his power and authority amongst the Parthians, soon afterwards caused him to be put to death. Pacorus, the king's favorite son, was placed at the head of the army, and agreeably to his father's directions, invaded Syria; but he was driven back with great loss by Cicero and by Cassius, the only general who had survived the defeat of Crassus. After this no mention is made of the Parthians till the time of the civil war between Cæsar and Pompey, when the latter sent ambassadors to solicit succor against his rivals. This Orodes was willing to grant, upon condition that Syria should be delivered up to him; but as Pompey would not consent to such a proposal, the succors were denied.

Cæsar is said to have meditated a war against the Parthians, which in all probability would have proved fatal to them. His death delivered them from this danger. But not long afterwards the eastern provinces of the Roman empire being grievously oppressed by Mark Antony, rose in arms, and invited

the Parthians to join them. The latter readily accepted the invitation; and in 40 B. C. crossed the Euphrates under the command of Pacorus and Labienus, a Roman general of Pompey's party. At first they met with great success, and overran all Asia Minor, reducing the countries as far as the Hellespont and the Ægean Sea, and likewise subduing Phœnicia, Syria, and even Judea. They did not, however, long enjoy their new conquest; for, being elated with their victories, and despising the enemy, they engaged Ventidius, Antony's lieutenant, before they had effected a junction with the forces under Labienus, and sustained a complete defeat. This so disheartened Labienus that he abandoned his men by night, and left them to be cut to pieces. Ventidius, pursuing his advantage, gained several other victories, and at last entirely defeated the Parthian army under Pacorus, slaughtering almost the whole of them, and the prince himself among the rest. He did not, however, pursue this victory as he might have done, being afraid of giving umbrage to Antony, who had already become jealous of the great honor gained by his lieutenant. He therefore contented himself with reducing those places in Syria and Phœnicia which the Parthians had taken in the beginning of the war, until Antony arrived to take the command of the army upon himself.

Orodes was almost distracted with grief on receiving the dreadful news of the loss of his army, and the death of his favorite son. When time had restored the use of his faculties, he appointed Phraates, the eldest but the most wicked of all his children, to be his colleague and successor. Phraates commenced his reign by murdering his father, his thirty brothers, and all the rest of the royal family. He did not even spare his own eldest son, lest the discontented Parthians should place him, as he was already of age, upon the throne. Many of the chief lords of Parthia, intimidated by the cruelty of the new king, retired into foreign countries. One of these, Monceses, a person of great dis-

tingtion, having fled to Antony, arrived in time to aid the Roman general in planning an expedition against the Parthians. Accordingly Antony set out on his march towards the Euphrates in 36 B. C., at the head of an army of 100,000. On his arrival at the river, he found all the defiles so well guarded that he deemed it expedient to enter Media, with a design first to reduce that country, and then to penetrate into Parthia. Leaving his battering-engines to follow in the rear under the protection of two legions, he advanced by forced marches to the Median city of Praaspa or Phraata, and immediately invested it. But a long series of disasters now began to thwart the object of his enterprise. The convoy in charge of his storming-machines was attacked and cut to pieces before it could reach the place of its destination. His beleaguering forces continued to blockade the town without any success, until the growing desolation of the surrounding country, and the coming severity of winter, warned them to repair to some more hospitable clime. He then exchanged the toils of an unsuccessful siege only for the disasters of an inglorious retreat. During his march homewards, the redoubted Parthian cavalry hovered round the army, laying waste the country in front, harassing the rear, and intercepting supplies. Several defeats which he gave them did not check their pertinacity. They continued their flying attacks until he reached the borders of Armenia, and had lost more than 20,000 men, the flower of the Roman army.

Antony was no sooner gone than the kings of Media and Parthia quarrelled about the booty which they had taken; and, after various contests, Phraates reduced all Media and Armenia. Elated with his conquests, he then oppressed his subjects in such a cruel and tyrannical manner that a civil war broke out, in which the competitors for the crown were alternately driven out and restored, until the middle of the first century, when one Vologeses, the son of a former king, became the peaceable possessor of the throne. He carried on some wars against the Romans, but



with indifferent success, and at last gladly consented to a renewal of the ancient treaties with that powerful people.

From this time the Parthian history presents nothing remarkable until the reign of the Emperor Trajan, when the Parthian king by name Chosroes, displeased the Romans by driving out the king of Armenia. Upon this, Trajan, glad of any pretence to quarrel with the Parthians, immediately hastened into Armenia. His arrival there was so unexpected that he reduced almost the whole country without opposition, and took prisoner and put to death Parthamasiris, the king who had been set up by the Parthians. After this, he entered Mesopotamia, took the city of Nisibis, and reduced to a Roman province the whole of that wealthy country.

Early in the spring of the following year, Trajan, who had withdrawn to winter quarters in Antioch, again took the field against the Parthians. Having crossed the Euphrates in the face of a continued shower of arrows from the enemy on the opposite bank, he advanced boldly into Assyria, and made himself master of Arbela. Thence he pursued his march, subduing with incredible rapidity countries where the Roman standard had never before been displayed. Babylonia voluntarily submitted to him, and Babylon itself was, after a vigorous resistance, taken by storm; so that he became master of all Chaldæa and Assyria, the two richest provinces of the Parthian empire. From Babylon he marched to Ctesiphon, the metropolis of the Parthian monarchy, which he besieged, and at last reduced. But whilst Trajan was thus making war in the heart of the enemy's country, Chosroes, having recruited his army, set out to recover Mesopotamia. On his arrival in that province, the inhabitants flocked to him from all parts; and most of the cities having driven out the garrisons left by Trajan, opened their gates to him. The emperor, however, detached Lucius and Maximus into Mesopotamia to check the revolt. Maximus was met by Chosroes, and defeated and slain; but Lucius gained considerable advan-

tages over the enemy, and retook Nisibis, Selucia, and other cities. Trajan then repaired to Ctesiphon, and having assembled the chief men of the nation, he crowned one of the royal family, by name Parthaspates king of Parthia, obliging all those who were present to engage to pay him allegiance. Thus Parthia was at last subdued and made tributary to Rome.

But the Parthians did not long continue in this state of subjection. For no sooner had they heard of Trajan's death, which happened shortly afterwards, than they drove Parthaspates from the throne, and recalling Chosroes, openly revolted against Rome. Hadrian, who was then commander-in-chief of all the forces in the East, and who was soon afterwards acknowledged as emperor, did not wish to engage in any new war with such a formidable enemy. He therefore abandoned those provinces which Trajan had conquered, withdrew the Roman garrisons from Mesopotamia, and fixed the Euphrates as the boundary of the empire in those parts.

Chosroes died after a long reign, and was succeeded by his eldest son Vologeses. In the reign of the latter, the Alani, a barbarous horde, broke into Media, and could only be induced by large presents to return home. His successor, also called Vologeses, having no enemy to contend with at home, fell unexpectedly upon Armenia, cut the legions in pieces, entered Syria, defeated Cornelianus, governor of that province, and advanced without opposition to the neighborhood of Antioch, putting everywhere the Romans, and those who favored them, to the sword. The Emperor Verus by the advice of his colleague, Antoninus the Philosopher, hastened into Syria, and having driven the Parthians out of that province, ordered Statius Priscus to invade Armenia, and Cassius to carry the war into the enemy's own country. Priscus made himself master of Artaxata, and in one campaign drove the Parthians out of Armenia. Cassius, on the other hand, reduced all those provinces which had formerly submitted to Trajan, sacked Seleucia and Ctesiphon,

and struck terror into the most remote provinces of that empire. Not long afterwards, Antoninus the Philosopher, repairing to Syria to settle the affairs of that province, was met by ambassadors from Vologeses. That prince having by this time recovered most of the provinces subdued by Cassius, promised to hold them of the Roman emperor. To these terms Antoninus readily agreed; and a peace was accordingly concluded between the two empires.

Upon the death of Vologeses, his nephew, who bore the same name, was raised to the throne. He sent troops to the assistance of Pescennius Niger in his contest for the imperial crown. Accordingly, no sooner had Severus, the successful competitor, established his authority at home, than he advanced to punish the Parthians, and laid siege to their capital, Ctesiphon. The city was at length taken by assault, and the king's treasures, with his wives and children, fell into the hands of the conquerors. Severus, however, had no sooner crossed the Euphrates than Vologeses recovered all the provinces which he had reduced, except Mesopotamia. On the death of this monarch, a contest for the crown ensued between his sons. Vologeses was at first successful; but Artabanus ultimately succeeded in establishing himself on the throne. He had scarcely settled the affairs of his kingdom when the Emperor Caracalla, desirous to signalize himself by some memorable exploit against the Parthians, sent a solemn embassy to their king, desiring his daughter in marriage. Artabanus complied with his request, and went to meet him, attended with his principal nobility and his best troops, all unarmed. But this peaceable train no sooner approached

the Roman army than it was attacked and mercilessly butchered by the soldiers, the king himself escaping with very great difficulty.

This inhuman treachery Artabanus resolved to revenge. Accordingly, having raised the most numerous army that had ever been known in Parthia, he crossed the Euphrates, and ravaged Syria with fire and sword. But Caracalla being murdered before this invasion, Macrinus, who had meanwhile succeeded to the purple, met him at the head of a mighty army composed of many legions and all the auxiliaries of the states of Asia. The battle lasted two days, both nations fighting so obstinately that night only parted them, without any apparent advantage on either side. On the third day the Roman emperor sent a herald to Artabanus, acquainting him with the death of Caracalla, and proposing an alliance between the two empires. The king, understanding that his great enemy was dead, readily embraced the proposal, upon condition that all the prisoners who had been so perfidiously taken by Caracalla should be immediately restored, and a large sum of money paid to defray the expenses of the war.

As Artabanus on this occasion had lost the flower of his army, the Persians, under the command of Artaxerxes, a man of mean descent, but of great courage and experience in war, revolted against the Parthians. They were successful in two battles, and in a third they annihilated the army of their enemies, and took the king prisoner. Artabanus was soon afterwards put to death by order of Artaxerxes; and the Parthians were forced to become the vassals of a nation which had been subject to them for the space of 475 years.



## P E R S I A

THE early history of Persia is lost in remote antiquity, and for authentic accounts, the uncertain gleanings of oral tradition, or the fiction of poets, have been substituted. The *Shândmah* of Firdausi, the Homer of Persia, a legendary history of the Persian kings, composed of such materials, comprises all the information possessed by the Asiatic writers prior to the Mohammedan conquest. From this poem, and similar authorities, Sir J. Malcolm has compiled the early annals of Persia, and to it we refer our readers for some account of that dim era.

From the evidence of the cuneiform inscriptions, and other monuments, the true history of the rise of the Persian power appears to be as follows:—At a very remote period, during the existence of a powerful Assyrian monarchy, there took place a great migration of the Arian nation westward from beyond the Indus towards Persia and Media. In 880 B.C., the migration being still incomplete, that part of the Arian nation which was subsequently called the Medes encountered a great Assyrian king named Shal-Manuhara, whose history is recorded in the cuneiform character on a black obelisk, and has been deciphered. From this period a struggle continued between the Medes and Assyrians till B.C. 710, when Sargon, the third king of the Lower Assyrian empire, completely subdued the newly-arrived tribe, and planted a number of cities in their territory, some of which were filled with Israelites, whom Sargon had carried off from Sa-

maria. The Medes, however, constantly endeavored to assert their independence; and in B.C. 633 Cyaxares shook off the Assyrian yoke, and, having taken Nineveh in B.C. 625, laid the foundation of the Arian empire, which, sixty-seven years afterwards, was fully established by Cyrus.

Arbaces, according to Prideaux, who makes this prince the Tiglath-Pileser of Scripture, was the first sovereign of Media. He flourished B.C. 747, and conspired with Belesis, governor of Babylon, and other nobles, against Sardanapalus, with whose death terminated the Assyrian monarchy. Cyrus, according to the Greek historians, was the chief of a pastoral horde, who, quitting their own comparatively barren and unproductive country, subdued the territories of their wealthy and luxurious neighbors. He was the conqueror of Babylon, and on the ruins of that great kingdom founded that of Persia, which was gradually extended by conquest from the Mediterranean to the Indus and the Oxus. Cyrus was succeeded, in the year 529 B.C., by Cambyzes, the Ahasuerus of the Scriptures, who gave himself up to sensuality and cruelty. Still he extended his empire, having reduced Egypt to the state of a colony, and also conquered a great part of Northern Africa. Pseudo-Smerdis, feigning himself to be the brother of Cambyzes, who had been murdered, was by a faction of the Magi raised to the throne B.C. 522. Otanes, a Persian nobleman, finding out the deceit, conspired with six other chiefs, who

agreed to assassinate him, which they effected, after he had reigned eight months. Along with him they put to death a number of the Magi; and having decided on a monarchical form of government, they resolved to assemble next morning at sunrise without the city, on horseback; and it was agreed that he whose horse should neigh first should be chosen king. The well-known trick of Æbares, the groom of Darius Hystaspes, secured the throne to his master, 521. He brought his master's horse the evening before, with a mare, to the appointed spot; and the horse, as soon as he arrived next morning, recollecting the mare, neighed, and he was immediately saluted king. The Greek character and fabrication of these tales is self-evident. Darius Hystaspes reigned over Persia thirty-six years, and was distinguished as a legislator as well as a conqueror. He divided the country into nineteen satrapies or provinces, each liable for the payment of a fixed tribute. Over these provinces satraps were sent to preside, with the delegated authority of the king. Their duties were, to collect the revenue, to improve agriculture, and to perform all the royal commands. They were afterwards invested with military commands; and securities were devised against their usurpation of independent authority. An establishment of couriers was at the same time instituted, for expediting orders through every part of the empire. A regular and efficient military force was also organized by this monarch, and maintained at the expense of the different provinces. In process of time, Grecian mercenaries were taken into pay; and, when the country was engaged in war, the army was recruited from the people.

The reign of Darius was distinguished by several important warlike expeditions. Crossing the Thracian Bosphorus, he invaded Europe with 700,000 troops. But the Scythian tribes between the Danube and the Don successfully resisted his attack, and forced him to retreat with loss. He then overran the territories of Thrace and Macedonia, and

left Megabyzus to complete the subjection of those provinces. He next invaded the countries to the east of Persia with a powerful army, and conquered some of the countries bordering on the Indus, which he formed into a twentieth satrapy, under the name of India; and his vast armies were also sent to overwhelm the rising communities of Greece. But his troops, though they far outnumbered their enemies, were completely overthrown on the plains of Marathon by the forces of the Greeks. Amidst these disasters the reign of this monarch terminated; and he was succeeded by his son Xerxes, B. C. 486.

Xerxes carried on a successful war against the Egyptians, whom he gave over to the vengeance of his brother Achæmenes; and he resolved to avenge himself on the Greeks. With this view, he fitted out a mighty armament, in which he embarked an army amounting to 3,000,000 of troops, or, with all the camp followers, to above 5,000,000; and with this vast force he resolved to annihilate the independence and liberties of Greece at a single blow. But he was met by the devoted bands of Grecian patriots, and experienced a severe check at the celebrated pass of Thermopylæ, which was defended by 300 Spartans against his whole army, and which he only carried by an immense sacrifice of men; and his fleet and army were finally overthrown at Salamis, Plataea, and Mycale, he himself escaping from the scene of action in a miserable fishing-boat. He was assassinated, after a reign of twenty-one years.

He was succeeded, in 464, by his grandson, Artaxerxes Longimanus, the Ardishir Dirazdast, or Longhands of the Persian historians. He is celebrated for the internal regulation of his empire, and for the intelligence which he acquired relative to all the concerns of the kingdom, by means of the agents whom he employed. He is represented by some as the Ahasuerus of the Scriptures, because he is said to have treated the Jews with lenity and kindness, and to have married one of that nation. The two



succeeding sovereigns were Xerxes II. and Darius II., whose reigns were short. The latter was succeeded in 605 by Artaxerxes Mnemon, his eldest son, who had to contend for the crown with his younger brother Cyrus. It was in his reign that the famous retreat of the Ten Thousand took place under Xenophon, who has given a narrative of the expedition. His reign, which continued twenty years, was a scene of intrigue, in which favorites bore the chief sway, and during which those symptoms of decay became visible which terminated at last in the overthrow of the kingdom. He was succeeded by Darius or Dara I., who reigned only twelve years. In the year 336, B.C., Darius Codomanus, or Dara II. of the Persian historians, assumed the sceptre. It was in his reign that Alexander of Macedonia, having subdued the different principalities of Greece, and consolidated their power into one, invaded Persia. He crossed the Hellespont in the year 334 B.C., with a well-disciplined and veteran force of 35,000 men, and encountered and defeated the Persian host on the banks of the Granicus. The hasty levies of Persia were again routed in the fatal battle of Issus, in which 100,000 were slain; and the family of Darius fell into the victor's hands. The battle of Arbela, which succeeded, completed the triumph of Alexander. The Persian armies were routed and dispersed, and the unfortunate Darius, flying from the field of battle, was seized by his nobles, at the head of whom was Bessus, who bound him in golden chains, and were carrying him to Bactriana in a car covered with skins; but being overtaken by the conqueror, they stabbed their victim to the heart, and left him in the chariot weltering in his blood. With Darius terminated the dynasty of Cyrus, which had subsisted 206 years, according to the Greek writers.

After the death of Alexander, Asia continued for a long period a scene of war and commotion, owing to the contests which arose amongst his successors for the dominion of the country. But about the year 307 B.C.,

Seleucus Nicator by his success had acquired the dominion of all the countries which lie between the Euphrates, the Indus, and the Oxus, and had even carried his victorious arms to the Ganges, and established a friendly alliance with Sandrocottus, or Chandra Gupta, King of Pataliputra, who reigned on the Ganges, near Allahabad. In B.C. 279 Seleucus was succeeded by Antiochus Soter, who again in 261, was succeeded by Antiochus Theus. In the eleventh year of his reign, or, in 255, the Parthians revolted under Arsaces, who founded the third Persian dynasty, the Arsacidæ or Ashkanians—Ashk being the name given to Arsaces by the Persians. Arsaces, enraged at an affront offered to Tiridates his brother, put the governor of Parthia, Agathocles, to death, and declared himself independent.

Little is known of the authentic history of the Ashkanian kings. Persian historians omit the majority of these princes altogether. They are also silent as to the wars between this dynasty and the Romans. We learn, however, from the historians of the West, that Pacorus, the twenty-sixth king, sent an embassy to Sylla, in A.D., 90; and, that in A.D. 53, Crassus, having passed the Euphrates a second time to carry on a war he had commenced against the Parthians, was defeated and slain, with 20,000 of his men, and 10,000 were made prisoners. Next year Cassius, his quæstor, who had carried off the remains of the army, repelled from Syria an invading Parthian army; and, in 51, on their returning and besieging Antioch, he defeated them again with great slaughter. In the years 41 and 40, however, they returned and conquered all Syria, and took Jerusalem, slew Phasael, made Hyrcanus prisoner, and settled Antigonus on the throne of Judea. In 39, Ventidius defeated the Parthians in a great battle, and drove them out of Syria; and, in 36, Antony having invaded Parthia, was repulsed with the loss of the larger portion of his army. In 20 B.C., the Parthian king sent an embassy to Augustus to seek his friendship, and restored the stand-

ards taken from Crassus and Antony, and all the surviving prisoners.

In 165 A.D. the generals of the emperor Marcus took Seleucia, which had become the Parthian capital, and put 300,000 of the inhabitants to death. They, at the same time, pillaged and destroyed Ctesiphon; but, this latter city, in 198, had become so populous and strong, that it maintained an obstinate defence against the Emperor Severus, and, when stormed, supplied him with 100,000 captives. Even after this, Ctesiphon recovered, and became the winter residence of the Parthian monarchs. About the year 217, the Emperor Macrinus purchased a disgraceful peace for Parthia, by the payment of a sum equivalent to three million pounds. This is all that is known of a period, the most obscure in Persian history.

The Sassanian dynasty of kings forms a new era in the history of Persia. These monarchs were engaged in long and bloody wars with the Roman emperors; and, hence we are enabled to correct the imperfect records of the East, by the authentic narrative of the Roman historians. The first of these, Artaxerxes, or Ardishir, as he is called by the Persian historians, began his reign, A.D. 226, and having pacified the province of Fârs, made himself master of 'Irâk. Having defeated and slain Arravan or Artabanus, who ruled over the mountainous country about Hamadân and Karmânschâh, he was hailed in the field with the title of *Shahan-shah*, or "King of Kings"—a name which has ever since been assumed by the sovereigns of Persia. In the course of his reign he extended and consolidated his newly-acquired dominions, and waged with various success, a war with the Roman emperor Alexander. He labored to restore the religion of Zoroaster, and the authority of the Magi, which he enforced by the most sanguinary decrees. He was succeeded by his son Shâhpur or Sapor, A.D. 238, who carried on a successful war against the Romans, whose emperor, Valerian, in an attempt to relieve Edessa, was defeated and taken prisoner.

Shâhpur gained many victories over the Roman armies; but towards the latter part of his reign he suffered reverses. His army was attacked by Odenathus, prince of Palmyra; and his country was afterwards invaded by Aurelian, the warlike Emperor of Rome. Hurmuzd, his son, the Hormisdas of Greek authors, reigned only one year, and was succeeded by Bahrâm, or Varanes I, in 271, who evinced his zeal for the ancient religion of Persia by the execution of Mani, founder of the sect of Manicheans. He reigned three years and three months, and was succeeded by Bahrâm or Varanes II, a weak prince. He engaged in a war with the Emperor Carus, who conquered Mesopotamia, carried his arms across the Tigris, and made himself master of Ctesiphon. Bahrâm or Varanes III, reigned only three months. His brother Nârsi, (the Narses of the Greeks,) reigned nine years, and abdicated in favor of his son, Hurmuzd or Hormisdas II. He subdued Armenia, and signally defeated the Emperor Galerius on the same fatal field on which Crassus had been slain. The Romans invaded Persia next year, and defeated Narses, who fled, leaving his tents and family in possession of the conquerors. An inglorious peace followed, by which Mesopotamia and five districts to the eastward of the Tigris were ceded to the Romans. No events of any consequence occurred during the succeeding reign of Hurmuzd II. He was succeeded, in 308, by Shâhpur or Sapor II, who was crowned king from his birth, and during a reign of seventy-one years maintained the integrity of his kingdom. His first operations were directed against the Arab tribes, on whom he took a severe vengeance for having invaded his territories. He was involved in bloody wars with the Romans, in the course of which he experienced serious reverses. Constantine advanced into Persia with a formidable army, and was joined by the Arab forces. A dreadful conflict took place, in which the Persian army was routed with great slaughter; and the king himself narrowly escaped, with a few followers, from the field. But



having recruited his army, he again took the field; and, in a night attack, he recovered some of the advantages which he had lost. He was, also, successful in repelling the invasion of Julian, who was killed by an arrow; and his successor, Jovian, was fain to purchase a peace by the loss of all the provinces east of the Tigris, which had been ceded in the former reign. He was succeeded by Ardishir or Artaxerxes II, who was deposed by Sháhpur, the son of the late monarch, after a reign of four years. He reigned only five years, when he was killed by the fall of a tent, which was blown down by one of those whirlwinds which sometimes occur in Persia. Bahrá́m or Varanes the IV, who succeeded, reigned eleven years, and, was at length killed in 399 by an arrow, in endeavoring to to quell a tumult in his army. The throne of Persia was next filled by Yezdijird, the Greek Isdegerde. He is very differently represented by the Persians and Greeks; by the former as cruel and abandoned to luxury, and by the latter as wise and virtuous. He was killed by a kick of his horse, after a reign of twenty years. Bahrá́m Gur or Varanes V, succeeded, and became celebrated for his munificence and generosity. His dominions were invaded and partly overrun by the Tátárs, who, being flushed with their conquest, gave themselves over to a false security, and were one night surprised and defeated with great slaughter by Bahrá́m. The only fruit which he sought from this victory was peace with all his neighbors, after which he returned to his capital. He was engaged in wars with the Romans under Theodosius, in which neither party had any cause to boast. His ruling passion was the chase, and he was fond of hunting the wild ass; and it was in pursuit of one of these animals that he lost his life, in a deep pool near Ausepas, about three marches from Shiráz on the road to Isfahán. According to the *Shahnamah*, however, and other authorities, he died a natural death. He was succeeded in 440 by his son, Yezdijird II, who followed his father's footsteps, and during his

reign of eighteen years was only once engaged in war with the Romans. The succession to the throne was now disputed between Hurmuzd or Hormisdas III, the younger son of Yezdijird, who was appointed heir by his father, and Firuz or Peroze the Elder, who being supported by an army of Tátárs, to whose king he fled for support, and by the chief nobles, succeeded in wresting the sceptre from his brother's hand, and in putting him to death, after reigning a year. He lost his life in an expedition which he undertook against the Tátár prince, by whom he had been treated with so much generosity. Balas or Palash, the son of Firuz, now ascended the throne (485), and was succeeded by Kubád or Cavades, who, though he was dethroned by his discontented subjects, re-conquered his lost dignity. He carried on a successful war with Anastasius, the Roman emperor, and died after a long and troublous reign, in 531.

His son and successor, Khusrau Nushirván, or Chosroes, is celebrated by the Persian historians as a model of justice, generosity, and sound policy. He is said to have been the fruit of a casual amour of Kabád, who, flying from his brother Firuz, then established on the throne, halted for a night with a beautiful girl at Naishápur. Four years afterwards, on his return to that city, his fair mistress presented him with a boy, who was one day to reign so gloriously on the Persian throne. His first care after his accession to sovereignty was to extirpate the pernicious sect of Mazdak encouraged by his father, one of whose leading tenets was a community of property and of women. The founder of the sect and many of his followers were put to death; and the women and property which they had appropriated were restored to those to whom they belonged. He was indefatigable in promoting the prosperity of his dominions, in building and repairing bridges, in restoring and re-peopling decayed towns and villages, in founding schools and colleges, and in giving every degree of encouragement to learned men, and even to the Greek philosophers who resorted to his court. His empire was divi-

ded into four great governments. A well-digested system of provincial government was introduced into those provinces, and every check adopted that could prevent the abuse of power. He imposed a fixed and moderate land-tax all over his dominions, and a capitation-tax on the Jews and Christians; and the strictest regulation were adopted for preserving the discipline of his army. The reign of Nushirván was illustrated as well by his conquests abroad as by his wise policy at home. He compelled Justinian to conclude a disgraceful peace at the price of 30,000 pieces of gold; and the reduction of Syria, the capture of Antioch, and the advance of the Persian armies to the shores of the Mediterranean, attest his triumphant reign. Though he was checked in his career of conquest towards the west, yet his sway was finally extended over the countries beyond the Oxus, some provinces of India, and the finest districts of Arabia. He reached the advanced age of more than eighty years.

Hurmuzd or Hormisdas IV, the son of Nushirván, ascended the throne in 579. His administration was wise and prosperous for a time, whilst he acted under the advice of his preceptor; but, on the death of the latter, he fell into every excess, and, after a short and disastrous reign, was dethroned and put to death by one of his generals, Bahrám Chubin, who usurped the supreme authority. But Khusrau Parvis, or Chosroes II, the son of the late king, flying to the Roman emperor Maurice, his adopted father, was, by his assistance, reinstated in the throne (591), and Bahrám was forced to seek refuge among the Tatars, whose armies he had formerly defeated, and amongst whom he died. The new monarch showed his gratitude to the Roman emperor by scrupulously filling all the engagements he had contracted with him. He surrendered Dára and several other strong places on the frontier, and, besides, sent him costly presents. But, no sooner did he hear of the death of Maurice, than he invaded the Roman territories with a large army; pillaged and destroyed Dára, Mardin, Edessa, and

Amida; laid waste Syria; took the holy city of Jerusalem; and set on fire the magnificent churches of St. Helena and Constantine. The true cross, which had been inclosed in a golden case, and buried deep in the earth, was discovered and borne in triumph to Persia; and a crowd of captive priests and bishops swelled the train of the conqueror. Egypt was added to his other conquests; his troops entered Alexandria in triumph; and, after carrying his victorious arms westward to Carthage and Tripoli, and, finally extirpating the Greek colonies of Cyrene, he returned in triumph through the sands of the Libyan desert. In the same campaign another army advanced from the Euphrates to the Thracian Bosphorus; and, after taking Chalcedon, his victorious troops remained encamped for twelve years in the vicinity of Constantinople. But, whilst his generals and his armies were thus gaining laurels in the field, Khusrau was indulging at home in the most unheard-of luxury. Every season a splendid palace was raised; and his thrones were made of the most exquisite materials, one being formed to represent the twelve signs of the zodiac and the hours of the day. His treasures; his wives, amounting to 12,000, besides the incomparable Shirin, or Irene the daughter of Maurice; his horses, amounting to 50,000; his Arabian charger of surpassing fleetness; and his musician, Barbud,—furnish inexhaustible topics for the pen of the historian, and for the hyperbolical praises of his countrymen. But his reign, hitherto glorious was, towards its termination, closed with misfortunes. Herodius, the Roman emperor, alike remarkable for luxury and indulgence in the palace, and for valor and military skill in the field, was roused to a sense of the public danger, by the victories of Khusrau, and with a powerful army suddenly invaded Persia. In the course of six years he succeeded in stripping the Persian king of all his foreign conquests; he defeated his armies in every encounter; marched without opposition into the heart of his country; destroyed his splendid palaces, and



plundered his hoarded treasures. His subjects, headed by his own son, at last rebelled against him, and put him to death, after a reign of thirty-eight years. Persia, after the death of this prince until the accession of Yezdijird III, in 632, was a scene of confusion and misery, from the combined evils of famine, the contentions of the nobles, a succession of weak sovereigns, and from the threatened attack of the Arabian tribes, who under the standard of the Mohammedan faith, had now become very formidable to all surrounding states. In their first attacks on the Persians, the Muslim armies were repulsed, and their leader, Abu Obaid was slain. The Arabs, reinforced, were again defeated by Mehrám, the Persian general. But, in another action the Persians were defeated, and their general slain. Yezdijird, who was now elevated to the throne, was the last hope of the sinking state. An ambassador was sent to him from the Arabian tribes, proffering peace on condition that he should accept of their religion, and pay the taxes which all believers are bound to pay. These terms were rejected with disdain. Great armies were now assembled on both sides; they met on the plains of Náhávand, A. D. 641, where the Mohammedans gained a remarkable victory that forever decided the fate of Persia. The Persians brought 150,000 men into the field, of whom 30,000 perished on the field, and many more were drowned in a deep trench which surrounded the camp. Persia, from this date, fell under the dominion of the Arabian khalifs. Yezdijird, the last monarch of the Sassanian line, fled from the field of battle to Sistán, to Khurásán, and lastly to Marv, from which being also forced to fly, he concealed himself in a mill eight miles distant. But the miller, tempted by his rich robes and armor, murdered him whilst he slept, and thus ended, A.D., 651, the dynasty of the Sassanides, and the Magian religion, which had existed in Persia for 1,200 years.

After the flight of Yezdijird, the armies of Persia, scattered and discouraged, were

able to oppose only a feeble resistance to the hardy children of the desert, skillfully commanded, and, besides, inflamed by a fanatic enthusiasm: and in a short time, accordingly, they overran and laid waste the whole country with a bigoted fury that had no parallel, sparing neither sex, nor age, and subverting in one common ruin the laws, manners, and most sacred institutions of the country. Many were contented to purchase life by embracing the new faith; and others fled to the mountains and fastnesses of the country, or to a distant land. The conquest of the country being completed, it was divided into different provinces, over which lieutenants were appointed; and it was thus held for more than two centuries under the dominion of the khalifs. Towards the year 868 A.D., the dominion of the khalifs began to totter to its fall. In that year an adventurer expelled the governor of the khalifs from Persia. He was Yákub-bin-Lais (or *Suffar*, whence this dynasty was called the Suffarides), the son of a pewterer of the name of Lais, in Sistan. He worked, when young, at his father's trade; but he was prodigal of his money; and tempted by necessities, he became the leader of a desperate band, which gradually increased with the success of his enterprises. He soon attained power and consideration; and his aid was solicited by Salahibu-i-Nasir, the ruler of Sistan, against his fellow-ruler of Khurasan. He was afterwards raised to be Commander of Salah's army; and the first use he made of his power was to seize on the chief who had conferred it on him, and to send him to Baghdad,—a service for which he claimed and received the government of his native province, as the servant and lieutenant of the Faithful. He afterwards took the important fortress of Hirat, reduced the province of Karman, marched thence to Shiraz, and finally made himself master of the greater part of Persia. The khalif, secretly dreading his power, sent him a formal investiture of certain territories as governor, which he rejected with disdain. In A.D. 873, the Khalif Mohammed declared Yakub a

rebel, upon which that ambitious chief marched against Baghdad, but was obliged to retire with the loss of the greater part of his army. In 877, he marched again to the attack, but was overtaken by disease and died, leaving almost the whole kingdom of Persia to his brother 'Amru, who reigned twenty-three years, but was defeated and taken prisoner by Isma-il-bin-Ahmad, a Tartar chief with whom he was at war, and being sent to Baghdad, was there executed. With Amru fell the fortunes of his family; and, though two more princes maintained a precarious authority, the empire of Persia was divided between two families, Samani and Dilami.

Of the Sámánian dynasty, Ism'aíl was the most celebrated. His grandfather was a Tátár chief named Sámán, who claimed descent from Bahrám Chúbín, the Sassanian. He extended his conquests both eastward and westward, and died in 907, at the age of sixty. In the reign of Amír Núh, the fifth Sámánian king, Alptagín, his viceroy in Khurasan, purchased a Turkish slave named Sabuktigín, and, finding him to possess great qualities, gave him the highest offices, and at last bequeathed to him all his estate. Sabuktigín was thereupon chosen to succeed to the viceroyalty of Khurásán; and in A.D. 967 made war upon Hindústán with such success that Núh recognized him as an independent prince, and, as such, called him to his succor against the King of Turkistán. Sabuktigín died in A.D. 987, and left his son Mahmud to succeed him. This prince was the celebrated Mahmud of Ghazni, whose Indian wars are so celebrated. He died in 1208; and his successor Masa'úd was defeated by the Seljuk Turks; and in the next reign the House of Ghazni lost the whole of their Persian possessions. These Tátár tribes were numerous and powerful; they were a nation of shepherds, inured to fatigue, to long marches, and to every kind of hardy exercise, and trained from their infancy to the use of arms. Their numbers and discipline enabled them to overpower the civilized in-

habitants of more fertile countries. Accordingly, in the year 1042, the Tátár tribes subdued Khurasán; and their sovereign, Togral Beg, chief of the tribe of Seljuk, assumed the state of a sovereign at Naishápúr. In the succeeding twenty years Togral overran all Persia, made himself master of Baghdád, and took prisoner the sovereign pontiff, the commander of the Faithful. He approached him, however, with every outward mark of reverence, and was constituted the temporal lieutenant of the eastern and western divisions of the empire. This alliance was further cemented by a marriage with the daughter of the khalif. But Togral Beg, who had by this time attained to his seventieth year, died a few months after the marriage. He was succeeded in 1068 by his nephew Alp-Arslan, the "Valiant Lion," who has been praised by all historians for his justice, valor, and generosity. He successfully defended his dominions against an invasion by the Romans, defeated their armies, and, having made their emperor prisoner, generously set him at liberty for a fair ransom. He was killed by a rebellious chieftain whom he had ordered to be put to death, but who, having shaken off his guards, assailed him on the throne with all the fury of despair. Alp-Arslan, an unerring archer, seized his bow, and commanded his guards to stand aloof; but for the first time his arrow missed its mark, and he fell under the assassin's stroke.

The celebrated Malik Sháh, his son, succeeded to the throne in 1072; and his reign rivalled, and even surpassed, in glory that of his father. Syria and Egypt were subdued by his victorious generals; Bukhara, Samarkand, and Khàrazm yielded to his sway; and he received homage and tribute from the tribes beyond the Jaxartes, and from the distant country of Kashgár. Including the territories of all those princes whom he had conquered, and obliged to do him homage and to pay tribute, his dominion extended from the Mediterranean to the wall of China. The country was greatly improved during his reign; many colleges and mosques were



built; and agriculture was promoted by the construction of canals and water-courses. Learning was also encouraged; and an assembly of astronomers from every part of Malik Sháh's wide dominions were employed for several years in reforming the calendar; and their labors, which established the *Jalalean*, or "Glorious Era," is a proof of the attention which was given at this period to the noblest of all sciences. For thirty years after the death of Malik Sháh, Persia was distracted by the wars of his four sons, who contended for the supreme power; but Sanjar having at length triumphed over his competitors, was elevated to the throne. His reign was for a time successful and prosperous. He resided in Khurásán; and from this spot, as from a centre, his dominion extended in one direction beyond the Indus, and in another to the Jaxartes. Towards the latter end of his reign, he experienced the most signal reverses of fortune. Advancing into Tátary, he was completely defeated by the monarch of Kára Kathai, his family were made prisoners, and all his baggage was plundered. He afterwards marched against the Turkamán tribe of Ghaz, who had refused their royal tribute, and in a decisive action which ensued he was defeated and taken prisoner. After being long detained and cruelly treated, he made his escape, and returned to his own country, where the spectacle of his wasted dominions, ravaged and destroyed by barbarous invaders, so preyed upon his spirits, that he died of melancholy in 1175, at the age of seventy-three. After his death, Persia continued during forty years distracted by the wars between different branches of the Seljukian dynasty. The last who exercised sovereign power was Togral III., who was slain by the monarch of Khárazm, as he went into battle flushed with wine.

From the decline of this dynasty to the conquest of Persia by Húlákú Kahn, son of the great conqueror Jengíz or Genghis, the country was distracted by the contests of these rival chiefs, who are known under the name

of Atábaks. They were petty princes, who, taking advantage of the weakness and anarchy which prevailed, extended their authority over some of the finest provinces of the country. A detailed account of the progress and decay of these various dynasties would exceed our limits; nor would it contain either amusement or instruction. But there is one chief who requires to be noticed, who, by means of assassins devoted to his purposes, caused the most powerful sovereigns to tremble, and spread far and wide the terror of his mysterious power. His followers were reckoned at 50,000; they were called mysterious and devoted; and each was bound, under the most dreadful sanctions, to sacrifice at the command of their chief, either his own life or that of another. Hasan Sabáh was the first of these chiefs. He had been mace-bearer of Alp-Arslan; but being displeased with his minister, Nizámu-'l-Mulk he retired to Rhe, and afterwards to Syria, where he entered into the service of a chief of the family of Ism'aíl, and adopted their views concerning the right of the descendants of Ism'aíl to the holy dignity of Imán, instead of the younger brother of Ism'aíl. He afterwards returned to Rhe, his native place, where, leaguering himself with other malcontents, he succeeded in gaining possession of the mountain fort of Alláhamaut, whence he commenced a series of depredations on the surrounding country. Malik Sháh Seljukí sent a force against him, which was repulsed. He was soon afterwards exposed to a more serious attack from the Sultán Sanjar, who resolved to extirpate a race whose murders and depredations spread terror over his kingdom. But he was warned to desist from his fatal project by secret threats of assassination. He had made some marches in the direction of Alláhamaut, when one morning as he awoke he discovered a poniard stuck in the ground close to his bed-side, and read with surprise, written on the handle, "Sultán Sanjar, beware. Had not thy character been respected, the hand that stuck this dagger into the hard ground

could with more ease have plunged it into thy soft bosom." The warrior who had often faced death in the field of battle trembled at this mysterious threat; and it is certain that he desisted from his meditated attack. Hasan Sabáh brought several other hill-forts under his sway; and was styled Shaikhu'l-Jabal, "Chief of the Mountain," or, as his Arabic title has been erroneously translated, "The Old Man of the Mountain," the name by which he and his descendants are distinguished in the European histories. Khalifs, princes, and nobles fell under the blows of these assassins; and the power and dominions of Hasan Sabáh were handed down through a series of sovereigns who ruled for 170 years, the terror and disgrace of Asia, and who, in 1256, were finally extirpated by the overwhelming and victorious armies of Hulaku Khán, who rivalled his sire in the rapidity of his conquests. His first design was to turn his arms against the declining empire the Greeks; but he was diverted from this object by an astrologer, who directed his hostility against Baghdád, the seat of the khalif's authority. This place was speedily stormed by the Tátár armies, and its inhabitants were put to the sword; the Khalíf Mustasim, with his only surviving son, was slain; and thus was for ever extinguished the celebrated empire of the Arabian khalifs. The conquest of Persia, Mesopotamia, and all Syria, was achieved by Húlákú in the same year, who meditated other ambitious schemes of conquest in the East. But the defeat of his army in Syria by the prince of the Mamelukes in Egypt compelled him to abandon his design; and having restored his affairs in Syria, he fixed his residence at Marágha, a beautiful town of Azarbíján, where he spent his declining years in the cultivation of letters and philosophy. He built an observatory on the summit of a mountain, the foundation of which still remains. He was succeeded by Abáka Khán in the year 1264, who was anxious, by cultivating the arts of peace, to repair the ravages of war, and to heal the still bleeding wounds

of his wasted empire. He was assailed from the East by the powerful armies of the Tátár chiefs; but he succeeded in repelling all their attacks, and in maintaining the integrity of his empire. He died, it is supposed by poison, in the year 1281. The Mughul lords, having held a council, raised to the throne his brother Nikudár Oglan, seventh son of Húlákú, who, though he was baptized in his youth, afterwards renounced the Christian faith, which he persecuted with all the violence of a renegade, and assumed the name of Ahmad Khán. But his persecution of the Christians was so obnoxious to his own subjects, that they conspired against him, and deprived him both of his crown and of his life. Arghún, son of Abáká, whom he had thrown into prison, was raised to the throne by the Mughul nobles, but did not assume the name until he received the investiture from the emperor of Tátary, by whom he was hailed as sovereign of Persia, Arabia, and Syria. His reign was marked by no event of any consequence; and on his death, which occurred in 1291, his brother Kai Khatú was raised to the throne by the majority of the amírs. The latter was indolent, sensual, and extravagant; and his short and inglorious reign would hardly merit notice, were it not for an attempt by an officer of the revenue department, of known talent, to introduce a paper-currency, in order to supply the means of royal extravagance. But credit, the foundation of paper-currency, cannot exist under a despotism which affords no security either for life or for property. The scheme was therefore altogether vain, and appears to have been the device of a tyrant for cheating or plundering his defenceless subjects. From this period until the conquest of the country by Tímúr Lang or Tamerlane ("Tímúr the lame"), the history of Persia presents one continued scene of intestine commotion. Tímúr was descended from Korachar Nevian, who had been vizír to Chaghtai the son of Jengíz, and also claimed kindred with that great conqueror. He was counsellor and general to the Tátár prince,



Ouleaus Khajah, who ruled over the territories between the Oxus and the Jaxartes. But having soon thrown off his allegiance to this prince, he led a wandering life, with only a few faithful followers, enduring great hardships and peril. He had formed a close alliance with Amír Husain, one of the most powerful nobles of Transoxiana. Their joint object was, to expel the enemies of their country; and Ouleaus, though he had conquered in the field, having been forced to retire with disgrace from the siege of Samarcand, the countries between the Jaxartes and the Oxus were freed from the foreign enemy. A war for the possession of Transoxiana now ensued between Tímúr and Husain, and was only interrupted by a short and hollow peace, which terminated in the overthrow of Husain, who was taken prisoner, and, as is generally believed, put to death, with the secret sanction or by the orders of his rival. Eleven years elapsed before Tímúr had fully reduced to tranquillity his newly acquired dominions, and had extended his power over Kashgár and Khárazm; after which his own reign was one unvaried course of the most triumphant success. He subdued Khurásán, Kandahár, and Kábul, and laid the two latter cities under heavy contributions. He invaded Persia, which, being now ruled by the degenerate descendants of Húlákú, was entirely barren and wasted. He extended the limits of his empire to the farthest bounds of Táтары; and whilst one body of his troops spread dismay to the wall of China, another army penetrated to the banks of the Irtisch, and a third to the Volga. Tímúr next marched against Baghdád, which he stormed, and also took the remarkably strong fortress of Takrít; after which his vast armies were dispersed over Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, Kurdistán, and Georgia. He afterwards invaded Russia, and, advancing to Moscow, took and plundered that city. Returning to his own country, he prepared for the invasion of India. His war with Baiazíd or Bajazet, and his defeat and capture of that warlike chief, were amongst the

latest exploits of his active reign; and he had embarked on the arduous enterprise of the conquest of China, when he was arrested by an enemy which he could not conquer. He was seized with a violent illness at the city of Otrar, where he expired in 1405, declaring Pír Mohammed Jahángír his successor. The latter, however, had a competitor for the crown in Khalíl Sultán, his cousin, by whom he was deposed and murdered; and, in his turn, Khalíl, infatuated by his attachment to the beautiful Shádu l'Mulk, on whom he squandered the vast treasures of Tímúr, was deposed by the nobles. He was attached to the arts of peace, a philosopher, a man of science, and a poet; and his whole care was to heal the wounds inflicted on his country by the wars of the former reign. He rebuilt Hirát and Marv, and drew around him from all quarters men of literature and science. Sultán Sháh Rukh, uncle of Khalíl Sultán, hearing of the misfortunes of his nephew, marched from Khurásán, and his authority was acknowledged over all Transoxiana. Kalíl Sultan was succeeded by Ulugh Beg, who also followed the arts of peace, and neglected those of war. He was deposed and put to death in the year 1449, by his son 'Abdu'l Latíf, who was slain by his own soldiers within the short period of six months. The Mughul dynasty in Persia was now fast verging to decay, and its final extinction was preceded as usual by scenes of confusion and civil war. The kingdom was at length divided amongst three sovereigns,—Sultán Husain Mírzá, a descendant of Tímúr, who kept a splendid court at Hirát, and governed Khurásán; Kara Yúsuf, the Turkamán chief of the Black Sheep (the tribes of the Black and White Sheep being so called from their carrying the figures of those animals on their respective standards), ruled over Azarbíján, 'Irák, Fárs, and Karmán; and Azan Hasoun, chief of the Turkamáns of the White Sheep, who finally acquired possession of all Western Persia, and attacked the Emperor Mohammed II., from whom he sustained a severe defeat. After

his death the country was distracted by the contentions of his sons, grandsons, and nephews, for the supreme authority: and their dissensions, whilst they accelerated their own ruin, prepared the way for a native dynasty, which was gladly hailed by the people as the auspicious omen of domestic peace.

Sháh Ism'aíl was the first monarch of the Safávean line. He traced his descent from Musa Kázim, the seventh imám. The first of the family who attained to any celebrity was Shaikh Safíu'l-Dín, who resided in the town of Ardebíl, and from whom the dynasty takes its name of Safávean. His son Sadru'd-Dín inherited all the sanctity of his sire. The great conqueror Timúr even condescended to visit him in his cell, that he might receive his blessing; and on his asking whether he, Timúr, could do aught for his comfort, "Give up," replied the saint, "those Turks whom thou hast carried off as captives." The disinterested request was granted, the saint was dismissed with presents, and the descendants of these captives ever afterwards acknowledged their gratitude by their ardent support of the Safávean dynasty. The immediate descendants of Sadru'd-Dín, Khwájah'Alí, Junaid, and Haidar, acquired also a great reputation for sanctity. The first, after making the pilgrimage to Makka, visited Jerusalem, where he died. His grandson Junaid assumed the sacred mantle or patched garment worn by the Súfí teachers, after his father's death; and so numerous were his disciples, that Kára Koinlu, who at that time ruled in Azarbíján, took the alarm, and banished him from Ardebíl. He returned to Shírwán, where he was killed by an arrow in a conflict with the troops of that province. He was married to a sister of Azan Hasoun, chief of the Turkamáns of the White Sheep; and this lady was the mother of Sultán Haidar, who succeeded him, and became a warrior as well as a saint. His uncle Azan Hasoun gave him his daughter in marriage, by whom he had three sons, Sultán 'Alí, Ibráhím Mírzá, and Sultán

Sháh Ism'aíl. Haidar was defeated and slain in an attack which he made on the province of Shírwán in order to revenge his father's death. Sultán 'Alí succeeded; but he and his brothers were seized at Ardebíl, by Yákúb, one of the descendants of their grandfather Azan Hasoun, who had become jealous of their influence, and confined in a fort, where they remained prisoners for four years. They afterwards made their escape, and were soon joined by numerous adherents. But in the meantime they were attacked, Sultán 'Alí was slain, and his brothers fled in disgrace to Gílán, where Ibráhím Mírzá died. These events occurred during the infancy of Ism'aíl, the third son of Haidar, of whom we know little till he attained the age of fourteen, when he collected his adherents, and marched against the great enemy of his family, the ruler of Shírwán, whom he defeated. Alwand-Beg, a prince of the dynasty of the White Sheep, hastening with his troops to crush the young warrior, shared the same fate; and the triumphant prince having made himself master of the province of Azarbíján, fixed his residence at Tabríz. Next year he vanquished Sultán Murád, one of the military competitors for supreme dominion in Persia; and in less than four years from his leaving Gílán he was acknowledged the sovereign of Persia.

Sháh Ism'aíl, not being born the chief of a tribe, had no hereditary feuds to avenge; his family were objects of hostility to no one; and he united in his person the reverence and affection of all his subjects. He was a firm adherent of the Shí'ahs. The Turkish tribes to whom he owed his elevation were highly honored. They were distinguished by a red cap, from which they received the name of Kazilbásh, or, "red heads," which has descended to their posterity. Persia, Khurásán, Baghdád, and Balkh, submitted to his arms. His territories were afterwards invaded by Sultán Salím about the year 1514, with a numerous and well-disciplined army. In the action which took place, the Persian monarch, after performing prodigies of valor,



was entirely defeated, which affected him so deeply that he was never afterwards seen to smile. After the death of Salím he crossed the Araxes, wrested Georgia from the possession of Turkey, and died at Ardebíl in the year 1523. He was succeeded by his son Támásp, who ascended the throne when he was only ten years of age. His reign, which continued fifty-three years, proved prosperous. He repelled the invasions of the Uzbaks on the east, and of the Turks on the west. It was from him that Humáyún, emperor of India, when he fled from his rebellious subjects, received the aid which enabled him to regain his throne. It was to him also that Elizabeth sent her envoy, Anthony Jenkinson. But the intolerance of the Mohaimedan monarch could not brook the presence of a Christian. His family was numerous; and after several years of disputed succession, and of brief and troubled reigns, 'Abbás, his grandson, was proclaimed king in 1582, when a minor. During the earlier years of this monarch's reign, the country was alternately alarmed by internal disturbance and foreign aggression, each party in their turn using the name of the sovereign. But as he advanced to manhood he vindicated his rights; and in the course of three years he reigned the undisputed sovereign of the country. His reign, which lasted forty-three years, was highly successful and glorious. He was engaged in wars with the Turks and with the Uzbaks, whose armies he defeated in several actions; and it was during his time that an amicable intercourse commenced between Persia and Europe.

Sir Anthony Shirley, a gentleman of family, was persuaded by the Earl of Essex to repair to the court of Persia; and, with twenty-six followers, gallantly mounted and richly attired, he presented himself to the king, who received him with every mark of distinction. The military skill of these foreigners enabled him to discipline his army and to improve his artillery, so that with an army of 60,000 warriors, he obtained a decisive victory over 100,000 Turks. In this

battle, which was fought on the 24th of August, 1605, Sir Anthony Shirley was thrice wounded. This victory gave a decided check to the Turks, who were driven from Azarbijan, Georgia, Kurdistan, Baghdad, Mosul, and Diarbekir, all of which were re-annexed to the Persian empire. This monarch also entered into an alliance with the English for the destruction of the flourishing Portuguese settlement of Hurmaz, which unhappily proved but too successful; and this place, long renowned as the seat of wealth and a great commercial emporium, was plundered and left to decay.

Abbas expended his revenues in the improvement of his dominions, and erecting caravanserais, bridges, aqueducts, bazars, mosques, and colleges; he embellished Isfahan his capital, built splendid palaces, the ruins of which still attest his taste and magnificence. He was, also, distinguished by his toleration, especially to Christians; and he was liberal in his foreign policy. To his family he was a sanguinary tyrant. He had four sons whom he caressed whilst in infancy with parental fondness, but who, as they arrived at manhood, were viewed with jealousy and hatred. The oldest son was assassinated, and the eyes of the other children were put out by his orders. One of these, Khudabandah, had a daughter Fatima, innocent and lovely, and the delight of her grandfather, who could not endure that she should be out of his sight. The prince learning the fondness of his father for this his child, seized her one day with all the fury of a maniac, and deprived her of life. The rage and despair into which Abbas was thrown by the death of his grand-daughter gave a momentary joy to the son, who concluded this bloody tragedy by swallowing poison. Abbas died soon afterwards, in 1628, at the age of seventy, worn out with affliction of the mind.

By the desire of the expiring prince, Sam Mirza, one of the sons of Safti who had been murdered, was placed on the throne, which he occupied fourteen years. His son, 'Abbas

II. succeeded him at the age of ten, and reigned prosperously twenty-five years, though his habits were licentious and intemperate. He was succeeded by his eldest son, Abbas, in the year 1641, who, under the title of Shah Sulaiman, reigned twenty-nine years. He was, like his father, the slave of dissolute habits; and his drunken orgies were often stained with blood. He was succeeded by Husain Mirza, a weak prince who was ruled by eunuchs and priests, and whose measures tended to destroy the little spirit which yet lingered among the nobles and chiefs. The first twenty years of his reign passed over in tranquillity, but it was only the prelude to a political storm. The Afghan tribes who inhabit the mountainous tract between Khurasan and the Indus had long been subject to Persia, and having often suffered great oppression, at length broke out into rebellion, irritated by the tyranny of Gurjin Khan. The insurgents were headed by Mir Vaiz, an Afghan chief. They invited the obnoxious governor Gurjin Khan, to a feast, where he was suddenly attacked and put to death; and Mir Vaiz, collecting his followers, surprised and stormed the fortress of Kandahar. He then proceeded to strengthen himself in his newly-usurped power. Whilst the weak monarch endeavored by negotiation to pacify this formidable insurgent, Mir Vaiz imprisoned his ambassador, and set his power at defiance; and a second ambassador met with no better treatment. The court of Persia now assembled an army under the command of Khusrau Khan, who advanced against Mir Vaiz, defeated his army, and laid siege to Kandahar. The insurgent chief having assembled another army, compelled the Persian general to raise the siege of that place, and afterwards defeated him in a decisive action, in which he was slain. In the midst of his successes Mir Vaiz died, and was succeeded by his brother, Mir Abdu'llah who was assassinated by Mahmud, son of Mir Vaiz. The troubles which now afflicted Persia on every side gave ample leisure to Mahmud to mature his plans, and to consolidate

his power. The Uzbaks were ravaging Khurasan; the tribes of Kurdistan were almost at the gates of Isfahan; The Abdali Afghans had taken Hirat, and afterwards Mashhad; the islands in the Persian Gulf had been subdued by the Arabian governor of Maskat; and the rude tribes of Georgia had attacked Shirwan. A prediction by an astrologer of the total destruction of the city by an earthquake, completed the public dismay, when intelligence was received that Mahmud Ghilzy had entered the country at the head of 25,000 Afghans. He was met by the royal army of 50,000 troops; and an action took place which ended entirely in favor of the Afghans. The consequence was the siege or blockade of Isfahan which, after enduring all the miseries of famine, surrendered on the 21st of October, 1722, after a siege of seven months. The following day, the fallen monarch of Persia, Husain, took a solemn leave of his subjects, and signed a capitulation, by which he resigned the crown to Mahmud. Husain with his nobles, after doing homage to the Afghan sovereign, was confined for seven years in a small palace, when his enemies, threatened with a reverse of fortune, caused him to be assassinated; and in his person may be said to have terminated the Safavean dynasty, as his son, Tamasp, though he assumed the title of king, never possessed any real power, and only struggled a few years against his inevitable fate.

Mahmud having thus succeeded in acquiring the sovereignty of Persia, now endeavored to conciliate the people whom he had subdued. But the Persians hated the Afghan yoke; and, as they recovered from their first dismay, they began to attack and cut off scattered parties of the invaders. At the same time, Persia was invaded both by Russian and Turkish armies. The Russian army advanced into the country and took possession of Darband, and the Turkish army was already on its march to Hamadan, when the inhabitants of Kazvin rose in insurrection, and expelled the Afghan garrison from the



place. Mahmud was now seriously alarmed. The probable revolt of the capital seemed to be the most immediate danger; and his gloomy mind, alarmed and enraged by those signs of vengeance, conceived the horrible design of exterminating the conquered people. He commenced with the massacre of three hundred nobles and their children, who were treacherously invited to a feast. He afterwards put to death three thousand of the late king's guards whom he had taken into his pay; and, at length, every person who had been in the service of Shah Husain was included in one bloody proscription, and put to death without mercy.

After this, Mahmud, being aided by the Kurdish tribes, succeeded in making himself master of some of the principal cities of 'Irak and Fars. But his affairs appeared to be on the decline; his kingdom was threatened from various points, and his mind proved at last unequal to the difficulties with which he was assailed. In this extremity he resorted for relief to the most abject and degrading superstitions; he shut himself up in a vault for fourteen days and nights, fasting and enduring the severest penances; and, under the influence of this gloomy fanaticism, he lost his reason and fell into the most furious paroxysms of madness. In this melancholy situation his mother, out of compassion to him, directed him to be smothered. But this event did not take place till under his fatal orders, thirty-nine princes of the Safavean blood had suffered an untimely death. He was succeeded by Ashraf, the son of Mir Abdu'llah, and nephew of Mir Vaiz. The first period of Ashraf's reign was successful. He gained repeated victories over the Turkish armies, who were compelled to retire; and he concluded the war by compelling the Turkish court to acknowledge his title to the throne. But he was now assailed from another quarter by more serious dangers. Tamasp, the son of Shah Husain, and the representative of the Safavean princes, was in Mazandarun, where he was joined by a distinguished chief, Nadir Kuli, a well-

known warrior, who now declared his resolution to expel every Afghan from the soil of Persia. Tamasp, from the day of his father's abdication, had assumed royal state, and now that he was supported by Nadir and the nobles of Khurasan and the Mazandarun, he found himself in a condition to exercise the authority of a sovereign. Nadir being invested with the sole command, soon succeeded in reducing Mashad and Hirat, and, at length all Khurasan, under the authority of Tamasp. Ashraf now prepared for the defence of his sovereign authority; and, having raised an army, he advanced into Khurasan against his enemy, whose followers he knew were daily increasing. The Afghans were defeated in a series of sanguinary actions, and pursued first to Tehran, and finally to the gates of Isfahan. It was at first proclaimed in the city that the Afghans had obtained the victory; but the loud wailings of the women from the citadel soon disclosed the result of the battle. The night was passed in preparations for flight. The old men, women, and children, were mounted on mules and camels, and having packed up all the treasure and spoil which they could carry away, they took the route to Shiraz by break of day; the tyrant Ashraf having in the meantime cruelly murdered Shah Husain, who was still detained a prisoner, the pressure of circumstances only preventing a general massacre, which was fully intended. Nadir lost no time in pursuing the discouraged and flying Afghans. They were overtaken at Persepolis, and immediately fled towards Shiraz, where, though they were still 20,000 strong, they were deserted by their leader, who fled homewards with only two hundred followers. The army was dispersed in wandering bands, which were closely pursued and cut down by their exasperated foes, and Ashraf himself, whilst wandering in Sistan, was recognised and slain by Abdu'llah Khan, a soldier of Beluchistan, who sent his head with a large diamond which he found on his person to Shah Tamasp. The Afghan invasion was one of

the most cruel calamities which ever befel the Persians. Within the short period of seven years they had massacred nearly a million of the inhabitants, laid waste the finest provinces of the country, and levelled the proudest edifices with the dust.

Nadir Kuli, afterwards known as Nadir Shah, was born in the provinces of Khurasan, on the 11th of November, 1688. His father was in a low condition, earning a livelihood by making coats and caps of sheepskins. He was taken prisoner by the Uzbaks at the age of seventeen, but made his escape from them after a captivity of four years. He was for a considerable period the chief of a band of robbers; and being a plunderer of known valor and resolution, had collected 3000 followers, by whose aid he laid under contribution the extensive province of Khurasan. His friendship was now courted by his uncle, who was the chief of Kelat. Nadir pretended to listen to his overtures, but treacherously slew him with his own hands, and proceeded to employ the power which he had thus acquired against the Afghans, the enemies of his country. And so well did he succeed in this popular and patriotic enterprise, that the Afghans were entirely expelled from the country; whilst for his services he received from his sovereign, Tamasp, the provinces of Khurasan, Mazandarun, Sistan, and Karman. He then proceeded to attack the Turks, who still occupied the western provinces of Irak and Azarbijan, and having defeated them in various actions, took possession of Tabriz, Ardebil, and all the principal cities. He returned to quell an alarming insurrection of the Afghans, who were unable to withstand his victorious armies; and, in the meantime, the imbecile Tamasp commenced a war with the Turks, which ended in a disgraceful peace. He had for some time been a mere pageant in the hands of Nadir, and this unfortunate war with other complaints against him, furnished a plausible pretence for his dethronement, which took place on the 16th of August, 1732. He retired to Khurasan, where he

was afterwards put to death by Riza Kuli, the son of Nadir, with the knowledge if not by the secret orders of the father. His son, an infant eight months old, was seated on the throne; but Nadir was now in substance what he was to be in form—the real sovereign. In 1736, the death of this infant removed the only obstacle to his ambition; and, in a vast assembly of his nobles and troops, he was, after much pretended reluctance, prevailed on to accept of the crown. This high dignity served only to give a fresh stimulus to his active and enterprising habits. In the course of a new war with the Turks, after having regained the provinces which had been wrested from the imbecile Tamasp, and concluded a peace, he turned his arms eastward. Kandahar and Balkh were besieged and taken by his son, Riza Kuli, who passed the Oxus and defeated the ruler of Bukhara and the Uzbaks. Afghanistan was afterwards subdued; and Nadir finally completed his military glory by the conquest of Delhi. A single battle was sufficient to disperse the Mughul host; and Nadir, with his triumphant legions entered the capital, which made no resistance. Its treasures were plundered; and its inhabitants who rose on the Persian soldiery, were in revenge given over to an indiscriminate massacre, in which neither age nor sex was spared. Nadir returned in triumph, loaded with the spoils of one of the richest capitals of the East. He continued to prosecute his conquests on every side, and restored the ancient glory of the Persian empire, when it extended from the chain of the Caucasus eastward to the Indus.

But the glory of foreign conquest was tarnished by domestic tyranny. In an expedition against the Lesghis, a mountain tribe upon the western frontier, Nadir was wounded by an assassin who fired on him from a wood. His suspicion fell on his son, Riza Kuli, or had been instilled into his mind by artful intriguers. Under this impression he commanded his son into his presence, and immediately caused him to be deprived of his eyesight. But so struck was he with remorse



after the deed had been done, that he vented his fury upon all around him; and fifty noblemen were put to death by his orders, because they had not come forward to sacrifice their lives for the young prince, the hope of his country. "It is not my eyes," says the prince, "that you put out, but those of Persia." The mind of Nadir was deeply affected; he became gloomy and ferocious; all his future actions were deeds of horror; and he exceeded in barbarity all that has ever been recorded of the most bloody tyrants. The country languished under his extortions; and when he at last raised the people to insurrection, his fury knew no bounds, and he not only murdered individuals, but gave up whole cities to the destroying sword. Several of the principal officers of his court learning that their names were in a proscribed list, resolved to anticipate the vengeance of the tyrant. The execution of the plot was committed to four chiefs who were employed about the palace, and who, on the pretext of business, rushed past the guards in the inner tent and found the tyrant asleep. He was awakened by the noise and had slain two of the conspirators, when he was deprived of life by a blow from Salah Reg, the captain of the guards.

The sudden death of Nadir Shah involved the country in the greatest distraction. He was succeeded by his nephew 'Ali, who took the name of Adil Shah. But his reign was short and inglorious. He was taken prisoner by his brother, Ibrahim Khan, and put to death at Mashhad, as his captor himself also was, being slain by the officer who guarded him. Shah Rukh, the grandson of Nadir, succeeded; but the throne was ere long usurped by Mirza Saiyid Muhammed, by whom Shah Rukh was taken prisoner and deprived of sight. The usurper being defeated and taken prisoner by Yusuf 'Ali, the principal general of Shah Rukh's army, was immediately put to death. The blind Shah Rukh was again raised to the throne; but the measures of his general, Yusuf 'Ali, were opposed by two chiefs, the respective heads

of a Kurdish and an Arabian tribe, and, by their joint efforts, the faithful general of Shah Rukh was defeated and slain, and he himself again sent from a throne to a prison. The two chiefs, however, soon quarrelled; and Mir Alam, the Arabian, triumphed, but only to fall before the rising power of the Afghans, under Ahmad Khan 'Abdali. This leader might, at the time, have easily accomplished the reduction of Persia. But judging more wisely, he assembled the principal chiefs, and proposed to them that the province which gave birth to Nadir should be given as a principality to his grandson. To this all the chiefs agreed, and Shah Rukh was again established in the undisturbed possession of Khurasan. At this period Persia was in a complete state of distraction, from the contentions of rival chiefs. Muhammed Husain Khan, chief of the tribe of Kajars, had established himself at Astarabad, and had brought under his authority the whole province of Manzandarun. The province of Azarbijan was under the rule of Azad Khan, an Afghan leader, who had been one of the generals of Nadir Shah. Gilan was independent, under one of its own chiefs, Hidayat Khan. At this time, 'Ali Mardan Khan, a chief of the tribe Bakhti-yari, took possession of Isfahan, and, resolving to elevate a prince of the house of Safi to the throne, he invited the nobles to join his standard. The principal of those chiefs was Karim Khan, of the tribe of Zand, a man distinguished by his sagacity and courage, and between whom and 'Ali Mardan Khan a rivalry for power soon took place. Karim Khan, dreading the enmity of 'Ali Mardan, took the field against him. But his assassination soon afterwards left Karim undisputed master of the south of Persia. He was joined by most of the tribes from that country, and being at war with Azad Khan, he was entirely defeated by him in a general action, and so discouraged by the unpromising state of his affairs that he meditated a retreat into India. But he was dissuaded from so unworthy a course by the re-

monstrances of his general, Rustam Sultan, the chief of Khisht, who attacked the enemy in a narrow pass, and obtaining a complete victory, re-established the power of Karim Khan, who again occupied the city of Shiraz, where he employed his utmost efforts to recruit his army. Azad Khan, throwing himself on the clemency of his conqueror, was received into his service, and became one of his most attached followers. The most powerful enemy of Karim Khan was Muhammed Husain Khan, the chief of the Kajars, who ruled in Mazandarun. He advanced against Shiraz with a powerful force; but the city being bravely defended, he was compelled to raise the siege, and to retreat to Isfahan. He afterwards engaged Karim in a general action, in which, being deserted by part of his troops, he was defeated and slain. The whole province of Mazandarun then submitted to the conqueror, and this was followed by the submission of Gilan and the greater part of Azarbijan. Khurasan was the only province which he did not subdue; and his forbearance is ascribed to compassion for the blind Shah Rukh, who still retained this remnant of his extensive dominions.

Karim Khan was distinguished by a love of justice and a moderation not usual amongst eastern princes. He died in the year 1779, in the eightieth year of his age, after a reign of twenty-six years.

After the death of Karim Khan, the succession to the crown was, as usual, disputed, and in the course of these contests his four sons either perished under the daggers of assassins, or were sacrificed in the intrigues of ambitious chiefs contending for the crown. Zaki Khan, the moment his father died, assumed the reins of government; whilst Sadak Khan at the same time evacuated Basrah, and advanced towards Shiraz. But he was unable to contend against Zaki, and was soon forced to retire. In the meantime, Agha Muhammed Khan Kajar, who had been detained prisoner at Shiraz, and who was duly apprised by his sister, an inmate of the royal harem, of the progress of Karim

Khan's illness, and at last of his death, contrived to escape to Manzandarun, where he proclaimed himself a competitor for the throne. The cruelties of Zaki, who had treacherously murdered a number of his rebellious nobles, after pledging his faith for their safety, soon provoked revenge, and he himself was put to death at Yezdikhast. Abul Fath Khan was proclaimed king of Persia the moment Zaki Khan was put to death. Sadak Khan hastened from Karman to Shiraz when he heard of the assassination of Zaki, and proclaimed himself king, arresting the person of Abul Fath Khan, and causing his eyes to be put out. He was besieged in his capital by his nephew 'Ali Murad Khan, his most formidable enemy, and, being obliged to surrender, he was put to death, with most of his sons. 'Ali Murad was, in his turn, put down by another rival; and Jafir Khan, nephew of Karim, and Agha Muhammed, were at length the only rivals left to contend for the crown. The former having disgusted one of his chief supporters, Haji 'Ali Kuli, he engaged in a conspiracy against him; and having put poison in his victuals, he and others rushed into his chamber when he was writhing under its effects, and put a period to his existence. He was succeeded by Lutf 'Ali Khan, who was one of the most remarkable characters recorded in the Persian annals. His appearance was greatly in his favor; his fine countenance full of animated expression; his form tall and graceful, and, though slender, active and strong. He was at Karman when he heard of his father's murder, which took place in the year 1789; and though Saiyid Murad Khan was at first proclaimed king by the conspirators, yet, by the aid of Haji Ibrahim, appointed by his father the first magistrate of the province of Fars, he was soon enabled to assert his claim to the crown. He was bold in council and fearless in action, and maintained a long and well-sustained struggle for the sovereignty, in the course of which he performed prodigies of valor. But he wanted prudence and temper,



and had no control over his passions. Unbending in his pride, and harsh and unconciliating in his manners, he employed terror as the chief source of his influence. His great error was in quarrelling with and disgusting his faithful minister, Haji Ibrahim, a statesman of consummate prudence and talents, who abandoned his service for that of his rival and enemy, Agha Muhammed Khan, and was ever afterwards his most formidable enemy. Lutf 'Ali maintained the contest for six years; but he was at length overwhelmed by the superior forces of his enemy. Flying from Persia, he was treacherously seized, after a brave resistance, in which he was seriously wounded, and being delivered into the hands of Agha Muhammed Khan, was treated with a brutality of insult which is too shocking to be described, and which, Sir John Malcolm adds, disgraced human nature. His eyes were torn out, and he was sent to languish out a miserable existence in Tehran, where an order was soon afterwards sent for his execution. Lutf 'Ali terminated his extraordinary career in 1795, in the twenty-fifth year of his age. Nor was Agha Muhammed's cruel treatment of the inhabitants of Karman less shocking. This place was the last stronghold of Lutf 'Ali. It was defended by him with his usual bravery, and being at length taken by treachery, became the scene of the most dreadful atrocities. The place was almost depopulated. Many women and children, to the number of 20,000, were carried into slavery. The men were murdered, and numbers were deprived of sight, many of whom were afterwards seen by Sir John Malcolm begging their bread. Lutf 'Ali was the last of the Zand family of princes, who had ruled over Persia for nearly half a century.

Agha Muhammed Khan having now firmly established himself upon the throne of Persia, his first care was to restore order throughout his dominions, and to repel foreign aggression. Having tranquillized the southern and central provinces, he invaded

Armenia and Karabag, and, marching straight to Teflis, he defeated Heraclius, prince of Georgia; and having taken the city, he sacked it, and made a dreadful slaughter of the inhabitants, carrying into slavery 20,000 women and children. He then turned his arms eastward, subdued Khurasan, and repressed the incursions of the pillaging Turkamans in the vicinity of Astarabad, as well as of the Uzbaks in Bukharia. But, however rigorous his administration, and however active in the field, all his exploits were stained with cruelties. His avarice was unbounded; and he scrupled at no atrocity to gratify it. He had long thirsted after the jewels of which Nadir Shah had despoiled India, and these he wrested without remorse from their unfortunate possessors. From the aged and blind Shah Rukh he extorted, by the severest tortures, several of those which were the most precious, particularly a ruby which had belonged to Aurangzib, and which was of extraordinary size and value. This precious jewel was retained to the last, until boiling lead had been poured upon the head of the unhappy prince, when, in his intolerable agony, he declared where it was hidden. He was afterwards conveyed to Damghan, in Khurasan, where he died in a few days, in the sixty-third year of his age, in consequence of the tortures to which he had been subjected.

Agha Muhammed Khan succeeded in tranquillizing the country, partly by policy, and still more by terror. He often spared his enemies, and conciliated them, not however, from any feelings of humanity, but from a sense of his own interest; for his disposition was stern, cruel, and vindictive, and his reign presents a series of atrocities scarcely equalled in the bloody annals of the East.

'Ali Khan, a chief of the Afshar tribe, had opposed Agha Muhammed in the field. He was decoyed into his power by the deepest treachery, and being arrested amidst fawning and caresses, his eyes were put out. The brave and generous Jafar Kuli, his own

brother, was in like manner seduced, by the kindest assurances, to visit the court of Tehran, where, after being welcomed with every appearance of cordiality, he was cruelly assassinated. This act stamps upon Agha Muhammed the character of a remorseless tyrant. In truth, a temper naturally cruel had been still more soured by cruelties he had himself undergone in his youth.

Agha Muhammed being apprised of the invasion of Persia by Russia, sent his army to descend the frontier; but the death of the Empress Catharine relieved Persia from the serious danger with which it was threatened. Agha Muhammed then determined to move towards Georgia; and having received a friendly deputation from the inhabitants of Shishah, he proceeded with some light troops, and took possession of this important fortress. Three days afterwards, a dispute having occurred between a Georgian slave, a personal attendant on the monarch, and another servant, respecting some money that was missing, the king, enraged at the noise which they made, directed that they should both be put to death. Saadak Khan Shekaki, a nobleman of the highest rank, solicited their pardon, which was refused; but as it was the night of Friday, sacred to prayer, their lives were spared till next morning, and, with a singular infatuation, the despot permitted them to perform their usual services about his person. Despair gave them courage; and whilst the monarch was asleep, they entered his tent, accompanied by an associate, and stabbed him with their poniards. He was then in the sixty-third year of his age, and had ruled for upwards of twenty years, though he had enjoyed the undisputed sovereignty of the country for only a small portion of that time.

By the influence and wise management of Haji Ibrahim, the crown was secured to the nephew of the deceased monarch, who assumed the sovereignty under the title of Fath 'Ali Shah. Saadak Khan made a feeble effort to oppose him, but was attacked and defeated. Two other attempts to usurp

the crown, the one made by the king's brother, Husain Kuli Khan, and the other by Muhammed Khan, a prince of the Zand family, were subdued; and since this period the internal tranquillity of the country has not been disturbed. The most important events in the reign of Fath 'Ali were connected with the wars which he entered into with Russia, and which generally proved unfavorable to Persia. In 1800 Georgia finally submitted to the dominion of Russia; and in 1803 Mingrelia was subdued. Gunjah was taken; and although the invaders were forced to raise the siege of Erivan, they overran Daghistān and Shirwān; and in 1805 Karabag yielded to their victorious arms. The interference of Great Britain arrested the progress of Russian conquest; and Persia was saved from further inroads by the treaty of Gulistan, concluded in October, 1813, which fixed the relative boundaries so indefinitely, as, after much tedious negotiation, to give rise to a new war. In this war, which commenced in the month of July, 1826, Abbas Mirza, the prince royal of Persia, took the field, with 40,000 men, 12,000 of whom were regulars; and at the outset he gained several important advantages. But the superior discipline of the Russian armies, trained in the wars of Europe, triumphed in the end; and in 1828, seeing no prospect of maintaining the war with success, peace was again sought for through the mediation of Great Britain. It was concluded on the 21st of February, at Turkamanchai. Besides large cessions of territory—namely, the Nakhshivan, and the greater part of Talish, including all the islands which fall within its direction—Persia agreed to pay 5,000,000 of tumans, as an indemnification for the expenses of the war. Since this treaty the peace of the two countries has not been disturbed; and the prince royal, turning his attention to the internal concerns of his kingdom, has succeeded in reducing the rebellious chiefs of Khurasan. By the aid of a Polish refugee, equally skillful and brave, he acquired possession of Yeza, took Tursh-



ish and Khabushan by storm, and reduced to obedience all the other chiefs in that quarter.

Fath 'Ali Shah was about forty years old when he succeeded his uncle, Agha Muhammed on the throne. He reigned nearly thirty-eight years, and died in October, 1834. With the exception of his wars with Russia, the tranquillity of his long reign was almost undisturbed. By the treaty of Turkaman Chai, in 1828, the Russian frontier had been advanced to Mount Ararat, and thence to the left bank of the Aras. This acquisition was regarded by Russia as only a step to further advances; and as soon as Muhammed Shah, the eldest son of Abbas Miza, had been securely settled on the throne of his grandfather, Fath 'Ali, the Russian minister, at Tehran, commenced a series of intrigues to induce the new shah to advance against Hirat. As the shah had been placed on the throne by the aid of English arms and influence, in opposition to the efforts of his numerous uncles and nephews, this movement, so contrary to the interests of the British, was a piece of base ingratitude. The shah was fully aware how displeasing any attempt upon Hirat would be to the English government; for in 1832 Fath 'Ali had been induced by the English envoy to abandon an expedition against that city, in spite of the encouragement of the Russians, who even sent Baron Ache, an officer of engineers, to accompany it. In the winter of 1835, however, Muhammed Shah announced his intention to march against Hirat in the spring; and Mr. Ellis, the English ambassador, used every effort to persuade him, and to compose the differences between the shah and the ruler of Hirat, Prince Kamran. Nevertheless, the shah persevered in his intention, and marched, accompanied by the Russian minister, in August, 1836; but having attacked the Turkamans on his way, his army was so much harassed by them as to be obliged to return towards Persia in October of the same year. About this time Sir John McNeill had replaced Mr. Ellis at the court

of Tehran, and continued to remonstrate with the shah on the subject of Hirat. On the 23d of July, 1837, however, the shah marched again against Hirat; and on the 10th of October, Captain Vicovich, a secret agent of the Czar, joined the Persian camp, and proceeded thence to Kandahar and Kabul, announcing that a Russian force had arrived at Asterabad to co-operate with the shah. This report had such effect upon the Afghans, that it was thought requisite to recall the British agents, Major Leech from Kandahar, and Captain A. Burnes from Kabul. Kohandil Khan, the ruler of Kandahar, now bound himself by treaty to become the subject of Persia, and the Russian minister, Count Simonich, took the command of the Persian troops in the trenches before Hirat, and a regiment of Russian deserters were allowed to take part in the assault. The siege of Hirat lasted ten months, and the defence was one of the most memorable in history. The sufferings of the inhabitants were dreadful; and the population was reduced from 700,000 to about one-tenth of that number. But every assault was repulsed, chiefly through the courage and skill of Lieutenant Eldred Pottinger, an officer of the East India Company's artillery. At the same time, the Anglo-Indian government, to counteract the designs of Persia, dispatched an armament to occupy the island of Kharg in the Persian Gulf, and concluded a treaty with Shah Shuja'a and Ranjit Singh to depose the Barakzy chiefs, Kohandil and Dost Muhammed, and place Shah Shuja'a, the ally of the British, on the throne of Kabul. This treaty was signed on the 26th of June, 1838; and the whole of Afghanistan was shortly after occupied by British troops. These operations, and the determined defence of Hirat completely overthrew the ambitious designs of the shah. He returned to Tehran, and the Russian government hastened to disavow all intentions hostile to the British. In 1839, a Russian army of 15,000 men marched from Orenburg, under General Peroffski, against Khiva. It had been col-

lected in anticipation of the shah's success at Hirat, but it failed against Khiva no less signally than the shah had done in the other direction; and the greater part of the troops perished in the snow. In 1841, immediately after the destruction of the English army at Kabul was known, the Russians again commenced their ambitious movements on the side of Persia. They established a naval station at Ashurada, an island in the Gulf of Astarabad, about twelve miles from the coast, and established a complete supremacy in the Caspian, in which sea they have maintained, it is said, four or five steamers, and several brigs and schooners of war.

Muhammed Shah died in August, 1848, at Tehran, and was succeeded on the throne by his eldest son, Nasiru'd-din. Colonel Farrant, an English officer serving in Persia, was the main instrument in securing the quiet accession of the new king, and held the capital for him till he arrived at Azarbijan, of which province he was governor. Friendly relations had been renewed between the English and Persian governments; but the subject of Hirat had not been lost sight of by the court of Tehran. Shah Kamran had been murdered by his vizir, Yar Muhammed Khan, and this wily chief had long before engrossed the chief power in that principality. His policy was to maintain independence, while he soothed the shah by courtesies which cost him little. But in 1851 Yar Muhammed died; and his son, Saiyid Muhammed, less confident of his position, sent envoys to Tehran, offering to become the subject of Persia. In response to these offers, a Persian force was prepared under Sultan Murad Mirza, the governor of Khorasan, nominally against the Turkamans, but in reality for the occupation of Hirat. Colonel Sheil, the British envoy, at once remonstrated against this expedition; and on August 7th, 1851, distinctly announced to the Amir Nizam, or prime minister, that a perseverance in the proposed course would bring on a rupture with Great Britain. After a long correspondence, the Persian gov-

ernment, on the 25th of January, 1853, signed an agreement not to send troops to Hirat until that place should be attacked by a foreign force. New difficulties, however, soon arose. In 1854 Mr. Thomson, in charge of British affairs, appointed Mirza Hashem to be first Persian secretary of the mission, an appointment so obnoxious to the shah that the Persian government declined to receive the mirza, and on his destination being changed to Shiraz, notified Mr. Murray, who was now the British minister, that should the mirza set out for his post, he would be seized and forcibly detained. This notice was given on the 6th of November, 1855, and immediately afterwards the mirza's wife was seized by order of the Persian minister. On the 17th, Mr. Murray officially intimated, that unless the lady was released, the flag of the mission would be hauled down, and friendly relations would cease; and as this menace produced no effect, the flag was struck on the 20th of November, and on the 5th of December the mission withdrew from Tehran. The Persian government then published a justification of its conduct, which set forth that Mr. Murray was carrying on an intrigue with the wife of Mirza Hashem; and in an autograph note to his prime minister, the shah indulged in the most intemperate language against Mr. Murray, charging him with insolence, and speaking of him as "stupid, ignorant, and insane." In the same month of December, Prince Sultan Murad Mirza put himself at the head of 9,000 men intended to act against Hirat. It must be admitted that there was some color for this expedition, as a tribute had been guaranteed to the shah from the city, and, further, Prince Muhammed Yusuf, the son of Kamran, who, after putting Saiyid Muhammed to death, had recovered his heritage, had applied to Persia for aid, alleging that he was threatened with an attack by Dost Muhammed of Kabul. On the 27th of February, 1856, the Persian government, doubtless encouraged by the Russian successes at Kars, in November of the preceding year,



published their reasons for this offensive movement. After futile negotiations between the Persian envoy at Constantinople and Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, instructions were sent out by the mail of the 20th of September, 1856, by Lord Clarendon to the governor-general of India, to prepare a force at Bombay for the occupation of Kharg. In the meantime, the Persian army under Sultan Murad had defeated the Hirat forces near Ghorian, taking their general, Ahmad Khan, and several hundred men, prisoners; and having captured and garrisoned Ghorian, after a twenty days' siege, were closely besieging Hirat itself. On the 29th of April, 1856, Prince Muhammed Yusuf was sent in as a prisoner into the Persian camp by his vizir, 'Isa Khan. On the 26th of April, 1856, Hirat was surrendered to the Persians, and its occupation was publicly notified at Tehran on the 6th of November. On the 1st of the same month the governor-general of India issued a proclamation declaring war against Persia. On the 11th several ships sailed with troops from Bombay for the Persian Gulf; and on the 13th Sir H. Leeke, commanding the naval forces, embarked for the same destination. On the 26th the whole fleet, consisting of thirty-four sail, assembled at Kishm; and on the third of December the island of Kharg was re-occupied; and on the 7th, the army, consisting of two brigades, disembarked at Halila Bay, twelve miles southeast of Abushahr. On the 9th the troops advanced to dislodge the enemy from their position near the fort of Rashahr. A body of Arabs made a most determined resistance at an earthwork, and the action was not gained without loss. On the 10th, after a sharp cannonade of three hours, Abushahr surrendered, and the British flag was hoisted on the walls at 5 P.M. of that day. Fifty-eight guns were taken, and several Persian officers of high rank were made prisoners. In the meantime, a reserve force had been assembled at Bombay under General Outram, to whom the command of the whole army was given. The general and

his staff sailed from Bombay on the morning of the 16th of January, 1857; and the army was now formed into two divisions, of which General Stalker commanded the first, and Brigadier Havelock the second. The reserve reached Abushahr in the end of January; and on the 3d of February General Outram, marched to dislodge the enemy from an entrenched camp at Burazjun, 48 miles from Abushahr. On the 5th this position was occupied, after a slight outpost affair, in which Cornet Spens, of the cavalry, and a few troopers, were wounded. A vast quantity of stores and ammunition were taken in the camp. On the night of the 7th, General Outram commenced his return, after having first exploded 36,000 pounds of the enemy's powder, to ignite which the rifles, with shell bullets invented by General Jacobs, were used. During the darkness of the night the enemy made a sharp attack on the English column while on the march, in which Captain Mackler and Lieutenant Greentree of the 64th were wounded; and a few men killed and wounded. General Outram met with a severe accident, his horse falling with him, and rolling over him. At daylight on the morning of the 8th, the enemy were seen drawn up in order of battle, with their right resting on the village of Khush-ab, numbering 6,000 infantry and 2,000 cavalry, with about 15 guns, under Shuja'aul-Mulk, reputed the best officer in the Persian army. After a short but sharp action, this force was completely routed, and fled, leaving 700 men dead on the field, and two guns in the hands of the English. A regiment of Persian infantry was ridden over and cut to pieces by the 3d Bombay cavalry, whose commanding officer, Captain Forbes, was severely wounded. The English loss was altogether one officer and eighteen men killed, and four officers and sixty men wounded. General Outram regained his quarters at Abushahr by midnight on the 9th. On the 26th of March, the general having organized a force for the capture of Muhammarah, a town at the confluence of the Karun with the Shatul 'Arab,

where the Persians had thrown up strong batteries, and had stationed an army of 15,000 men, attacked the place, and captured it, with the loss of but ten men killed, and one officer and thirty men wounded. The loss of the enemy was very severe. On the 29th of March, General Outram dispatched a light force to pursue the enemy to Awaz, a town about 100 miles distant up the Karun. This force proceeded in the Comet, Planet, and Assyrian steamers, under Commander Rennie. On the 1st of April, the expedition came within sight of the Persian army near Awaz, but on the right bank of the river, the town being on the left. Although the Persians amounted to at least 10,000 men, and the English troops did not exceed 300, such was the terror General Outram's victories had inspired, that the instant the English advanced on Awaz the Persians deserted the place, and not long after, a shell falling near their general's tent, the whole army likewise took to flight. The vast stores of the Persians were destroyed or thrown open

to the plundering Arabs; and the retreating enemy suffered dreadful distress ere they reached Shustar, 100 miles distant, where was their nearest depot. On the 4th of April the expedition returned to Muhammara; and on the same day General Outram received the news of the treaty which had been concluded at Paris on the 4th of March preceding, between the English government and the Persian, as represented by Farrukh Khan, ambassador of the shah.

Thus ended the Persian war; and so severe was the lesson taught during General Outram's brief campaign, that not even the disasters of the Indian revolt could induce the shah to venture once more on a rupture with the English government. It is possible that a movement might have again taken place in the direction of Hirat; but in May, 1858, the shahzadah commanding in that quarter suffered a severe defeat from the Turkaman hordes, the greater part of his army being destroyed, and several of his guns taken.



## A R A B I A .

ARABIA has been peopled from the earliest times, but its ancient history seems to have been lost or corrupted in a long course of oral tradition. The narratives of the Arabian historians are absurd and fabulous, resting on no evidence; nor have later writers succeeded in withdrawing the veil of oblivion from the history of those early ages. The common notion among the Arabs is, that they are descended from Joktan the son of Eber, as well as from Ishmael the son of Abraham by Hagar; and the posterity of the former are denominated pure Arabs, while those of the latter are called *naturalized* or engrafted Arabs. Joktan had thirteen, or according to the Arabian traditions, thirty-one sons, who, after the confusion of languages at Babel, are said to have settled in the southeastern parts of Arabia, and to have gone afterwards to India, with the exception of two, namely Yarhab and Jorham, the former of whom gave name to the country. Yarhab settled in Yemen while Jorham founded the kingdom of the Hedjaz, where his posterity reigned. Ishmael being dismissed by Abraham, retired to the wilderness of Paran, where he married an Egyptian, by whom he had twelve children, who were the heads of as many potent tribes of the *Scenite* or wild Arabs. He afterwards, according to tradition, married the daughter of Modad, the king of the Hedjaz, lineally descended from Jorham; and is thus considered by the Arabians the father of the greater body of their nation. By these tribes Arabia was ruled

in ancient times, and a genealogical list is preserved of a long line of kings in Yemen and other provinces, of whom nothing further is known than their names. The ancient tribes who inhabited Arabia maintained flocks and herds. They were addicted to commerce and rapine, and frequently by their inroads molested the neighboring states. They were invaded in their turn by the Assyrians, the Egyptians, the Medes, and the Persians; but whatever ancient historians may relate concerning the victories of Sesostris, it does not appear that either the Assyrians, the Egyptians, or the Persians, ever obtained any permanent footing in the country.

Ptolemy was the first writer who divided Arabia into three parts; namely Arabia Petræa, Arabia Deserta, and Arabia Felix; which division, agreeing with the natural features of the country, is still recognized. Ptolemy and also Pliny give a long list of towns, and of the various tribes which ranged over the country. The site of Petra, that splendid capital of Arabia Petræa, was discovered by Burckhardt, a silent necropolis in a deep inaccessible wadi. The nations who inhabited this tract were the Ishmaelites, the Nabatheans, the Cedrei or Kedareni, and the Hagareni, all which appellations have in later times been lost in that of the Saracens, so celebrated for several centuries all over the East. Arabia Felix was the chief seat of population and wealth. It was inhabited by many different tribes of whose history nothing is now known.

The frequent incursions of the Arabs into the neighboring regions exposed them to retaliation from hostile armies; but the aridity of the country was ever found to be its true defence. It was in vain that the invader vanquished the Arabs in the field; they fled from his pursuit on their horses and camels, and quickly disappeared in the burning desert, whither no army ever dared to follow them. The northern provinces bordering on Syria were invaded by Antigonos, and afterwards by Pompey, though they never succeeded in acquiring possession of Petra, the great stronghold of the country. But the most important expedition of the Romans was that of *Ælius Gallus*, in the reign of Augustus, who, with a force of 10,000 troops, of whom 500 were Jews and 1000 Nabatheans, natives of the country, landed at Leucocome, about seventy miles north-west from Medina, and in the following spring, his troops having been till that time disabled by disease, he advanced southward, crossed a desert of thirty days' journey, and in fifty days more arrived in a pleasant and fruitful region, where he took by assault a city called Najran. He continued his march southward for other sixty days; and being finally compelled to retreat by fatigue and disease, he crossed the Red Sea, and, landing his troops at Myos Hormos, on the Egyptian shore, brought back the poor remains of his army to Alexandria, after an absence of two years. The situation of the towns in his route being entirely unknown, we cannot trace his course, though it must have been in the direction of Medina and Mecca. The great historian of the Decline and Fall of Rome places the march of *Ælius Gallus* between Mareb or Mecca and the sea. But this is a desert tract, in no respect resembling the character given of the country into which he penetrated, which may therefore probably be the elevated tract on the Hedjaz ridge of mountains, extending north and south parallel with the Red Sea. Northern Arabia was also invaded by the Emperors Trajan and Severus, but they effected no settlement in

the country; and though the cities of Bozra and Petra were at one time reduced by a lieutenant of Trajan, yet the Romans never seem to have extended their power over Arabia Petræa. On the decline of the empire Syria was invaded by the Arabian freebooters, who sometimes drew on themselves severe retaliation. The doubtful frontier of the respective territories was thus a constant scene of hostility, until the Arab tribes, inspired by the genius of Mohammed, advanced to permanent conquests.

Jews were numerous in the Arabian seaports ever since the remote period when they monopolized the trade with Ophir and the spice countries on the Red Sea. After the destruction of Jerusalem, whole tribes of Israelites found an asylum in Arabia, where they became so powerful that Dunaan, a Jewish chief, succeeded in defeating and killing Er Riad, commonly called Aretha, the Christian (Arian) king of Himyar, in which country he assumed the royal power. But this Jewish kingdom did not continue many years, as it was conquered by Eleesbam, the Christian king of Abyssinia, who killed Dunaan. In the age of Mohammed, the Jews were very numerous and powerful in Arabia, and in spite of the persecutions which they had to suffer from him and his successors, there are even in our days great numbers of settled Israelites natives of Arabia, to be found in the seaports and wherever the fanaticism of the Arabs suffers them to dwell. In the interior Jewish tribes are met with leading a wandering life like Bedouins.

Such are some of the early traditions and imperfect sketches of Arabian history. We now approach a new era, not only of greater certainty, but containing events of far deeper interest, and of lasting importance. The rise and progress of Mohammed, the prophet of the East, and the rapid propagation of his faith, which has changed the moral and political aspect of the eastern world, forms a most singular chapter in the history of human affairs.

Mohammed, son of Abdallah and Amina,



and grandson of Abdelmöttalib, was born at Mecca in August 570 A. D. Gibbon inclines to a year earlier, but high authorities are against him. He was of the noble family of Hashem, of the tribe of the Koreish, confessedly the first and most honorable in Arabia. As his father Abdallah died shortly before the birth, the grandfather Abdelmöttalib rejoiced greatly over the event, and at a feast held seven days after bestowed on his infant heir the name of Mohammed, or *The Glorified*. Later traditions told how, when the infant was born, the palace of the King of Persia was shaken by an earthquake, and the sacred fire of the Magi extinguished. Mohammed was nursed by a woman named Halima, and then by a black slave called Oumm-Ayman. Towards both, and especially towards the latter, he always displayed much gratitude and attachment.

At the age of six he lost his mother Amina. She was unable to leave him any property beyond five camels and the slave Oumm-Ayman. His grandfather Abdelmöttalib took him under his protection for three years, when he also died; and the lad, now nine years old, passed into the hands of his paternal uncles, one of whom, Abu Taleb, acted as his friend and guardian. Mohammed is believed to have been present at two battles fought between the tribe of the Hawâzin and the Koreish in 585 and 586, in both of which the Koreish were defeated, though they subsequently regained the advantage. About this time Abu Taleb took his nephew in his company on a mercantile expedition into Syria. The youth had attained his thirteenth year, and is said to have begun to attract attention, and give promise of future eminence. As in the case of many other famous men, however, it is difficult to decide how far such traditions result from the reflected glory of after life. Although endowed with a native penetration such as Thucydides in a famous passage ascribes to Themistocles, Mohammed was deficient in the elements of education; it is doubtful whether he could even read or write. So ignorant was he of the Arab rules

of versification, that he seldom quoted a verse without some misarrangement of its words. In apparent allusion to these circumstances we find him in one of the most celebrated chapters of the Koran declaring, "We have not taught Mohammed the art of poetry, nor is it expedient for him to be a poet"; as in a previous chapter, the seventh, he entitles himself "the illiterate prophet." There appears, however no reason to doubt that by the age of twenty-five he had acquired a most honorable reputation among his fellow-countrymen. His readiness, his nobleness of conduct according to the Arabian standard, his good faith and aversion to anything dishonorable, won for him at this period the surname of *El-Amin*, the trustworthy.

An important epoch in his life now arrived. His reputation for honesty and ability induced a wealthy and highborn widow named Kadijah, to employ him as her mercantile agent. His great success led to the offer on Kadijah's part of her hand. Although between thirty and forty years of age, she had still several suitors. This match placed Mohammed in a position conformable to his origin. The change did not, however, unduly elate him. He showed delicacy in the employment of her property; and during her lifetime had no other wife. Of the six children of this union two sons died in infancy; the daughters lived to embrace their father's creed, and were married to disciples. One only, however, Fatima, outlived him, and became by her marriage with the famous Ali the ancestress of an illustrious family. The burst of feeling attributed to Mohammed, years after Kadijah's death, is well known. When a later wife, Ayesha, was claiming superiority on the score of youth, he is reported to have said, "There never can be a better! She believed in me when men despised me; she relieved my wants when I was poor and persecuted by the world."

Mohammed was twenty-five years old when he espoused Kadijah. We pass over his arbitration of a contest between rival branches

of the Koreish, as to the honor of moving the famous black stone in the national temple at Mecca, which this tribe, as its guardians, were reconstructing. His office on this occasion, however honorable, appears to have been accidental. But in the following year Mohammed, now thirty-six years of age, had the satisfaction of being able in some degree to repay the kindness of his uncle Abu Taleb, by taking charge of a young cousin Ali, already alluded to as one of the most zealous and famous of his future disciples. He likewise tried to console himself for the loss of his sons by Kadijah, by the adoption into his family of a young man named Zayd, son of Hâritha.

Mohammed's want of anything like regular education has been noticed. He appears, however, to have gained much information while on his travels as a merchant, and probably still more from intercourse with his wife's cousin Waraca, son of Naufal, the most learned Arab of his day. We incline to agree with Hallam, Taylor, Döllinger, and others, who think that Mohammed had no real acquaintance with the New Testament; but he gained a knowledge, though a vague and imperfect one, of the principal Jewish and Christian dogmas, of the Scripture history, of the contents of some of the apocryphal gospels, and of the Talmud. He was naturally well versed in the traditions and legends of his own country; and added to a resolute will and considerable strength of imagination a wonderful power of expression. His love of solitude was very great. He would wander, it is said, in the gorges and valleys around Mecca, and every year retired during the month of Ramazan to a neighboring hill, Mount Hirâ. There he spent his time in prayer, and fed any poor who asked of him an alms.

We now come to the date (A. D. 611) when Mohammed, being in his forty-first year, asserts that he received his mission. About this time Britain is witnessing the foundation of a Christian church in London, now known as Westminster Abbey; Boniface

IV. is pope at Rome; and the Anglo-Saxons, Jutes, and many more tribes in northern Germany, are adopting the faith of Christianity. The Greek empire is being ravaged by Persians and Avars; but Heraclius is preparing for resistance, and in the very year of the Hegira (A. D. 622) will start upon his glorious and successful expedition against Persia, and gain a signal victory for the cross.

The first passage said to be revealed is that which now stands as the commencement of the ninety-sixth chapter of the Koran. "Read, in the name of thy Lord who hath created all things; who hath created man of congealed blood. Read, by thy most beneficent Lord; who hath taught the use of the pen; who teacheth man that which he knoweth not." He told Kadijah that the angel Gabriel had taught him these words, and she at once accepted him as the prophet of the nation. Her cousin Waraca, now aged, and who died shortly afterwards received the information in such a way as to confirm Kadijah in her belief. Ali, then eleven years of age, was the second convert. The new religion was termed by Mohammed *Iman* (belief), and *Islam* (resignation to the will of God); whence the adjective Moslem believer, and the corrupt form Mussulman. He shortly after made a new and valuable proselyte in Abu-Bekr, a man of high consideration and remarkable for the beauty of his person. But a check followed; at a reunion of his cousins the announcement of his mission was received with coldness and incredulity; and when, not satisfied with teaching the unity of the Godhead and his own apostleship, he declared his intention of overthrowing idolatry and bringing his countrymen back to the religion of Abraham, indignation burst forth on all sides. It was proposed to silence him; and none were more vehement in their opposition than the other families of his own tribe, the Koreish. Abu-Taleb, though not a convert, continued to protect his nephew.

For the next few years Mohammed's life









was passed in a state of persecution and insult which extended itself to his few disciples. Once, indeed, his adversaries made offers of wealth or leadership if he would cease from his endeavors; but he replied by the recitation of that chapter of the Koran which now stands as the forty-first; a really sublime effusion, in which he reminds his hearers of the destruction of the city and tribe of Ad for idolatry; a legend known to English readers by the first book of Southey's *Thalaba*. The reply to this appeal was the very natural request that Mohammed would work miracles as a proof of his divine mission. This embarrassing demand is more than once alluded to in the Koran. His answer was, that he was sent to preach truth, not to work miracles; and that his opponents would not be convinced even if miracles were vouchsafed. Nevertheless, as if conscious of his weakness on this side, he in time proclaimed his famous night journey to heaven, known as *Isra*, when the angel Gabriel took him on the animal Borac to enjoy an interview with patriarchs, prophets, and the Almighty himself. This brought on him a storm of ridicule, and some of his disciples abjured his teaching. Abu-Bekr stopped others from departure by professing his own entire belief in Mohammed's narrative.

In the eleventh year of his mission some new converts took oaths of fidelity, known as the oaths of Acaba, the hill on which they were taken. But fresh plots among the Koreish alarmed him; and in A. D. 622 he took the step of flying from Mecca to Medina, then known as Yathrib. This flight, known as the Hidjra, and in Europe as the Hegira, was seventeen years later fixed as the great Moslem epoch by the Caliph Omar. Here he took up arms against the Koréish, and within two years (on the 13th of January, 624) won the famous victory of Bedr. In the Koran, he maintains that angelic aid was granted in this battle. Mohammed behaved generously to his prisoners, but made some of them teach his converts how to read and write. In the same year he was

defeated at Ohod; but as this battle was lost by disobedience to his orders, Mohammed's reputation did not suffer. He resolved henceforth to give no quarter to the idolaters. About this time he had dealings with the Jews. A few accepted him as a prophet; but his claims of descent from Ishmael, and his partial admission of the claims of Jesus, repelled the majority. They became bitter enemies, and Mohammed caused one of their chief men, Khalid, to be assassinated.

In the meantime Mohammed had largely increased the number of his wives: he had in all fifteen, besides Kadjah. It was probably in the year 626 that he married Zeynab, daughter of Djahch. This was contrary to Arab usage, for she was the wife of his adopted son Zayd; and no willingness on the part of the husband, who at once divorced Zeynab, nor on the lady's own part, could annul this difficulty. But a resource was at hand. In the thirty-third chapter of the Koran was given a permission to the Moslem to marry the wives of their adopted sons, these sons being in future called by the names of their actual fathers.

In A. D. 628, the 5th year of the Hegira, he began to send letters to sovereign princes, not only in Arabia, but beyond its limits. They were sealed with a silver signet containing in three lines the words, MOHAMMED—APOSTLE—OF GOD. Persia, Abyssinia, and Egypt were the first recipients. This is a new and marked feature in the history of Islamism.

In the following year he made some of his most distinguished converts,—Othman, Amr, and Khaled; but essaying his power against the Eastern Roman empire, his troops were defeated by Theodore, lieutenant of Heraclius. He was not present at this battle. Soon after, he gave great offence to his wives by continuing to cohabit with a Coptic slave, Maria, whom he had freed on the birth of a son. A fresh chapter of the Koran righted this matter also, but not without difficulty.

Eight years after his flight he was strong enough to gain possession of Mecca. Mounted on his camel, he rode seven times round the Kaaba, then having on its roof three hundred and sixty idols. He had every one of these destroyed before his face, saying the while, from the Koran, "*The truth is come; let falsehood disappear.*" That day was perhaps the grandest of Mohammed's life.

But by this time he had fully adopted the principle of enforcing his creed by arms, instead of mere persuasion. We have not space to dwell on his victory over the Hawâzin at Honayn. In 632 his health began to decline. He had always been subject to fits of epilepsy. This was long supposed to be a Christian calumny, and is so treated by Gibbon and others; but the researches of Weil have proved its truth. On the 7th of June, 632, the sixty-third year of his age, Mohammed died of fever, his favorite wife, Ayesha, supporting his head.

In person Mohammed was of middle stature, with dark eyes, a ruddy complexion, and a fair and graceful neck. He wore a thick beard. His life was most simple: dates and water often his only food, and his house sometimes without fire for a month together. His manner, as well as his appearance, was fascinating, his conversation lively and not destitute of "that taste for humor which (as Dr. Arnold remarks) great men are seldom without." He was fond of setting off the beauty of his person to the best advantage.

The death of Mohammed exposed the new state to the dangers of a disputed succession. The right to the throne, on which subject Mohammed was silent when he died, was respectively claimed by two powerful tribes, namely, those who fled to Medina with the prophet, or the *fugitives*, and those who aided him on his arrival, or the *auxiliaries*. To terminate this dangerous dispute, Omar, renouncing his own pretensions, held out his hand to Abu-Bekr as his future sovereign; and his authority was recognised in all the

provinces. The Hashemites, under Ali their chief, though averse to the new monarch, acknowledged him after some time as commander of the faithful. After a reign of two years he was succeeded by Omar, who was assassinated in the twelfth year of his reign, and was succeeded by Othman; and it was not till his death that Ali ascended the throne. This contest for the dignity of caliph has ever since divided the Mohammedans into the two hostile parties of the Shiites or sectaries, who reprobate as usurpers Abu-Bekr, Omar, and Othman; and the Sunnites, who revere them along with Ali as the legitimate successors of the prophet. This schism is the source of the hatred which still exists between the Persians and Turks.

Arabia, during the reign of these several princes, was filled with distraction at home, while the most splendid conquests were achieved abroad. To give a detail of these events, which relate besides to other countries as much as to Arabia, would exceed our limits. We may therefore briefly observe, that during the short reign of Abu Bekr, the Syrian territories of the Greek emperor were overrun by the victorious Moslems under Abu Obeidah, and afterwards under Khaled, surnamed from his valor and fanaticism the Sword of God; that the Greek armies were overthrown in several decisive battles; and that the rich and populous cities of the country, including Bosra and Damascus, were stormed by the barbarian invaders. A new army, raised by the Greek emperor, the last hope of the falling empire, was scattered before the barbarian host in the decisive battle of Yarmuk. Palestine was now subdued, and Jerusalem, which was reputed a holy city by its ferocious conquerors, and was visited by the Caliph Omar. Here he directed Amrou to invade Egypt, which was rapidly overrun; and his other lieutenants to complete the conquest of Syria. His orders were punctually obeyed, and Aleppo, Antioch, Tyre, Cæsarea, and all the other cities and fortresses in the province, were successively taken.



On the east the empire of the Arabs was rapidly extended. "They advanced," says the eloquent historian of the Decline and Fall of Rome, "to the banks and sources of the Euphrates and Tigris; the long-disputed barrier of Rome and Persia was for ever confounded; the walls of Edessa and Amida, of Dara and Nisibis, which had resisted the arms and engines of Sapor or Nashirvan, were levelled in the dust." The fate of Persia was decided in the great battle of Cadesia. The victorious Arabs poured like a flood over the country, and acquired prodigious spoil: nor did they halt in their victorious career till they had reached the banks of the Oxus, and had added to their empire Herat, Merou, Balk, Samarcand, and other rich and trading cities in the East.

The short reign of Ali, from the year 655 to 661, was disturbed by domestic dissension and the rival claims of Moawiyah, the son of Abu Sophian, well known for his tardy and reluctant obedience to the sword, as was alleged, rather than to the doctrines of the prophet. The death of Ali by an assassin was the signal for new contests. Moawiyah reigned at Damascus, which was the new capital of the caliphs of the house of Ommiyah, and was succeeded by his son Yezid A. D. 680, whose title was disputed by the surviving family of Ali, Hozein and Abdallah Ebn Zobeir, his two sons. They fled from Medina to Mecca; and Hozein was proceeding to Cufa on assurances of aid from the inhabitants, when he was surrounded and barbarously murdered, with all his followers, by Obeidallah the governor. Abdallah, the sole representative of the house of Hashem, was now proclaimed caliph at Medina, from which city he expelled all the adherents and dependents of the house of Ommiyah, to the number of 8000. Yezid dispatched a large force to their aid, by which Medina was taken, after a vigorous defence, and abandoned to pillage. Mecca, besieged by the army of Yezid, was on the point of sharing the same fate, when intelligence was received of Yezid's death. His son, Moawi-

yah II., succeeded him, and, after a reign of six weeks, died without naming a successor. Serious commotions now ensued. Merwan, of the house of Ommiyah, was proclaimed caliph at Damascus, while Abdallah reigned at Mecca. The former was succeeded by his son Abdalmalac, during whose reign the contest for the throne was terminated by the death of Abdallah, who, in a desperate sally from Mecca, where he was besieged by the troops of the rival caliph, was overpowered and slain. By his death the sovereignty was firmly established in the line of the Ommiades, who reigned in Damascus above seventy years.

But the title of this dynasty not being founded on any clear principle of religion or of law, was never recognised by the great body of the Moslems. They regarded with veneration the lineal descendants of the prophet, who on their part still cherished the hope of reigning over the Moslem empire. Numerous partisans of the line of Abbas were dispersed throughout the provinces, and secret plots for their restoration were gradually matured into rebellion. The last caliph of the line of the Ommiades was met on the field by a powerful army commanded by Abdallah, the uncle of his rival; and after an irretrievable defeat he escaped to Mosul, and finally to Egypt, where he was defeated and slain, and the last remains of his party extinguished. Amid the ruin and massacre of his family by the conqueror, a royal youth, Abdalrahman, alone escaped, and making his way into Spain, laid the foundation of a new dynasty of the Ommiades, who reigned in Cordova with great splendor for two hundred and fifty years, from the Atlantic to the Pyrenees. In Egypt and Africa the Fatimite caliphs, the progeny of Ali, were invested with royal authority; and the new line of the Abassides transferring the seat of government from Damascus to the banks of the Euphrates, laid the foundation of Bagdad, the seat of their empire, and of wealth, literature, and science, for five hundred years.

In the course of these various revolutions and splendid conquests, Arabia, the original seat of the Mohammedans, had dwindled into an inconsiderable province of their vast empire, and the rude inhabitant of the desert retained his solitary independence, heedless alike of distant victories as of domestic changes. The Hedjaz, the mountainous district of Arabia, and the chief seat of its commerce and its towns, was governed by the lieutenants of the caliphs, or sherifs as they are called, who are chosen from the tribe of the Koreish, and who have always acted as the resident sovereigns of the country. But their power was unknown in the desert, where the sheiks still continued to rule. In the disorders attending the decay of the Mohammedan power, Arabia was occasionally invaded by hostile tribes; but it was chiefly the outskirts of the country that were scathed by the flame of war, which never penetrated to the interior. It appears from the incidental and scattered notices which we possess, that about the year 1173 Sultan Saladin subdued a king who reigned in Yemen, and who had revolted against the authority of the caliphs of the line of Abassides. Having reduced the country, he committed the government to two deputies, who afterwards claiming independent power, were in their turn reduced by the troops of Saladin. In 1517, when Selim I. conquered Egypt, and extinguished the last surviving representative of the second dynasty of the Abassides, the sherif of Mecca brought to him the keys of the city; and the Arabian tribes professed their allegiance, and gave hostages as a pledge of their fidelity. The country continued under subjection for fifty years, when Muttahir, sherif of the kingdom, impatient of the Turkish yoke, attacked and routed the army of Murad Pacha, and freed the country for a time from its oppressors. A powerful army, commanded by the governor of Egypt, was dispatched by Selim II. to Yemen; the Arabian force was defeated and dispersed, and the authority of the sultan was re-established in Yemen, and extended

backwards to the highlands. The country, thus reduced, was governed as a Turkish province by pachas sent from Constantinople. But in the interior the independent princes and sheiks still retained their authority, and continued to harass the Turks, and to drive them back to the coasts. They were expelled from the province of Yemen about the middle of the 17th century; and since this period until the invasion of the country by Mohammed Ali they have only possessed a precarious and nominal authority in the towns of Djidda and Mecca.

The rise of the sect of the Wahabys, and the rapid extension of their dominion and doctrines, forms a most important epoch in the more recent history of Arabia. These sectaries were the reformers of religion in the East. They were zealous followers of Mohammed, who were scandalized by the departure of modern believers from the simplicity of the faith; by their worship at the tombs of saints; by the luxurious ostentation of their dress; their remiss attendance at public prayers; the immorality of their lives; the scandalous indecencies which they practised in the holy temple of Mecca; and finally, in opposition to the strict prohibitions of the Koran, by their free use of tobacco and other intoxicating drugs. Such were the chief articles of the new creed, which, in the same manner as the faith itself, was propagated by fire and sword. Its founder was Mohammed-Ebn-Abd-el Wahab, the son of a sheik in an obscure village, born in the year 1691, whose history and success for nearly a century seemed to presage the final triumph of his doctrines and his arms. It is remarkable that the only two great revolutions which have ever taken place in Arabia have had their origin in religion. It was in both cases for religion that the sword was ostensibly drawn. The subjection or extinction of infidel tribes was a step in the progress of the pious work; and these objects being accomplished, the original design, however spiritual in its nature, necessarily terminated in conquest and political dominion.



The young apostle of the new faith was trained in the strict principles of Mohammedanism. He was sent to finish his studies in the university of Bassora; and on his return to his native village, commencing reformer of religion and of manners, he was banished by the governor. He took refuge in Derayah, the capital of Nedjed, where he was protected by the sheik Mohammed-Ebn-Saouhoud, a zealous disciple, from political views, as was insinuated, of the reformed faith. Here the new tenets were embraced by crowds of proselytes, eager to draw their swords in the cause of truth; and so well did the Wahaby chief Saoud profit by their new-born zeal, that before his death in 1765 he had extended his faith and his dominion over the whole province of Nedjed. His son Abd-el-Azyz enlarged by new conquests the power of the Wahabys. He subdued and rendered tributary the surrounding tribes, threatened the holy cities, and finally spread the terror of his arms over all the northern parts of Arabia, from Mecca and Medina to Damascus, Bagdad, and Bassora. Mohammed-Ebn-Abd-el Wahab, the founder of the Wahaby sect, died in 1787, at the advanced age of ninety-five. But this event no way damped the zeal of his followers. Their expeditions were dreaded all along the banks of the Euphrates, and in the neighborhood of Bassora, which they invaded every year, committing great excesses, and massacring the Arab settlers who were the subjects of the Bagdad government. In 1797 the pacha of Bagdad undertook an expedition against Derayah, the capital of the Wahabys. He was repulsed by Saoud, the son of the reigning chief, who continued his inroads into the Turkish territories on the Euphrates. In 1801 he stormed the town of Imam Hosseyn, where, according to the intolerant maxims of the new sect, five thousand persons were massacred.

Ghaleb, the sherif of Mecca, was alarmed by the conquests of the Wahabys, and since the year 1792 had been vainly contending against their rising power. In 1801 the sec-

taries invaded his dominions in great force. In 1802 they stormed the town of Tayf, which they gave up to a general massacre, in which neither men, women, nor children were spared. In 1803 the holy city, notwithstanding the brave resistance of Sherif Ghaleb, surrendered at discretion to the victorious Wahabys. On entering it, the strictest discipline was preserved by Saoud the chief, and not the slightest excess was committed. The inhabitants were, however, compelled to a more punctual attendance at prayers; to conceal their silk dresses: all their finely ornamented Persian pipes were collected before Saoud's house, and there committed to the flames; and the sale of tobacco was forbidden. Mecca was afterwards given up to the government of Sherif Ghaleb, on the usual condition of his conversion to the Wahaby faith. This conquest was followed by the reduction of the neighboring tribes, and in 1804 Medina surrendered to the Wahaby arms. Here they rigorously enforced the duty of public worship; the absent were punished; and a respectable woman, accused of smoking the Persian pipe, was placed upon a jack-ass, and paraded through the town with the pipe suspended round her neck. Saoud soon after visited Medina, and carried away from the tomb of Mohammed all the valuable articles, namely, jewels and pearls, and Cufic manuscripts of the Koran, which it contained; and ordered his troops, according to the approved maxims of his sect, who reprobate the worship of saints, to destroy the cupola over the tomb; but it was so strong that with all their efforts they could not deface this curious relic of antiquity.

The Hedjaz continued to enjoy tranquillity during the years 1806, 1807, and 1808, under the divided rule of the sherif of Mecca and the Wahabys, the power of the former gradually declining, while Saoud was acknowledged as pontiff and king over the greater part of Arabia. The Wahaby hordes extended their inroads southward into the mountains of Yemen, whence they descend.

ed to the coasts and plundered the towns of Loheia and Hodeida. On the north they advanced into the Syrian desert, and alarmed the Bedouins in the vicinity of Aleppo, as well as the inhabitants of Damascus, who had begun to send away their valuable property to the mountains of Libanus. The Mesopotamian tribes near Bagdad were attacked and pillaged; and in 1810 Saoud at the head of 20,000 troops, stormed the Persian town of Kerbeleh, putting all the male inhabitants to the sword. The regular intercourse of the great pilgrim caravans from Syria, Egypt, Persia, and Yemen, had been interrupted since the year 1803, and the few scattered pilgrims that reached the holy cities from the north and west generally came across the Red Sea from Cosseir to Djidda.

The surrender of Mecca and Medina to the sectaries, and the interruption of the pilgrimages, excited the shame and indignation of all pious Mohammedans. Mohammed Ali, who in 1804 was appointed pacha of Egypt, received instructions from the Porte to undertake the re-conquest of the Holy Land. He accordingly determined on the invasion of Arabia, and prepared an expedition, which he committed to his son Tousoun Bey, and Ahmed Aga his treasurer. The infantry, amounting to 2000 troops, landed at Yembo from Suez in October 1811, and took the town after a slight resistance. In January, 1812, Tousoun advanced against Medina; but he was assailed in the mountain passes, through which his route lay, by a powerful army of Wahabys, and utterly routed, with the loss of his baggage and artillery. Being in the course of the summer largely reinforced from Egypt, he again advanced to Medina in November; and having sprung a mine and overthrown part of the wall, he carried the town by assault, massacring about 1000 of the garrison in the streets. The remainder, to the number of 1500, retired to the castle which they afterwards surrendered on condition of receiving a safe conduct for themselves and baggage; in defiance of which they were,

on quitting the town, treacherously massacred by the Turkish troops. Sherif Ghaleb, intimidated by the capture of Medina, now intimated his desire of surrendering the holy city to the Turkish commander. Mecca, with Djidda, its port, was accordingly taken possession of in January, 1813, without any opposition; and in a fortnight the town of Tayf, which had been held by the Wahabys for sixteen years, surrendered after a feeble resistance. In 1813 Mohammed Ali landed at Djidda; and on his arrival at Mecca, suspecting the hostile intrigues of Sherif Ghaleb with the Arab tribes, he caused him to be arrested and sent under a guard to Egypt. He was succeeded in the government of Mecca by Yahya, also of the sherif family, the humble tool of Mohammed Ali. In the mean time the Turkish army, weakened by its losses, remained at Mecca and Tayf; and with the exception of an unsuccessful expedition against Toraba, the chief town of the southern Wahabys, and the capture of Gonfode, a port seven days' journey south of Djidda, which was soon after recaptured, no enterprise of any importance had been undertaken since the surrender of Mecca and Tayf. But Mohammed Ali was not idle. He employed the time in reinforcing his wasted army, in collecting magazines and stores, in purchasing camels, and in strengthening his influence among the Arab chiefs, many of whom he succeeded in detaching from the Wahabys by the influence of presents and money.

Saoud, the successful chief of the Wahabys, died at Nedjed in 1814, and his son Abdallah, who succeeded him, though he was brave, was inferior to his father in all the qualities of a political chief. The pacha having completed his preparations, now resolved to strike a decisive blow. In January, 1815, he began his march southward in the direction of Toraba. The Wahabys to the number of 25,000 occupied a strong position on the mountains near Byssell, from which, after some unsuccessful attempts to dislodge them, he contrived, by a feigned retreat, to



draw them into the plain. Here their disorderly host was borne down by the steady attack of the pacha's disciplined force, and flying in confusion, they were cut down without mercy by the Turkish cavalry. A reward of six dollars being offered for the head of every Wahaby, 5000 of these bloody trophies were in a few hours piled up before the pacha's tent. Of 300 prisoners who were taken, fifty were, according to the cruel maxims of the East, impaled alive before the gates of Mecca, and the rest at other parts. Mohammed Ali hastened to profit by his victory. He arrived in four days before Toraba, which capitulated; and advancing southward he encountered the wreck of the Wahaby army in the mountains near the town of Beishe. Here, after a brave resistance under Tamy, their chief, who was seen riding in front, animating the troops by his war songs, they gave way before the Turkish artillery. Tamy, who was betrayed into the hands of his enemies by an Arab chief, and by his gallant bearing gained the esteem of the whole army, was sent to Constantinople, where he was instantly beheaded. Another chief, Bakhroudj, was tortured to death in presence of the pacha. The Turkish army continued the pursuit of the Wahabys, and subdued most of the southern tribes. Mohammed Ali was intent on carrying the war into Yemen, whose rich cities he hoped to plunder; but the wasted state of the army forced him to an immediate retreat. He himself accordingly proceeded to Gonfode on the sea-shore, and arrived at Mecca on the 21st of March, after an absence of fifteen days. Of his army, consisting of 4000 Turks, he brought back only 1500; and of 10,000 camels, only 300 survived the fatigues of the campaign.

The war against the northern Wahabys was prosecuted with vigor by Tousoun Pacha, who had advanced eastward from Medina to Khabara, about three hundred miles into the interior of the country. Abdallah had fixed his head-quarters at Shenana, only five hours' march from the Turkish army. Tousoun was

here seriously embarrassed by the want of supplies. His treasurer Ibrahim Aga, with a detachment, had been some time before surrounded on the road and cut to pieces, after a gallant resistance, and his remaining troops were averse to a battle. From these difficulties he was extricated by a peace, which Abdallah weakly concluded with him, and by which he agreed to renounce the possession of the holy cities, to be ranked among the faithful subjects of the sultan, to pray for him in the mosques, and to submit to his authority as his sovereign. But this treaty, however disgraceful to the Wahabys, was far from satisfying the views of Mohammed Ali, who, with his usual contempt of all engagements refused to ratify it; and conscious of his strength, would enter into no overtures from Abdallah, however humble, having determined either to reduce or exterminate the rebellious sectaries of Arabia of which he was the head. Both parties accordingly prepared for war. In September, 1815, Ibrahim Pacha, son of Mohammed Ali, landed at Yembo with 2000 Turkish troops, besides 2000 peasants pressed into his service at Siout on the Nile, amid the outcries of their wives and children. He had also a corps of 500 Moggrebins from Barbary. Having spent some time at Medina in reducing the surrounding tribes, and visiting the holy sepulchre, he directed all the troops which could be spared from the different garrisons to march on Hanakye, or Henakye, about 100 miles eastward of Medina, where, early in December his whole force was concentrated. Here he remained till the end of April, 1817; and though his troops suffered severely under fever and dysentery, the diseases of the climate, he succeeded, by several bold and well-concerted expeditions, in impressing on the Arab tribes the terror of his arms. He extended his alliances among them, and by his policy as well as by his arms, he silently prepared the ruin of the Wahaby state. In the conduct of the war, Ibrahim combined, with the cruelty of a Turkish conqueror, undaunted

courage and skill, a rare perseverance under difficulties, and a fertility of resource which seldom failed him. The discipline of his troops secured his superiority in the field; and the Wahaby host, avoiding the risk of a battle, relied on their fortresses, the nakedness of the land, and the noxious climate. The issue of the war was thus reduced to a mere arithmetical question of the number of men that would be required to carry it on. These being provided, the conquest of the country was certain, and Mohammed Ali was too well versed in war not to see the advantages which he possessed, and too deeply interested to grudge the necessary supplies. He was willing to pay the fair price of his success. The army of Ibrahim, notwithstanding its losses, was accordingly maintained at its full complement by recruits from Egypt; and he now hastened to complete the conquest of the country by reducing its strongholds, and especially Derayah, its capital. He had gone to the village of Maouyeh, where he was joined by a powerful chief; and having assembled all his forces, consisting of 4000 infantry and 1200 horse, besides his Arab auxiliaries, he advanced in July to the fortress of Rass. In three several assaults, conducted with desperate valor, but without skill, the assailants were overwhelmed, and finally repulsed with severe loss, by the well-directed fire of the garrison; and Ibrahim, after vainly contending for three months and seventeen days against the obstinate valor of the inhabitants, and incurring a loss of 3400 men, was forced to raise the siege of an ill-fortified place, which, with the aid of engineers, he might have reduced in two days. But this was the only disaster that befell the Turkish arms. The sequel of the campaign was one continued course of conquest. Khabra, Aneyzey and its castle, and Banneydeh, successively fell after a slight resistance. At the latter place the Turkish army remained for two months. Having received large reinforcements, it commenced its march, accompanied by a train of 10,000 camels and other beasts of burden, across

frightful deserts of sands, and in January 1818 encamped at Chakra, which was taken after a siege of seven days. The town of Dorama was stormed and taken after a brave resistance, and abandoned to pillage and the sword; and on the 22nd of March, Ibrahim directed his victorious march to Derayah, the capital, and last stronghold of the Wahaby state. This place, which consists of five small towns, each surrounded with a wall protected by bastions at small distances, was now closely besieged by the Turkish army, which, including infantry and cavalry, amounted to 5500 troops. The siege was long and obstinate, but the Turkish troops still maintained their superiority. The different divisions of the town were successively stormed; and the unfortunate Abdallah, thus driven to his last retreat, was reduced to ask a suspension of arms and a conference. His interview with Ibrahim presented a touching spectacle of fallen dignity. He demanded peace: the conqueror granted his request, but added that he was not authorized to leave him at Derayah—the positive order of his father was that he should repair to Egypt. Abdallah, after twenty-four hours of deliberation, intimated his assent to the proposed terms, and only conditioned for his life. Ibrahim would not answer for the decision either of his father or the sultan, farther than that he thought them both too generous to take his life. Abdallah, having bidden a last adieu to his afflicted family, repaired to the tent of Ibrahim, from which he set out on his journey across the desert, and arrived at Cairo. He was sent to Constantinople, where, notwithstanding the intercession of Mohammed Ali, he was beheaded along with his companions in misfortune, in the square of St. Sophia, after being exhibited in every part of the city for three days.

With the death of Abdallah terminated the dominion of the Wahabys, which, under a succession of vigorous and politic princes, had in the course of a century been extended over the whole peninsula of Arabia. But



their empire, loosely held together by the tenure of recent conquest, was overthrown by the first attack to which it was exposed. The chiefs who yielded to the terror of the Wahaby arms, deserted on the first appearance of a hostile army; others were seduced by the influence of gold, which was liberally distributed; and domestic dissension coming in aid of foreign war, dissolved the union of the tribes, and completed the ruin of the country. According to M. Mengin, whose information is undoubted, Arabia had ample means of defence in the difficulties of the country, and in the numbers, intrepidity and discipline of its troops; and with an able leader, he expresses his strong, and apparently just conviction, that the Turkish army, in place of conquering the country, would have perished in its burning deserts.

The ruin of the Wahabys is deeply to be regretted, as it may throw back for several centuries the civilization of Arabia. The Wahaby princes reformed the morals as well as the religion of their country. Under the reign of Saoud the administration of justice was rigid and impartial. The crimes of rapine, thieving and murder, so common among the Arab tribes, were severely punished; an exact police was established throughout the country; and caravans and travellers were seen journeying on all the

roads in perfect security. The Turkish conquests will restore the primitive barbarity of the Arabian manners, and anarchy and crime will resume their wonted sway. But Arabia contains within itself the seeds of independence. The distance of Nedjed from Cairo, and the expense and difficulty of sending supplies through the interior deserts, will render it extremely difficult to maintain a Turkish force in the heart of the country; while the religious principles of the tribes, their warlike character and love of freedom, animating them to new efforts, may yet enable them to triumph over the foreign tyranny which oppresses them, and to re-establish their freedom on a new and more secure basis.

The expeditions of Mohammed Ali against the Wahabys of Assyr, between 1824 and 1827, and again in 1833 and 1834, led to no lasting advantage for the Egyptian power. Since then, there have been frequent gatherings of the Wahabys in various parts of the peninsula; and there can be no doubt, that should the decline of the Turkish empire continue, those intrepid and persevering reformers of a decrepit religion will ere long recover their former power. Only a few years ago, in 1850, they made a successful attempt upon Mecca and Medina, conquered both cities, and occupied them a considerable time.

## SYRIA.

THE earliest notices of Syrian history are found in the Bible, the most ancient and the most authentic of all histories. In the tenth chapter of Genesis there is a brief record of the colonization of the nations of the world by the descendants of Noah. From this it appears that Syria, by the nature of its first settlement was divided into two sections which remained distinct for nearly two thousand years. The first section, embracing the whole eastern division of the country, was peopled by the family of Aram, Damascus being the metropolis, and probably the nucleus of the colony. The second or western division was colonized by the sons of Canaan—Sidon, Arka, and Arvad—who settled on the coast and in the ridge of Lebanon, and Hamath, who went farther east than his brethren. Sidon founded the city which bore his name, the first capital of Phœnicia. Here, and in the great mart of Tyre, the commerce of the world was born. Starting from their narrow limits on the Syrian coast, the Phœnician merchants penetrated every corner of the Mediterranean, wherever they could find an opening for their trade, bringing back the gold of Ophir, and the spices of Arabia and Indian ivory in exchange for the rich fabrics of the Syrian looms. They planted colonies on every shore, even passing beyond the Straits of Gibraltar, into the unknown and dreaded Atlantic, where they founded the city of Cadiz, on the coast of Spain. The next event in the history of Syria is the advent of Abraham. A very early tradition represents him as settling for a time at Damascus; and it is corroborated by two facts:—his steward was a native of that city, and not far from Damascus, there is still a sacred spot, called by the name of the Patriarch. For a period of nearly nine centuries we have no records of Syrian history. In the time of King David (B. C. 1040), Syria is represented as consisting of a certain number of independent kingdoms, as Zotah, Damascus, Maachah, and Geshur. Against these the Jewish monarch waged war, and being successful, placed garrisons in their principal cities. After the death of David, Syria regained its independence. Now, however, the kingdom of Damascus attained to such power as to be the recognized head of Syria. Under the warlike dynasty of the Hadads it became the most influential kingdom in Western Asia; and by frequent incursions into the Territories of Israel and Judah, and by the pillage of many of their cities and villages it terribly revenged the victories of David. The watchful care and prophetic power of Elisha saved Israel for a time from the fury of its foe, and brought upon the armies of Benhadad unexpected calamities. About B. C. 892, Damascus was honored by a visit from the prophet. Benhadad was then sick, and his sufferings not only made him overlook his old enmity to Elisha, but constrained him to consult him as to his recovery. The man who was sent on this errand was Hazael, whose guilty designs the



prophet detected and exposed. His reply and subsequent conduct were thoroughly characteristic of the wily and cruel eastern, "Is thy servant a dog that he should do this thing?" he exclaimed; and then, turning away, he hastened to Damascus and murdered his master! Thus terminated the dynasty of Hadad, after a rule of more than one hundred and sixty years. Hazael succeeded to the throne, and proved both a wise monarch and able general. Under him the armies of Syria were victorious to the borders of Egypt. His successors did not inherit his genius, and the power of Syria began to decline. About B. C. 760, Rezin, the last independent ruler of Syria, entered into an alliance with the King of Israel, and waged war against Judah. The latter in his difficulties, sought aid from the powerful monarch of Assyria, Tiglath-Pileser, who was not slow to give it. He marched at once across the desert, overran Syria, took Damascus, and carried the inhabitants captive to the banks of the Kir.

Syria now became a mere dependency of a more powerful empire, and was ruled by foreign satraps. It remained a province of Assyria until, during the struggles of the Eastern Monarchs, it was seized by Pharaoh-Necho, King of Egypt. A few years afterward it was captured by Nebuchadnezzar, and for a period of three centuries continued subject to the Babylonian and Persian administrations.

Immediately after the great battle of Issus (B. C. 333), Syria passed into the hands of a different dynasty and a different race. Alexander the Great became its ruler. He assigned it to the general Laomedon, and Damascus became the seat of his short sway. After the death of Alexander, and the brief but fierce struggle of his lieutenants over the fragments of his gigantic empire, the fortunes of war threw Syria into the power of Seleucus Nicator, the founder of the dynasty of the Seleucidae. This prince built Antioch, and made it the seat of his government. He and his successors on the throne may justly be termed a race of architects. They not

only adorned their capital with structures which rivalled in splendor the noblest monuments of Greece; but they founded many other great cities in various parts of the country. Though almost constantly at war, their kingdom was for two hundred years one of the most prosperous in the world. From the commencement of the reign of the Seleucidae, till the year B. C. 114, Antioch remained undisputed capital. At this time the kingdom was rent by the intrigues of Ptolemy Physcon; and Antiochus Cyzicenus, brother of the reigning monarch, established a new sovereignty at Damascus. Half a century later the Roman army under Pompey overran Syria, abolished the dynasty of the Seleucidae, and established their head-quarters at Damascus. Syria was immediately annexed to the Roman empire, and placed under the command of Scæurus, Pompey's lieutenant. For many years after the conquest, the country was the scene of devastating wars, arising partly from the feuds of petty princes, partly from the rivalries of Roman governors. After the triumph of Augustus, Messala Corvinus was appointed prefect, and henceforth the seat of government was fixed at Antioch.

In the year A. D. 105, Cornelius Palina, the governor of Syria under the emperor Trajan, conquered the region east of the Jordan, and the neighboring kingdom of Aretas. From this time the various provinces of Syria began to recruit under the secure and fraternal government of Rome. Temples, theatres, palaces, and other public monuments of great extent and splendor, were erected not only in the chief cities, but in every little provincial town; and their remains even yet, after long centuries of desolation, bear ample testimony to the genius, the wealth and the taste of the old Syrians. Roads also were constructed, bridges were built, and costly harbors formed. The country remained under Roman and Byzantine rule till A. D. 634. The only circumstances that occurred previous to that period, and which are deserving of notice in a brief

sketch like this, are the establishment of Christianity under the first Constantine, and the conquests of the Persians early in the seventh century. Christianity had spread widely over the land before its establishment as the religion of the empire; and the numbers, and the wealth, and the taste of the Christians subsequent to that period may still, to some extent, be estimated by the splendid ruins of sacred edifices in the cities, towns and villages of Syria.

The Arabs, under the generals Khaled and Abu Obeidah, first invaded Syria in A. D. 633; and only five years afterwards the whole country was conquered, and every city in it garrisoned by their troops. In sixteen years more, Damascus became the capital of the vast Mohammedan empire. Syria was then densely populated. Her cities scarcely yielded to any in the world in extent, wealth, and architectural magnificence; but under the withering influence of Islamism their grandeur faded, and their wealth was consumed.

In A. D. 750 the dynasty of the Abbassides was founded, and the khalifite was removed from Damascus, first to Cufa and then to Baghdad. Henceforth Syria was a province of the Mohammedan Empire. From this time to the middle of the tenth century it was subject to the khalifs of Baghdad, but it then fell into the hands of the Fatimite dynasty of Egypt. Toward the close of the following century the country was invaded by the Seljukian Turks, and formed into a division of their empire. The cruelties perpetrated by these fanatics on the poor Christians that thronged yearly to Jerusalem roused the spirit of western Europe, and excited Christian nations to the first Crusade. In a short time the knights of France and England, headed by Godfrey of Bouillon, were winding through the valleys and marching over the plains of Syria. The fierce, undisciplined followers of the prophet could not withstand their steady valor. The country was subdued, Jerusalem taken by storm, and the cruelties perpetrated on Christian pilgrims fearfully avenged.

Godfrey was elected first Christian king of Jerusalem. Bohemund reigned at Antioch; and Baldwin, Godfrey's brother, at Edessa; and the Count of Toulouse at Tripoli. Thus was the country divided into Christian principalities, and ruled by the bravest knights of western Europe. Damascus, however, withstood every assault of the Crusaders; and it is still the boast of the Moslem, that its sacred precincts have never been polluted by the feet of an infidel since the day the soldiers of Mohammed first entered it.

About the middle of the twelfth century Mor-ed-din, a Tartan chief, seized Damascus and some neighboring cities. He ruled his acquired territory with justice and vigor. At the request of the Fatimite khalif, he attacked and defeated the Crusaders on the borders of Egypt. His successor, Saladin, was by far the most formidable opponent the Crusaders ever encountered. After gaining a decisive victory over their united forces at Hattin, near Tiberias, he captured Jerusalem (A. D. 1187), and drove the Franks out of almost every town and fortress of Palestine. Soon afterwards Syria was invaded by the shepherd soldiers of Tartary, under Hologon, the grandson of Genghis Khan. But after the death of this chief, Bibars, better known in Arabian history as Meleh-edh-Dhaher, brought Syria under the rule of Egypt, and pursued the Tartars beyond the Euphrates. His victories were fatal to the declining power of the Crusaders. Their remaining history is one continued tale of misfortune. At length in A. D. 1291, Acre was taken and the Christian knights driven from the shores of Syria.

For more than two centuries after this period, the country was the theatre of fierce conquests between the hordes of Tartary and the Mameluke rulers of Egypt. Timur, or Tamerlane, invaded Syria in A. D. 1401, and committed the most fearful ravages. Antioch, Emessa, Báalbek, and Damascus were reduced to ashes, and their unfortunate inhabitants either murdered or sold into slavery.

In the year 1517 Syria was conquered by



the Sultan Selim I., and from that time to the present day it has formed a part of the Ottoman Empire. During this period, though the country has been visited by few striking vicissitudes, it has steadily declined in power, wealth, and population. The greater part of the inhabitants, oppressed by foreign rulers, who take no interest in commerce and agriculture, have sunk into helpless and almost hopeless slavery. What little energy and spirit remain are exhausted in private quarrels and party feuds, which are sedulously fostered by their unprincipled rulers. In 1832 Ibrahim Pasha conquered Syria for his father, Mohammed Ali. The iron rule of that wonderful man did much to break down the fanaticism which for ages had been a curse to the people. He promoted industry, he suppressed the robber bands which infested the leading roads, and he drove the Arab tribes from the eastern borders to the interior of their native deserts, and even there he taught them to fear and to obey him. Though the whole population groaned under his yoke,

yet it may be truly said that he was the only real ruler Syria had for centuries. In the year 1841, through the armed intervention of England, the country was restored to the Porte.

The long history of Syria may thus be divided into six periods; and it is remarkable that, during each period, a distinct section of the human family has had rule over it. During the first period of about 1450 years, it was independent under its native princes. During the second period, of 417 years, the Babylonian and Persian monarchs held it. During the third period of 268 years, it was subject to the Greek dynasty of the Seleucidæ. During the fourth period of 699 years, the Romans possessed it. During the fifth period, of 441 years, it was desolated rather than governed by the Saracens or Arabs. It then fell into the hands of the Tartar and Turkish tribes, who still retain it. But their power is rapidly declining. The throne founded by Ottoman is tottering to its fall; and the sixth period of Syrian history is fast drawing to a close.

## THE JEWS.

THIS singular people derive their origin from Abraham, a native of Chaldea, who flourished about 2000 years before the Christian era. At that period the whole world was sunk in idolatry, and Abraham was chosen by the Almighty, that by him the knowledge of the essential principles of pure religion might be preserved on the earth, and the way prepared for the revelation of a more comprehensive system to mankind. Under the divine direction, Abraham at an early period of his life, withdrew from his country and kindred, and from the infectious influence of their superstitions; taking up his abode in the country now known by the name of Palestine, a small strip of land along the Mediterranean, naturally sterile and rugged, but capable of extraordinary fertility through attentive culture, and commanding advantages by its situation, for securing an easy intercourse with the whole habitable world. In the days of Abraham, part of it was altogether unoccupied, and the rest was inhabited by different small tribes of the Canaanites, who seem to have migrated from Arabia. Among these, Abraham lived an Emir, or chief of a nomadic tribe, moving from place to place, as the increase of his flocks and the condition of his dependents required. The year after his arrival in Canaan a famine compelled him to retire into Egypt, but he soon after returned, and pitched his tents in the valley of Mamre near Hebron. Previous to the appearance of Abraham in Palestine, Cherdolaomer, who is called in the Bible king of Elam, or Elymais, a part of Persia, extended his conquests beyond the Euphrates, and reduced to subjection five of the petty kings or chiefs who lived in the valley South of the Dead Sea. After twelve years of submission, and about eight years after the coming of Abraham, these five chieftains rebelled against Cherdolaomer, who in the next year invaded the country with three other monarchs, and, after defeating the rebels in a pitched battle, retired, carrying with him from Sodom and Gomorrah large quantities of booty, and many captives, among whom was Lot. Abraham, hearing of this disaster, armed all his followers to the number of 318, and pursued the retreating army. He overtook them near the source of the Jordan, fell upon them by night, and totally defeated them, rescuing his nephew and the rest of the captives along with their goods.

The destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah took place in the year 1897 B. C., when, on account of the wickedness of these cities, God rained fire and brimstone from heaven upon them, by which they were entirely destroyed. The only persons who escaped from this catastrophe were Lot and his two daughters. After Abraham's death Isaac became the head of the patriarchal family, and he seems to have resided all his life in the promised land. The only event of historical importance that is recorded in his days is the covenant that he made with Abimelech, king of the Philistines. In 1759 B. C., Isaac's



younger son, Jacob, obliged to leave the country on account of the resentment of his brother Esau, took refuge in Mesopotamia with his uncle Laban; there he remained for twenty years in the capacity of servant, receiving in marriage Laban's two daughters, Leah and Rachel, as the price of the first fourteen years, and large flocks of sheep and goods, which constituted the principal riches of those days, for the remaining period of his service. At last, in the year 1739 B. C., Jacob returned to Canaan, with his wives, the eleven sons which had been born to him in his exile, and his flocks. On his way to that country Jacob was reconciled to his brother Esau, who had established himself as a powerful prince in the mountains of Seir, the country afterwards occupied by the Edomites his descendants. In 1728 B. C., Joseph the favorite son of Jacob, was sold by his brethren to a company of Ishmaelites and Midianites, and carried down to Egypt, where he was sold again to Potiphar, one of the chief officers of the king. On account of a false accusation by his mistress he was thrown into prison, where he remained for some time. Having, however, interpreted two dreams for the king, and thereby foretold seven years of plenty and seven years of famine, he was raised by the king to the highest authority. During the seven plentiful years he stored up corn in the granaries, so that when the famine came there was still corn in Egypt. Jacob sent down his sons to Egypt for corn, but they knew not their brother Joseph. On their second visit he made himself known to them, and invited Jacob his father, and all his household, to come into Egypt. This invitation was complied with; and in 1706 B. C., the whole patriarchal family, to the number of 76, removed to Egypt, and settled in the land of Goshen. The Egyptians at this period were living under a regular form of government, and had made considerable advances in the arts and sciences. Policy as well as habit led them to look upon the nomadic life with an unfavorable eye; and from this circumstance,

as well as from the hereditary character of office among the Egyptians, the two nations were kept entirely distinct. A separate district of the country was assigned to the Israelites, where they retained to a considerable extent the character of a pastoral tribe; the Egyptian deserts, and the neighboring country of Arabia Petræa, affording ample opportunities for indulging in their primitive customs. The ordinary influence, however, of a more civilized and powerful people upon their dependents or allies, by degrees became perceptible; and we find the Israelites beginning to practise some of the arts of the Egyptians, and gradually falling into their idolatry. Gratitude or contempt secured the descendants of Jacob from the jealousy that their increasing numbers were calculated to awaken, till the founder of a new dynasty perceived the full extent of the danger to which his dominion was exposed, and regardless of national obligation, formed a plan for the extermination of his dangerous visitors. He reduced them to the condition of slaves, and destroyed all their male children. Moses the future deliverer of his people alone was saved; when he could no longer be concealed by his mother, he was committed to the Nile in a basket of bulrushes, and was discovered by one of the king's daughters, and being adopted by her was brought up at the Egyptian court. But in the year 1531 B. C., Moses, then forty years old, espoused the cause of his oppressed countrymen, and was compelled to leave Egypt. He took refuge among the Midianites, near the Eastern arm of the Red Sea, and remained there as a shepherd forty years. At the end of that time, he, along with his brother Aaron, was divinely commissioned to deliver the Israelites out of Egypt. By means of the Ten Plagues with which the Egyptians were afflicted, they were compelled at last to let the Hebrews go.

When they took their departure, Moses was their ruler and their guide, he led forth his countrymen from the house of their bondage, delivering to them a body of laws and

institutions, which not only gave an indelible stamp to the Jewish character, but exerted an influence that combines to be felt throughout the Mohammedan and the Christian world. He appointed religious ceremonies to be mingled with political institutions, so that these institutions should give permanency to the doctrines and practices of a pure theology. The burden of his offices being too great for him, the judicial were divided, all lesser causes being referred to the rulers of thousands and hundreds, of fifties, and of tens, while those of greater moment were submitted to the chief judge. The plan entered upon by Moses for the introduction of the descendants of Abraham into the land promised to their progenitor was carried out by Joshua, his successor in the office of judge. When they obtained possession of the land, after expelling the Canaanites, it was partitioned by lot among the different tribes, and again subdivided among the families of the same tribe. The land was declared inalienable, and the perpetual inheritance of the families to whom it was originally assigned, and accordingly, every fiftieth year, which was proclaimed to be a year of jubilee, all debts and mortgages on land were declared to be cancelled, and every man was to return to his own land. Other laws were passed for enforcing the purity of divine worship and of moral conduct; equity in the transactions between man and man; and also for the punishment of idolatry and other iniquities: for it was the peculiar distinction of this community, that the law took cognizance not only of offences against society, but of every breach of the divine commands. The order of the priesthood was also instituted in the family of Levi, and the distinction was laid down between clean and unclean animals, from the latter of which the people were commanded to abstain. An enumeration was made in the plains of Moab of all the males of the children of Israel above twenty years of age, and the sum is given at 601,730. The Levites, who were not mentioned among the rest, amounted to 23,000;

which makes the sum of 624,700 males above twenty years of age. The total population must therefore have been about 2,500,000. The Israelites, after their settlement in the land of Canaan were involved in wars with the surrounding states, and were often given into their hands on account of disobedience. The land was in this manner frequently wasted, and the prosperity of the people interrupted, by the inroads of their neighbors. From these enemies they were saved by deliverers called judges, raised up to them, and under whose sway the land enjoyed long intervals of rest. But during the old age of Samuel, the last of the judges, in consequence of the misconduct of his sons, and the unsettled state of the country, the people were dissatisfied, and entreated, against the solemn protest of this aged prophet, that they might have a king, like the nations around them; and Samuel was desired to listen to their request. Saul, a member of the tribe of Benjamin was accordingly chosen by common suffrage, and held the sway over all the tribes of Israel for about forty years. His reign was far from being either prosperous or happy; and although his bravery preserved the Israelites from external adversaries, he was deficient in that political sagacity which was necessary to consolidate the principles of the new monarchy. He terminated his fatal course in a disastrous defeat in the mountains of Gilboa, in which he and his son Jonathan were slain. Upon his death, the tribes of Judah and Benjamin refused to acknowledge the authority of his son Ishbosheth, who succeeded him over the other, and elected a youth named David, who had been marked out by the prophet Samuel, as destined to princely honors, and whose adventurous exploits, generous enthusiasm, and princely bearing had endeared him to his tribe. His prudence proved equal to his valor and his piety; and in a short time he succeeded in uniting all the tribes in one kingdom, fixing his capital at Jerusalem. He was succeeded by his son Solomon, under whose reign the



kingdom reached its highest degree of prosperity. The descendants of Abraham now formed the principal monarchy in Western Asia.

From the Mediterranean Sea to the Euphrates, from the river of Egypt to Berytus, and towards the East to the Hagarenes on the Persian Gulf, all were subject to the sway of Solomon, under whose wise and peaceful rule trade flourished, commerce was extended, and the arts and sciences found patronage and protection. It often happens, that when a prince like David has settled a kingdom on solid foundations, his son is induced to indulge a taste for luxurious magnificence; and to this, as well as to his sense of religion, some have ascribed the building of the temple, the great event of his reign.

Upon the death of Solomon, the kingdom fell asunder under the feeble and impolitic sway of his son and successor Rehoboam. The causes of disunion lay deep in the character and situation of the different tribes; and, though counteracted for a time, they were ever ready to operate when occasion was afforded. The jealousy that subsisted between the twelve sons of Jacob seems to have been inherited by their descendants; but it was only among the more powerful tribes that such jealousies could lead to a dismemberment of the commonwealth. From the beginning a rivalry may be observed between the tribes of Joseph and Judah. The former inherited a double portion in the allotments to Ephraim and Manasseh, the two sons of Joseph; and their founder had been distinguished from his brethren by the blessings pronounced upon him. The tribe of Judah had the right of primogeniture, and the promised Messiah was to spring from them. In this way the two tribes regarded each other with ill-concealed sentiments of hostility; and Shechem and Jerusalem, their respective capitals, were each the focus of a party ready to engage in active warfare. The impolitic exactions of Rehoboam, while they gave dissatisfaction to all his subjects, inflamed the Ephraimites to open revolt,

which, fomented as it was by the ambition of Jeroboam, terminated in the establishment of a separate kingdom. This kingdom comprehended all the tribes, with the exception of the two southernmost (those of Judah and Benjamin,) together with all the tributary nations as far as the Euphrates. The royal residence in the new kingdom was in Shechem where the Mosaic ritual was superseded by a new mode of worship, and the link that bound Ephraim and Judah together finally severed.

The kingdom of Israel, as distinguished from that of Judah, had a distinct existence about 235 years, when it was invaded by Shalmaneser, who carried away the principal inhabitants into captivity. From that period all traces of the ten tribes as a distinct people are in a great measure lost. Colonists from Babylon and other eastern cities mingled with the Israelites who were left in the land of Palestine, and the mixed race were afterwards known by the name of Samaritans.

The kingdom of Judah enjoyed a somewhat longer existence than that of Israel. At last, however, about 135 years after the transference of the ten tribes to Media, the king of Babylon carried away captive the inhabitants of the land of Judah, which was left for a time wholly desert, or occupied only by wandering tribes.

During the captivity of Judah, the vanquished people seem to have enjoyed a more than usual share of the favors of their conquerors, and were considered more in the light of colonists than of captives. They were not, as they had been in Egypt, confined to a separate territory, but mingled freely with the Babylonians; being settled in thinly peopled districts, where by a moderate degree of industry, they found an abundant sustenance. Upon the banks of the Euphrates they met some of the expatriated Israelites, who attached themselves to the tribes that had adhered to the pure worship of their fathers; and the name of *Jews*, from the larger tribe, was applied from this period to all who were recognised as the de-

cendants of Jacob. The wisdom of many of the institutions of Moses now appeared, as they preserved the Hebrews a distinct people, notwithstanding the most intimate intercourse with another race, and secured their attachment to the great principles of monotheism in the midst of prevailing idolatry.

The captivity of the Jews continued till the year 536, when Cyrus ascended the Medo-Persian throne. This great prince had been foretold by the Jewish prophet Isaiah, as the man from whom deliverance was to come to the captive people; and in the first year of his reign he proclaimed a decree, permitting, or rather inviting, all the people of the God of Heaven, without exception, to return to Judea, and rebuild the temple of Jerusalem. About 50,000 availed themselves of this permission. They assembled at an appointed place, according to the usual mode of collecting a caravan, and proceeded under the conduct of Zerubbabel, who was nominated leader of the caravan, and governor of Judea. The return to Jerusalem took place about the close of the first year of Cyrus, after seventy years of captivity.

The building of a temple, and the rebuilding and fortifying the city, were the two national objects which the restored captives had most at heart; and in the second year of their return the foundation of a new temple was laid. The jealousies and enmities, however, of the colonists at Samaria presented obstacles to the advancement of the work, and for a time it seems to have been abandoned. This lukewarmness on the part of the people called forth the indignant expostulations of the prophets Haggai and Zechariah, which were attended with such effect, that, by the joint application of Zerubbabel the governor, and Jeshua the son of Josedek the priest, the original decree of Cyrus was renewed by Darius, one of his successors, and the temple was finished without farther interruption. The obstacles towards restoring the city of Jerusalem were not so soon overcome. The fears of the Persian government

were wrought upon by the representations of the Samaritans, as to the danger of the defection of the Jews if their city were again fortified; and thus, though Ezra was allowed by Artaxerxes Longimanus to take with him to Jerusalem as many of the Jews of Chaldea as were disposed to return, his powers, though considerable, did not extend to the fortifying of the city. It was not till the death of Zerubbabel, about twelve years after the return of Ezra, that Nehemiah was appointed his successor as governor of Judea, with authority to repair the city and rebuild the walls. This change in the policy of the Persians towards the Jews has been ascribed to the humiliating conditions of the peace which Artaxerxes was obliged to make with the Athenians after the signal defeat of his forces by Cimon, by which conditions no Persian army was to approach within three days' march of the sea. Being thus excluded from the line of sea-coast, it became an object to the Persians to have a fortified town like Jerusalem in their interest, which, without infringing upon their treaty with the Athenians, might serve as a pass for keeping open the communication between Persia and Egypt, which latter country had been reduced anew under the Persian yoke. The extraordinary rapidity with which Nehemiah executed the important trust committed to him, the abuses which were introduced upon his return to Persia, and the steps which he took in consequence for the restoration of the Mosaic polity, and which he completed in the reign of Darius Nothus, are set forth in the book which bears his name, which, with that of his contemporary Malachi, closes the Old Testament canon.

From the time of the return from the Babylonian captivity, a remarkable change is observable in the character of the Jews, and in the features of their policy, civil and ecclesiastical. The infliction of the judgments threatened in their sacred books for their disobedience, seems to have impressed upon their minds a deeper reverence for the institutes of their Great Lawgiver; while the ful-



filment of the predictions respecting their restoration to their own country led them to direct their views to the prophecies which spoke of the whole earth being brought to acknowledge the sovereignty of the God of Jacob. Of the tendency to idolatry, accordingly, for which they had hitherto been distinguished, we find few farther traces; and it was succeeded by a scrupulous adherence to the Mosaic ritual, on the observance of which they built their hopes of the accomplishment of the divine promises to their nation under the expected Messias. This change was connected with certain alterations in their institutions, which exercised a decided influence upon the destiny of the Jewish people in succeeding times. We refer to the establishment of the national councils known by the name of Sanhedrims, and to the introduction of the synagogue worship. The precise period of their origin cannot be ascertained, but it seems not improbable that it was almost as early as the time of the return from Babylon, though a considerable period intervened before either system was in full operation. It has been conjectured that Nehemiah, in the conduct of his government, sought the assistance of a council or senate, consisting of the most influential individuals in Jerusalem; and that, in imitation of this national council, smaller senates were formed by degrees in each separate district, conducting the affairs of the community under the authority of the great Sanhedrim. These councils were intimately connected with the synagogues. As the Mosaic law was made to extend to all the actions of civil as well as to the duties of religious life, the Scriptures became of constant reference in each community. The people assembled to hear it read and explained as a religious exercise; and as it was the statute-book of the magistrate, its true meaning and right application to the circumstances which occurred became a matter of daily consideration. This gave rise to a class of men qualified for the important office of explaining the law. Skill in this department became the

great distinction to which all paid reverential homage; and the direction of the worship of the synagogue, and the conduct of the courts of law, fell under the authority of the learned doctors or scribes, in whom were united the professions of law and of divinity. This was followed by a loss of power on the part of the priests, who became little more than the ministers of the sanctuary, without any authority as leaders of the people. Such was the great change effected in the course of a few centuries after the return from the captivity. The power of the priests passed into the hands of the rabbis; and instead of the schools of the prophets, and worship on high places, we have the Sanhedrims and the synagogues. The Jews who remained between the Tigris and the Euphrates, and those also who from this period began to scatter themselves throughout Egypt, Syria, and Asia Minor, and at a later period, over Greece and Italy, and the other parts of the western world, adopted or carried along with them the synagogue service. While their personal interests prompted them to wander over different lands, a common feeling united them all to the country promised to their fathers, and to the hopes connected with its possession. These expatriated Jews conformed themselves to the regulations prescribed from time to time by the learned doctors of Judea; they contributed to the support of the services of the temple so long as it remained; and by these means, and by avoiding all intercourse by marriage with other nations, the Jews were distinguished as a separate people over all the world, and the spirit was confirmed which has preserved them from being confounded with others even to the present time.

After the death of Nehemiah, Judea was annexed to the prefecture of Syria, the administration of Jewish affairs being left to the high priests, subject to the control, however, of the provincial rulers. In this condition the Jews continued till the overthrow of the Persian empire by Alexander the Great, when Jerusalem became subject to the power of that mighty conqueror.

Upon the death of Alexander, the peace and security which the Jews had enjoyed under the Persian dynasty were changed for scenes of bloodshed and devastation. In the wars which took place amongst the successors of Alexander, Judea, from its situation between Syria and Egypt, became alternately the prey of each. In the words of Josephus, the Jews resembled a ship tossed by a hurricane, and buffeted on both sides by the waves, while they lived in the midst of contending seas. At first their country was allotted to Laomedon, along with Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia. But the ambitious views of Ptolemy Lagus, king of Egypt, being directed to the whole of Syria, he entered Judea, and choosing the Sabbath day for the assault on Jerusalem, he met with no resistance from the inhabitants, 100,000 of whom he carried off as captives, settling them in Cyrene and Alexandria; thus laying the foundation of the Jewish colony in Alexandria, which for 400 years held a conspicuous place in the Jewish annals. With the exception of the period when Judea was overrun by Antigonus, it continued under the power of Ptolemy whose policy towards the Jews was wise and liberal. During the reign of this prince, Simon the Just was high priest, who, according to Jewish tradition, was the last member of the great synagogue, and in this character completed the sacred canon. Ptolemy Lagus was succeeded by Ptolemy Philadelphus as king of Egypt. Under his reign the translation of the Hebrew Scriptures into the Greek (named the Septuagint, from an idle legend as to the number of individuals employed in the work) was probably begun, though not completed till a later period. During the wars of Antiochus the Great with the Ptolemies, the inhabitants of Judea were subjected to severe suffering. Their country was laid waste, and to which side soever victory inclined, they were equally exposed to injury. Though they had received many favors under the sway of the Ptolemies, the Jews espoused the cause of Antiochus, who showed his gratitude by lightening their

burdens, by gifts toward defraying the expenses of their sacrifices, and by securing them in the peaceable observance of the rites of their religion.

A very different policy was pursued by Antiochus Epiphanes, who, in all his dealings with the Jewish people, was influenced only by his rapacity, and bigotry, and cruelty. The first act of his reign was to depose the high priest Onias, that the vacated office might be conferred upon Joshua, brother of Onias, who had bribed the king to this injustice by the promise of a large tribute, to enable to pay which, certain privileges were conferred on him, to be employed in introducing Grecian customs among his countrymen, and in weaning them from their national peculiarities. The new high priest assumed the Grecian name of Jason, allowed the services of the temple to fall into disuse, and established a gymnasium, where, under the pretext of practising athletic exercises, the Jews were won over to heathenism. Jason was soon supplanted in his turn by his brother Menelaus, who, in like manner, made it his aim to substitute Grecian for Jewish customs. In the meantime, the attention of Antiochus was attracted towards Egypt, which he invaded with a powerful army that was everywhere victorious. While there, exaggerated reports reached him of a revolt of the Jewish people, and his arms were immediately directed against Judea. Jerusalem was taken, 80,000 of the inhabitants were sold as slaves or put to the sword; and, while he plundered the temple of all its treasures, he showed his enmity against the Jewish religion by desecrating with every abomination all that the Jews esteemed most holy. After this, he anew directed his attempts against Egypt. For a time success seemed doubtful; but the weaker party made an appeal to Rome, and the firmness of Popilius Lenas compelled Antiochus to submission and retreat.

Disappointed in his designs against Egypt Antiochus returned to his capital, where he issued a decree commanding all the inhabitants of his empire to worship the gods of



the king and to acknowledge no religion but his. It may be doubtful whether in this edict the sovereign consulted most his rapacity or bigotry. At that time the temples were not only enriched by the offerings of the votaries, but from the security afforded by the character of their sanctity, were the great banks of deposit; and Antiochus seems to have laid the plan for plundering the temples throughout his dominions, after suppressing their worship. Among his heathen subjects, the decree met with ready obedience. The compliance in Judea, however, was not universal, and the partial opposition which was made led to those measures of frantic severity on the part of Antiochus that awakened into life the spirit of the Maccabees, whom God raised up among their degenerate countrymen to defend his cause, and give an example to mankind.

A Grecian named Athenæus, well acquainted with all the forms of heathen worship, was sent to Jerusalem to instruct the Jews in the religion they were henceforth to observe, with full powers to enforce compliance. He dedicated the temple to Jupiter Olympus; the statue of Jupiter (the abomination of desolation spoken of by the prophet Daniel) was set up on the altar of Jehovah; and throughout all Judea idol altars were erected, upon which, under penalty of the most barbarous tortures, the Jews were compelled to offer sacrifice. Circumcision, the keeping of the Sabbath, and other observances of the ceremonial law, were made capital offences, and all the copies of the sacred books that could be found were destroyed. Groves were planted and idolatrous altars erected in every city; and at fixed periods the citizens were required to offer sacrifice, and to join in the religious processions; and officers were sent into all the towns, attended by a military force, to command obedience to the royal edict. At first they met with no opposition; but the hour of resistance was approaching. We learn from the first book of the Maccabees, that when the officers of King Antiochus, in traversing Ju-

dea, came to the city of Modin to make the people sacrifice, they commanded Mattathias a priest of the sons of Joarib, to *come first* and fulfill the king's commandment. "Mattathias answered with a loud voice, God forbid that we should forsake the law and the ordinances: We will not hearken to the king's voice to go from our religion, either to the right or to the left. Now, when he had left speaking these words, there came one of the Jews, in the sight of all, to sacrifice on the altar which was at Modin, according to the king's commandment. Which thing, when Mattathias saw, he was inflamed with zeal, and his reins trembled, neither could he forbear to show his anger according to judgment; wherefore he ran and slew him upon the altar. Also the king's commissioner, who compelled men to sacrifice, he killed at that time, and the altar he pulled down. Thus dealt he zealously for the law of God, as Phineas did unto Zambri the son of Salom. And Mattathias cried throughout the city with a loud voice, saying, whosoever is zealous of the law, and maintaineth the covenant, let him follow me. So he and his sons fled unto the mountains, and left all that they ever had in the city."

Such was the commencement of that noble stand which Mattathias and his sons made for the religion and liberties of their country. Mattathias was the son of John, the son of Simeon, the son of Asmoneus, from whom the family had the name of *Asmonean*. Different accounts have been given of the name of *Maccabee*, by which they are more generally known. The common explanation is, that it was from the four initial letters of the words which were displayed on their banner (Mi Chamoka Baalim Jahoh, who is like unto thee among the gods, O Lord). Others conceive that it was the surname given by Mattathias to one of his sons, on account of his valiant exploits,—*the Hammerer*.

Having fled to the mountains, Mattathias was soon joined by associates from all parts of the country, who needed only a leader to

animate them to resistance. Mattathias lived but a short time to direct the energies of this devoted band; but upon his death he left fit successors in his valiant sons, who, during a period of twenty-six years, maintained a war with five successive kings of Syria, which terminated in the establishment of the independence of their country. Judas Maccabeus, the third son of Mattathias, was the first who undertook the management of affairs. His successes were for a time uninterrupted. From a petty revolt, the contest soon assumed the character of a mighty war; the chosen generals of Antiochus were defeated at the head of assembled hosts; in less than three years Jerusalem was once more in the hands of the Jews, its altars repaired, its temple purified, and the sacred services restored; and, soon after the death of Antiochus, the Syrians were compelled to conclude a peace with the Maccabee.

Had the Jews been united among themselves, they might now have defied the power of their enemies. But there were many elements of disunion in this ill-fated nation. The zealous attachment to their ceremonial and traditionary law, which animated the greater part of the followers of Judas, and which was one great cause of their success, was offensive to the party which had arisen with less rigid views, and who were afterwards distinguished by the name of Sadducees; and there was a numerous party, who, having conformed to the Grecian worship, were wholly in the interest of the Syrians. The Syrians were not slow in availing themselves of these internal differences, and war again began to rage. Though deserted by many of his followers, success still attended the arms of Judas, till he was slain in a furious conflict with the flower of the army of Demetrius, which with desperate resolution he had attacked near Azotus with only eight hundred men.

Judas was succeeded in command by his brother Jonathan. He fought at first with various fortune; but the prudence and enterprising valor of which he partook in com-

mon with the whole family were crowned at last with success. In the contests for the crown of Syria between Demetrius and Alexander Balas, the alliance of Jonathan was courted by the rival parties; and he was thus enabled to make terms most favorable for Judea. But in the wars that succeeded the death of Balas, he was treacherously slain by Trypho, who, under professions of friendship, had tempted him to enter Ptolemais without a sufficient force for his protection.

Simon was now the only brother who survived of the house of Mattathias; but the fate of his family did not daunt him, and he at once accepted of the hazardous pre-eminence to which the suffrages of his countrymen called him. "Since all my brethren," said he, "are slain for Israel's sake, and I am left alone, far be it from me to spare my own life in any time of trouble, for I am no better than my brethren; doubtless, I will avenge my nation and the sanctuary, and our wives and children." The pledge thus given he soon fulfilled. With characteristic energy, he put the whole country in a posture of defence; and entering into a league with Demetrius, the rival of the perfidious Trypho, he secured such privileges for the Jews, that from this period, B. C. 143, they date their freedom from the Syrian yoke. At this time the Jews elected Simon ethnarch or prince, as well as high priest; the office to be hereditary in his family. The government of Simon was marked by vigor and wisdom. But, like the rest of his family, he was doomed to a violent death, being assassinated at an entertainment by his own son-in-law, who had entered into a plot with Antiochus king of Syria, for the extirpation of the Maccabean race. Two of his sons were murdered with him; but a third escaped to Jerusalem, where he succeeded to his father's government. This was John Hyrcanus, whose surname was derived from his valiant exploits in Hyrcania, with Demetrius king of Syria. The reign of Hyrcanus lasted thirty years, and was eminently prosperous. The king-



dom of Judea was extended on every side. Samaria was reduced, and the temple on Mount Gerizim destroyed. The Idumeans were subdued, and became proselytes to the Jewish religion. A league with the Romans, which had first been sought by Judas Maccabeus, and was renewed by Simon, was now confirmed on terms most advantageous to the Jews in their relations with surrounding states; and the glory of the Asmonean princes was raised to its height.

About the time of Hyrcanus we first find mention made of the Sanhedrim or Great Council, which for a considerable period exercised a power, partly legislative and partly judicial, among the Jews. It consisted of seventy individuals, priests and men learned in the law. Some have conjectured that it owed its origin to the policy of Hyrcanus, who wished to avoid the appearance of exercising an unlimited authority, by an institution which might protect, while it seemed to limit, the new monarchy.

The sons of Hyrcanus were unworthy of the stock from which they sprung. The short reign of his eldest son Aristobulus, which lasted only a year, was darkened by monstrous crimes. By his orders his own mother was imprisoned and starved to death, and his brother Antigonus was assassinated. An agony of superstitious horror at the enormity of his guilt, terminated his miserable existence. His brother Alexander Jannæus, who succeeded him in the government, was a man of enterprising valor, but cruel, deceitful, and tyrannical. The greater part of his reign was occupied in quelling revolts among his subjects, occasioned partly by the turbulent spirit of the Pharisees, but chiefly by the oppressiveness of his own sway. Immediately before his death, which was hastened by intemperance, he urged his queen Alexandra to unite herself to the Pharisaic party, as the only means to preserve the kingdom. The policy was wise for the house of the Asmoneans, and was scrupulously followed by Alexandra. Her reign, which continued nine years, was conducted with prudence

and vigor, and her kingdom preserved in tranquillity.

Upon the death of Alexandra her two sons Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, were both competitors for the vacant throne. Hyrcanus was deficient in all the qualities that were necessary for command, and would have yielded to his brother without opposition, had he not been urged by Antipater or Antipas (father of Herod the Great) to maintain his cause. According to Josephus, Antipas was of a noble family of Idumeans who had adopted the Jewish religion. His father had been governor of Idumea during the reigns of Alexander Jannæus and Alexandra. Antipas himself was educated in the Jewish court, where he attached himself to the interests of the eldest son, whom he looked upon as the successor to the throne. The arts of Aristobulus, who, in the prospect of his mother's death, had made himself master of several of the strongest fortresses of Judea, presented an unexpected obstacle to the hopes of the friends of Hyrcanus. The prize however, was too important to be lost without a struggle; and Hyrcanus, under the influence of Antipas, engaged in a contest for the throne. It was continued for a considerable time with doubtful issue. At last the brothers submitted their claims to the decision of Pompey, now crowned with all the glories of the Mithridatic war. Pompey, delayed from time to time pronouncing in favor of either party, till at last Aristobulus, disappointed in his hopes of the support of the Roman, took up his ground in Jerusalem and prepared for war. Upon this Pompey marched against the Jewish capital, which, after a siege of three months, was taken by assault. Had it not been for the religious scruples of the Jews as to making resistance to the progress of the works of the enemy on the Sabbath, the fortress might have proved impregnable. The attachment of the Jews to their sacred ceremonies was strikingly evinced at this period in another respect. At the moment when the temple was taken, the priests were engaged in the daily sacri-

fices ; and amidst all the horrors which surrounded them, they proceeded in their solemn services unmoved, thinking it better, says Josephus, to suffer whatever came upon them at their very altars, than to omit anything that their law required of them. The curiosity of Pompey led him to visit the whole of the sacred edifice, and he entered into the holy of holies. The sacred utensils of the temple he left untouched, and even the treasures, which amounted to two thousand talents of gold. He also gave orders for the purifying the temple, and for the continuance of the divine service as before. He appointed Hyrcanus to the office of high priest, giving him at the same time the government of Judea, tributary to the Romans, but without the title or ensigns of royalty. The cities of Phœnicia and Cœle-Syria, which the Jews had conquered, were separated from Judea and joined to Syria, which was now made a province of the Roman empire, Judea being reduced to a subordinate principality. B. C. 63.

Aristobulus, his sons Alexander and Antigonus, and his two daughters, were carried away by Pompey as prisoners to grace his triumph, Hyrcanus being left as governor of Judea. This feeble prince was wholly under the influence of Antipater the Idumean, by whose instigation he had made the effort which gave him his present supremacy. Unfit himself to hold the reins of state, he intrusted every thing to this crafty and ambitious favorite, who appointed his own sons, Phasaelis and Herod, the one governor of Jerusalem the other of Galilee, though both nominally under the control of Hyrcanus. Herod, at this time only twenty-five years old, commenced his government with a vigor and severity that bespoke the future tyrant. A band of robbers who infested his province were made the first victims of his cruelty ; and when summoned before the Sanhedrim, who were jealous of the rising powers of Antipater and his sons, to answer for his stretch of authority, he entered the council in so menacing a form, that all with the

exception of one individual, were awed into silence. The attack which the discontented Jews were afraid to commence openly, they soon after attempted in secret, and the leading men among them entered into a plot for the destruction of the family of Antipas. The father was poisoned at an entertainment given by the high priest ; and when Herod and Phasaelis escaped the snare which was laid for them, means were used to alienate from them the affections of Hyrcanus. These arts, however, were baffled by Herod, who contrived to increase his influence with the prince by marrying his grand-daughter Miriam or Mariamne. The enemies of Herod now openly espoused the cause of Antigonus son of Aristobulus, who had lately effected his escape from Rome, and who had found a supporter of his pretensions to the Jewish throne in Pacorus, the Parthian leader. In the war which ensued, Hyrcanus, with the assistance of the sons of Antipas, was generally successful. But under the pretence of coming to an amicable arrangement, Hyrcanus and Phasaelis were entrapped into the enemy's camp, where Phasaelis was put to death, and the barbarous punishment of cutting off the ears was inflicted upon the aged governor by his unfeeling nephew Antigonus.

The discovery of this treachery aroused the energies of the surviving brother to the uttermost. Having placed his family, and whatever of value he could collect, in Masada, a fortress on a mountain near the Dead Sea, he sailed to Italy to implore the assistance of the Romans. In all the changes which had taken place at Rome, it had been the policy of Herod to ingratiate himself with the successful party, and it is a sufficient proof of the arts and talents of this extraordinary man, that he enjoyed the favor of Julius Cæsar, and Cassius, and Mark Antony, and that he was ranked as one of the friends of Augustus and Agrippa. At the present time Antony was in power at Rome. And when Herod asked merely that the brother of Mariamne should be placed on the



throne of Judea, as uniting by his descent the claims both of Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, Antony named Herod himself the king. Before the end of the year Herod was again in Judea, raised a large body of soldiers, relieved his friends at Massada, and was in readiness to take the field against Antigonus. The war continued about three years, in the course of which Jerusalem again stood a long siege. When it was at last taken, the Romans, exasperated at the obstinacy with which it had been defended, would have made a general massacre, and reduced the city to ashes, had they not been restrained by Herod, who complained that "they were going to make him king of a desert." The pusillanimity of Antigonus upon his surrender subjected him to the scorn of the Roman general, who sent him in chains to Antony, under the contemptuous name of Antigona, as if he were unworthy to bear that of a man. Antony, at the cruel but perhaps politic solicitation of Herod, gave order for his execution as a common malefactor, by the rods and axe of the lictors. With Antigonus ended the Asmonean dynasty, after it had subsisted 126 years. Josephus expatiates with a natural pride upon the merits of this illustrious house, as distinguished by their descent, by the dignity of the pontificate, and by the great exploits of their ancestors.

Upon the accession of Herod to the Jewish throne, his character began more fully to develop itself. By one of the first acts of his reign, the whole of the members of the Sanhedrim were put to death, with only two exceptions. One exception was in favor of Sameas, the individual formerly referred to as standing alone in arraigning Herod to his face. If there was any generosity in the conduct of Herod towards Sameas, he forfeits the admiration it might have excited, by his unworthy jealousy of Aristobulus, the brother of his wife Mariamne. When the popular feeling was manifested in their admiration of the rightful heir of the Asmoneans, Herod saw in him a dangerous rival to his power, and by his order the youthful high

priest was put to death. The mother of Aristobulus appealed to the justice of Antony to avenge the murder of her son. Herod saw his danger, and secured his safety by the homage of a personal interview. The battle of Actium put an end to his farther hopes from Antony, and his crown and even his life were exposed to a new jeopardy. He resolved therefore once more to have recourse to the expedient of a personal interview; he presented himself before Augustus upon his arrival in Egypt; and the arts which had formerly prevailed with Roman generals were still successful. But the qualities by which he was able to attach to himself many illustrious friends, and the munificent acts and proud and princely undertakings which shed a barbaric splendor over his reign, formed no atonement for the many deeds of blood by which he had arrived at his guilty pre-eminence. His crimes, however, were not allowed to pass unpunished. He regarded not how much misery might be endured by others, that his own passions might be indulged; and in those passions his guilt found its avengers.

When he left Judea to plead his cause before Antony, he gave the extraordinary injunction, that if he were condemned, Mariamne should be put to death, to prevent the possibility of her ever being the wife of another. And during his absence at the time he paid his court to Augustus, he gave the same instructions; his love being such, that he could not think of Mariamne but as his own; if the name of love can be applied to that combination of tyranny, and pride, and selfishness, and lust, which filled his guilty bosom. The fatal secret had been communicated to the queen during his first absence, and upon his return she upbraided him with his barbarous cruelty. The jealousy of the tyrant was awakened in a moment, and, wild with rage, he rushed upon her with his sword, asking if such a secret could have been revealed except by a lover. But the paroxysm passed away, and his suspicions were forgotten in his efforts to soothe the

resentment of his injured queen. Upon his second return he found that his secret had again been disclosed; and, goaded on by the enemies of Mariamne, he issued orders for her execution. Remorse and despair now took possession of his mind. He fled from all society, and, under a complication of mental and corporal suffering, he sunk into a state of insanity. The derangement was temporary, though traces of it were discoverable to the end of his life.

As the sons of Herod by Mariamne grew up to manhood, attempts were made to poison the mind of their father against them; and the obvious interest with which they were viewed by the Hebrew nation awakened his jealousy. After a succession of scenes, in which the tyrant and the father strove for the mastery within him, he appeared as the accuser of his own sons, first before Augustus, and then before the deputies Saturninus and Volumnias; and the sanction of the Roman authority being obtained, the unhappy brothers were strangled by the orders of the unhappier father. Macrobius has preserved a saying of Augustus upon hearing of the unnatural conduct of Herod, in allusion to the Jewish faith, "that he would rather be Herod's *sow* than his *son*." Antipater, his son by a former marriage, who had instigated the proceeding against his brothers, was himself found guilty of a plot to poison Herod. Sentence of death was immediately pronounced against him, but the tyrant's own death prevented it from being carried into effect.

Amidst the dark shades of the character of this extraordinary man, the splendid acts of his administration are not to be forgotten; the fortresses by which he sought to give security to his kingdom; the harbors he constructed; the cities he built; the magnificent palace he reared for the royal residence; and the temple which he restored to almost its original greatness. The rebuilding of the city of Samaria, the building of the city and harbor of Cæsarea, with the rebuilding of the temple, must be allowed to be

monuments of a princely and patriotic mind. Upon the death of Herod, Palestine was divided amongst his three surviving sons, Archelaus, Antipas, and Philip. Archelaus was appointed ethnarch or governor of Judea, Idumea, and Samaria, which formed the largest part of the province. Antipas was named tetrarch of Galilee, and Philip tetrarch of Trachonitis. Archelaus followed in the footsteps of his father, and being without his talents or his arts, he was deposed by Augustus in the tenth year of his reign, in consequence of repeated complaints from his subjects, and banished to Vienne in Gaul. The part of Palestine which had been under Archelaus was now reduced into the form of a Roman province, being placed under the superintendence of a Roman governor, subordinate to the prefect of Syria. No fewer than three of these subordinate governors were appointed in succession towards the close of the reign of Augustus. During the reign of Tiberius there were only two, Valerius Gratus, A. D. 16, and Pontius Pilate, A. D. 27. Pilate seems to have been the first who took up his residence at Jerusalem, those who preceded him having dwelt at Cæsarea. The condition of the Jews under the Roman governors was miserable in the extreme. The extortions of the publicans, whose office it was to collect the revenue, were excessive; and the whole of their proceeding was vexatious and oppressive. It was vain to hope for redress from the governors, whose avarice and injustice were proverbially great. The very fact of paying tribute to a heathen government was felt to be an intolerable grievance. And the Roman soldiers quartered over the whole country, though they prevented a general insurrection, yet, by their very presence, and by the ensigns of their authority, exasperated the minds of the Jewish people, and led to many tumults, and seditions, and murders. A numerous party existed in Judea, whose religious prejudices were opposed to the idea of paying taxes to a foreign power, and who cherished the vain hope of restoring the Jew-



ish kingdom Attempts were made by different individuals, and particularly by Judas the Gaulonite, to instigate the Jews to a general revolt, which were repressed as they arose. But the fanatical principles were widely spread, and led to excesses, to which, in no small degree, may be ascribed the final destruction of Jerusalem. The party was distinguished by the name of Zealots.

The removal of Archelaus was not connected with any act on the part of the Romans towards his brothers. Trachonitis continued under Philip till the time of his death, when it was annexed to the province of Syria. Herod Antipas continued tetrarch of Galilee till after the accession of Caligula, who, upon the discovery that he had entertained treasonous designs, deprived him of his tetrarchate, and banished him to Lyons, in Gaul.

The period at which we are now arrived is by far the most important in the Jewish annals, or rather in the annals of the world. A short time before the death of Herod the Great, Jesus Christ, the promised Messiah, was born at Bethlehem, one of the cities of Benjamin. He commenced his public ministry about the 30th year of his age, and was put to death by the sentence of the Roman governor, Pontius Pilate. The circumstances connected with his life and death and resurrection belong to Christian rather than to Jewish history.

Agrippa, a grandson of Herod the Great, having ingratiated himself with the Emperor Caligula, was appointed tetrarch of Trachonitis, upon the death of his uncle Philip; and upon the banishment of Herod Antipas, the tetrarchy of Galilee was added to the dominion of Herod, and ultimately he was named king of the whole territory that had belonged to his grandfather. This prince, upon his death, left a son, also named Agrippa. He was represented to Claudius as too young to be appointed to such a kingdom, and Palestine was again placed under a Roman governor. A considerable extent of territory, however, was ultimately given to young

Agrippa; but Judea and Samaria were reserved as a Roman province.

The policy of the Romans led them to give toleration to their subject provinces in all matters connected with their national worship; and, from Pompey to Tiberius countenance was given to the celebration of the Mosaic ritual. It was otherwise with Caligula, under whose reign was laid the foundation of those dissensions between the Jews and Romans which led to the utter destruction of the Jewish polity. The insane vanity of Caligula prompted him to enforce divine honors from all his subjects, which threatened the worst consequences to the Jewish people in every part of the empire. The Jews of Alexandria were the first who suffered. By their refusal to comply with the imperial edict, a pretext was afforded to the Grecian party in the city to commence a prosecution against them. The miserable Jews resolved upon sending a deputation to Rome to implore the clemency of the emperor. This deputation was headed by Philo, the greatest of all the uninspired Jewish writers, who has left an account of his interview with Caligula, and of the uncertain respite which was granted to his fellow-citizens. The governor of Syria received orders to place the statue of the emperor in the temple of Jerusalem; but he was induced, by the spirit of calm but determined resistance threatened by the whole nation, to delay the execution of the order till he received farther instructions from the emperor. There is a difference in the account of the manner in which Caligula acted upon this occasion, by Philo and Josephus; it is certain, however, that the Jewish nation remained in a state of suspense and fear till the death of the tyrant.

The worst evils, however, endured by the Jews at this period were not directly from the emperors themselves, but from their provincial governors, who, without exception, seem to have been men insensible to the claims of justice, and actuated solely by a spirit of violence and rapacity. Gessius

Florus is represented by Josephus as spoiling whole cities, and ruining entire bodies of men; as giving security to robbers and lawless men when made a sharer in their depredations; and finally, as aggravating the oppressions of the people, to instigate them to open rebellion, that he might escape the danger of a representation of his crimes being made to the emperor. It was natural for the Jewish historian to represent the revolt which terminated in the destruction of his country, as originating in the injustice of their enemies; and it must be allowed, when we contemplate the proceedings of the Romans, that if ever there was a case in which revolt was justifiable, it was in that of the Jews. It may be doubted, however, whether they can be looked upon with that generous sympathy which is always awakened by the history of a people nobly uniting in the assertion of their rights and liberties. Judea, at this period, was torn by factions, a spirit of insubordination and fanaticism, chiefly connected with views of their promised Messiah, pervaded the great body of the people; and miserable as was their condition under the oppressions of the procurators, it is impossible not to perceive, in perusing the works of their own historian, that their greatest sufferings were occasioned by the unsettled and violent spirit that reigned among themselves.

The commencement of the war was connected with circumstances which took place in Cæsarea. The Syrian party in that city had been favored by the Roman emperor, and they abused the advantage which this circumstance gave them, in provoking and harassing the Jews, till at last there was a violent collision, and the Jews were driven out of the city. The leading men among them appealed to Florus, who instead of affording them redress, cast them into prison. The news of this indignity kindled a flame in the Jewish capital; and the excitement among the people was such as to give Florus the pretext which he had long desired, of letting loose the soldiery upon the citizens. Great cruel-

ties were inflicted, and no distinction was made between the innocent and the guilty. The influence of Berenice, sister of Agrippa, who was in Jerusalem at the time, and the arrival of Agrippa himself from Egypt soon after, promised to restore tranquillity. They both seem to have been sincere in their efforts towards a pacification, and for a time happy results followed the soothing counsels of Agrippa. It was, however, but for a time. All over Judea there were spirits determined not to allow so favorable a pretext for war as had been afforded by Florus, to pass away; and Agrippa, soon seeing that his attempts at mediation were to be in vain, withdrew to his own kingdom, and left Jerusalem to its fate. This was in the year 66. Hitherto the people professed that it was against Florus, and not against the Romans, that they had taken up arms. The distinction would not have been acknowledged at Rome, and the Jews did not allow the question to be tried. Eleazar, the son of Ananias the high priest, persuaded the people to reject the offerings which were made by the emperor to the temple, and which had been received since the time of Julius Cæsar; and about the same time the fortress of Massada, near the Dead Sea, was taken, and the Roman garrison put to the sword. Allegiance to the Romans was now in effect renounced, and from this period we may date the commencement of the war.

Eleazar took possession of Acra and the temple; and receiving numerous reinforcements of Zealots or Sicarii from different parts of the country, he not only resisted the assaults of the Romans and of the soldiers of Agrippa, but soon sallied out and made himself master of the whole city. He granted a safe passage to the Jewish soldiers who were against him, and to the troops of Agrippa; but a different fate awaited the Roman garrison. They had capitulated on condition that their lives were to be spared. But the moment they yielded up their arms, the followers of Eleazar commenced an attack, and, with the exception of their leader, they were



all put to the sword. This monstrous breach of treaty was on a Sabbath day; and the minds of all those who had not as yet joined in the revolt were filled with gloomy forebodings of the evils which were now inevitable. But the Jews were not the only guilty parties in the deeds which darken the annals of these dreadful times. On the same day of the massacre of the Roman garrison, the Jewish inhabitants of Cæsarea, amounting to 20,000, were put to the sword. Upon this the fire spread at once over all Judea, and an attack was simultaneously made upon the neighboring territory of Syria. Cestius Gallus, the prefect of Syria, took immediate measures for chastising this presumption. He ordered the twelfth legion into Galilee, and soon afterwards he himself entered Judea with an army of about 10,000 men. He advanced without opposition to Jerusalem, and, from the state of parties in the city, there seems little doubt, that if he had shown common prudence, or common bravery, it would soon have been in his power. But a severer doom was in reserve for it. Cestius, to the surprise of all, in a few days raised the siege, withdrew his troops, and commenced a retreat, which the pursuit of the Jews soon changed into a general flight, in the course of which he lost more than half his army. The Jews only lost a few men.

The news of this defeat was received by Nero with such alarm, that he immediately appointed Vespasian, who was considered as the most experienced general in the empire, to quell the insurrection. Without the loss of an hour after his appointment, Vespasian dispatched his son Titus to Alexandria, whence with the sixth and tenth legions, he was to proceed to Judea. Vespasian himself advanced to Syria.

Upon the retreat of Cestius, many Jews departed from Judea, as from a foundering bark, that was soon to go down in darkness and death. The Christians, we are informed about this time, also remembering the prophecies of our Lord, retired to the town of Pella to avoid the approaching calamities.

The Jews who remained in their own land were diligent in putting all their strong places in a state of defence.

Vespasian opened his first campaign in Galilee in the spring of 67. His army consisted of about 60,000 men, horse and foot, including auxiliaries. On the first assault he took and burned Gadara. He then presented himself before Jotapata, which was commanded by Josephus, who afterwards wrote the history of the war. After a siege of forty days, the town was taken and destroyed. Above 40,000 men were killed during this siege. Josephus surrendered at discretion, and continued during the remainder of the war a prisoner at large among the Romans. In his history, accordingly, of this miserable period, we have the account of an eye-witness. The fact that the capture of Jotapata was the chief event of the first season, proves that the Roman had met no unworthy foe.

In the spring of the following year, Vespasian commenced by reducing the whole of Peræa, it not being his policy to march directly upon Jerusalem. He then advanced from Cæsarea towards the south, laid waste Judea and Idumea, secured Samaria, and then drew back to Cæsarea, to be in readiness to march with all his forces against the capital itself.

Vespasian had now made all his preparations; he had occupied two seasons in clearing the whole territory round and round, that nothing might interpose to break his onset; Jerusalem itself stood like an isolated tower, against which all the engines of destruction were arrayed; the force of Rome was drawn back to Cæsarea, that it might be sent off with an irresistible shock; but at that critical moment the moving power of this machinery of desolation took another direction, and a period was given to the Jewish people to repent,—or to fill up the measure of their iniquities. Upon arriving at Cæsarea, Vespasian received intelligence which fixed his whole attention upon Rome. Nero was dead, and the fate of the empire was in

balance. A more important prize than Jerusalem was now presented to his view, and, called to the purple by the voice of his soldiers, he set sail for Italy, leaving his son Titus to conclude the war.

Throughout the protracted period during which Vespasian had been devastating Judea, Jerusalem, instead of making preparations to withstand the approaching attack, was the scene of contentions so ferocious, that the advance of the Romans was longed for by the great proportion of the inhabitants, as the only earthly means for their deliverance from the terrible evils under which they were suffering. There were three factions within the walls, animated against each other with sentiments of the deadliest hate, and often engaging in actual conflict. Eleazar had seized the temple, and kept himself in strength there with 2400 men. John, the rival of Josephus, had his position in the inner court of the temple. He had a party of 6000. Simon, the son of Gioras, called Simon the assassin, occupied the upper city. His force was the largest, consisting of 10,000, and 5000 Idumeans. Such was the position of the three factions when Titus took the command, and the miseries of the siege itself scarcely exceeded what had been endured amidst the daily encounters of the Jewish soldiery. Death was become so common a spectacle, that it was viewed without emotion. The feelings of kindred were dried up; a callousness of heart seized upon all; the interest in life itself seemed to be extinguished.

At last, about the beginning of April of the year 70, the tide of war took the direction of Jerusalem; and Titus, with the Roman host, advanced from Cæsarea through Samaria, and encamped under the walls. The contending chiefs, when it was too late, entered into negotiations for uniting their forces against the Romans. Their mutual hatred, however, was never laid aside, nor did they repose confidence in each other, though they fought with the valor of desperation against the common enemy.

The city was fortified by three walls of prodigious strength. The one built by Agrippa was seventeen and a half feet broad, the stone thirty-five feet long, and so compacted as not to be easily shaken by the battering rams. The walls were everywhere guarded by towers, at intervals of about 350 feet, of solid masonry, and of great height. The tower Psephina, opposite to which Titus encamped, was 122 feet high; it is said to have commanded a view of the whole territory of Judea to the border of Arabia and to the Red Sea; and there were other towers of scarcely less imposing appearance, and of equal strength. Above the whole city stood the temple, the walls of which were in no place lower than 500 feet. It covered a square of a furlong each side, and was of such strength as to be supposed impregnable. Some of the stones employed in the work were seventy feet square;—and not one of these was to be left upon another.

At first the Jews made some sallies, so vigorous as to astonish the Romans themselves. Had the parties within been united, and had the time from the commencement of the war been employed in putting the city in a state of complete defence, it might have withstood the whole Roman power for years. But the day and the hour of its overthrow had been fixed in the counsel of heaven.

After strenuous fighting for every inch of ground, two walls were successively abandoned by the Jews. But the heights of Zion, the Antonia, and the temple, still remained, which might be considered the strength of Jerusalem; and so hopeless did every attempt seem to take any of them by storm, and so paralysing were the desperate efforts of the Jews upon the Roman power, that Titus found it necessary to blockade and starve the city and garrison. The inhabitants of Jerusalem now saw their enemies "*casting a trench round about them, and compassing them round and keeping them in on every side.*" The wall, which was nearly five miles in circumference, was completed in three days. The horrors that ensued are be-



yond description. Even before this time the evils of famine had begun to be experienced. In the extremities of hunger, many ventured out of the city to gather herbs. Strict orders were given by Titus that such individuals should be seized upon, and an example made of them, to the terror of the besieged. Those who were found with arms were crucified, sometimes to the number of 500 in a day; and the soldiers used to expose them in mockery to those upon the walls, nailed in different postures. At last wood was wanting to place the bodies upon, and room on which to erect the crosses. When the wall was completed, there was no longer the possibility, at any risk, of finding sustenance from without, and the ravages of hunger became inconceivably great. Whole families perished. Houses were filled with dead women and children, the streets with aged men. The young had not strength to bury the dead. Many died in the attempt to give burial to others, and many repaired to the tombs to wait for death. There were no more tears seen, nor cries heard. They sat with dry eyes, and mouths drawn up into a bitter smile. A deep silence was spread over the city, forming a horrible kind of night. The only noise was from those who were engaged in the work of plunder, whose mirth it was to try their sword upon the bodies of the dead; but if any one begged them to put an end to their misery, they would not kill them. The dying turned their eyes to the temple, as if to complain to God that these wicked men were suffered to live. Everything was eaten; their girdles, the straps of their sandals, the remains of old hay, the refuse of the dunghill. Scenes still more horrible discovered the depth of dreadful meaning in the words of our Saviour: "*Behold the days are coming in which they shall say, blessed are the barren, and the wombs that never bare, and the paps that never gave suck.*" And the predictions of Moses were fulfilled even to the letter: "*The tender and delicate woman, which would not adventure to set the sole of her foot upon the ground for delicateness and*

*tenderness, her eye shall be evil towards her husband, and towards her son, and towards her daughter, and towards her young one that cometh out from between her feet, and towards the children that she shall bear; for she shall eat them for want of all things secretly in the siege, and straitness wherewith thine enemies shall distress thee within thy gates.*"

The cup was now full, and for the "elect's sake the days were shortened." The fortress of Antonia, after many furious assaults, was taken and destroyed; and, on the 17th of July, Titus advanced as far as the temple, where the perpetual sacrifice ceased for want of a sufficient number to offer it. Still the Jews refused to surrender, and the works of the Romans proceeded. On the 8th of August, Titus attacked the second court of the temple. The walls could not be beat down, from the size of the stones, and the defence of the Jews prevented the scaling of the galleries. Fire was therefore set to the doors, which soon spread into the temple itself, and reduced the splendid edifice into a heap of ruins. Still the upper city held out. But at last a breach was effected, and on the 8th of September the whole of Jerusalem was in the hands of the Romans, and orders were given by Titus for demolishing the city and temple.

Three forts in Judea still held out against the Romans, Herodion, Massada, and Machaeras. Two of these made a long and vigorous defence, but before the end of the year 72 Judea was in a state of entire subjugation. Contrary to the usual policy of the Romans, the territory was not shared among military colonists. All the lands were exposed to sale. In the northern districts the chief purchasers were Syrians. Individuals among the Jews themselves bought considerable properties in the south; the proceeds were reserved for the imperial treasury; and a capitation tax was imposed upon the Jewish people throughout the empire, and exacted with the most galling severity, for restoring and adorning the Roman capitol, which had been destroyed

in the civil wars some time before the fall of Jerusalem.

From the time of the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, there is no longer any connecting tie in the history of the Jewish people, except their imperishable love to the religion of their fathers. Scattered abroad in almost every country of the world, in every variety of outward condition, their fate presents matter for a subordinate chapter in the history of other nations, rather than a separate subject of history. We are presented with a mass of materials, to which the ordinary rules of historical arrangement, by epochs and by countries, do not apply. The condition of the Jews from this date varies in different kingdoms, and even in different parts of the same kingdom at the same period, and is so intimately connected with the varieties of national policy, and with local and temporary causes, that it cannot perhaps be fully understood in all its parts, except when viewed as incorporated with universal history. There are, however, a few general heads, under which the more important particulars connected with their destiny may be classed; the classification must indeed be imperfect, from the discordant and impracticable nature of the materials with which we are presented; still, however, there is one principle which gives a unity to them all. And in the absence of the definite lines which limit historical narrative in other instances, we must be more forcibly struck with the peculiarities of this singular race, among whom the want of a native country has formed a bond of connection more powerful than all the ties of country to other tribes; while the efforts made to sever them from their religion has made them cling to it with an energy that seems to have incorporated itself with the very essence of their being. The circumstances which preserved the Jews as a separate people after the termination of the temple worship, were similar to those which operated during the time of the captivity, with the addition of the rabbinical system, which was now in full operation. In whatever country a few families of Jews

were collected into one place, the worship of the synagogue brought them into religious fellowship; and pride in their privileges as God's peculiar people, a principle of honor in not deserting a persecuted cause, revenge against a world from which they received so much injustice, combined with never-abandoned hopes of blessings yet in store for themselves or their children, and the magic influence of associations connected with their ancient ritual, have perpetuated the Jewish name in every country where cupidity has allured or cruelty banished any of the members of the race.

There is little that is interesting in the history of the Jews for near forty years after the destruction of their city. The ruins of Jerusalem were occupied by a Roman garrison, to prevent any attempt to rebuild it; and the tax imposed by Vespasian continued to be exacted by his immediate successors, who exhibited considerable jealousy of the Jews, and often subjected individuals among them to great hardships and indignities. Upon the whole, however, the race seems to have enjoyed considerable security; and though forbidden to approach Jerusalem, large communities were suffered to be formed in Palestine.

In the beginning of the reign of Trajan, a spirit of restlessness and sedition again began to appear among this unhappy people in all quarters of the world. When the emperor was engaged in the war with Parthia, the hereditary enmity of the Jews and Greeks in Egypt broke out in hostilities, in which were shed oceans of blood. No effective attempt seems to have been made for some time on the part of the Romans to put an end to these commotions. At last, however, Hadrian interposed and inflicted on the miserable Jews signal punishment. About the same period, A. D. 116, the Jews of Mesopotamia, whom the victories of Trajan had subjected to the Roman instead of the Parthian sway, rose in unsuccessful rebellion against their new masters. In the following year Trajan died, and under his successor, Had-



rian, the Mesopotamian Jews were again left to the sway of their ancient monarchs.

The accession of Hadrian was not likely to prove advantageous to the Jews in general, as it had accidentally been to those of Mesopotamia. He had indicated his sentiments towards them by his proceedings in Cyprus and Egypt before the death of Trajan; and when he succeeded to that prince, he issued an edict forbidding circumcision, the reading of the law, and the observance of the Sabbath; and he announced his purpose of establishing a Roman colony on the ruins of Jerusalem, and erecting a temple to Jupiter on the place where the temple of Jehovah had stood. To this new city was to be given the name *Ælia Capitolina*, from his own prænomen, and the dedication of the capital to Jupiter. For a time the Jews submitted, with ill-concealed purpose of resistance, to the authority of Hadrian. But in the year 129 we find the whole of Judea once more in a state of rebellion. The leader of this new revolt was Barchohab, which, in the Syriac, signifies the son of the star. He assumed the character of *Messias*, pretending that he was the Star of Jacob foretold by Balaam, who was to deliver the Jews and subdue the Gentiles. Little is known of his previous history. According to report, he had been at one time a robber; and his conduct shows that he must have been a man thoroughly conversant with scenes of blood and rapine; while the devotedness of his followers, and the vigorous and for a time successful resistance he made to the Romans, evince him a man of talent and energy. The war against Barchohab presents a repetition of the scenes of that of Titus. Success at last declared wholly in favor of the Romans, and about the year 134, Judea was again made desolate. About half a million fell by the sword in the course of this war, besides those who perished by fire, famine, and sickness. Those who escaped were reduced to slavery by thousands. Such as could not be thus disposed of were transported into Egypt, and Palestine was almost wholly depopulated.

The Jews were now forbidden to enter Jerusalem, or even to look upon it from a distance; and the city, under the name of *Ælia*, was inhabited by Gentiles only, or such Christians as renounced the Jewish ceremonies.

However severe the Romans might be in the wars which they carried on against the Jews, they seem to have been ready to lay aside their resentment when the occasion passed away; and under Antoninus Pius we find the Jewish people again restored to their ancient privileges, with a prohibition merely against proselytizing. They were still excluded from Jerusalem, but they were permitted to form and to maintain considerable establishments both in Italy and in the provinces; and while they were exempted from many expensive and burdensome offices, they enjoyed municipal honors in common with other citizens. The erection of new synagogues was permitted in the principal cities; and the Jews were allowed to celebrate the solemnities of their religion without molestation.

At this period we find the eastern and western Jews divided under two great spiritual monarchies, viz. the patriarchates of Tiberias and Babylon. The origin of both is involved in considerable obscurity. In regard to the former, viz. that of Tiberias, the tradition among the Jews themselves is, that the Sanhedrim, after moving from Jerusalem, settled in Jamnia, and finally fixed their abode upon the banks of the Lake Genesareth, where their supremacy was acknowledged as of divine appointment, their chief or president exercising the authority of a spiritual head over the Jews in the provinces of the Roman empire. He was acknowledged as their patriarch or pontiff. An annual contribution was raised for him by the dispersed brethren, and his legates or apostles visited every synagogue, bearing his mandates, and deciding in all questions that were brought before them. To this new form of government a legal sanction was given by the Roman emperors, and it continued in

existence till about the beginning of the fifth century. As the law was still made to extend to every moment of time, and to every variety of thought and action, with a burthensome and perplexing minuteness, and no memory could retain the multitude of statutes which were prescribed, and difficulties were constantly arising as to the duty required in new combinations of circumstances, the Jewish lawyers continued to possess an unbounded power over the consciences of the people. And as it was indispensable that all the rabbis should agree in their decisions, reference was constantly necessary to the spiritual patriarch, so long as the traditionary law was not committed to writing, and was to be found only in the living decision of the patriarch and his senate. The publication of the Talmud, though it exalted the character of the special patriarchs by whom the work was undertaken, was calculated to diminish the influence of the patriarchate. It took away the necessity of appeal from the inferior courts, by affording the means to every rabbi to give a just decision. This must be considered as the chief cause of the fall of the patriarchate of Tiberias, which took place about the beginning of the fifth century; though other circumstances contributed. The exportation of the annual tribute from Rome was prohibited by the Emperor Honorius; by a law of Theodosius the title of prophet was taken from the patriarch Gamaliel; and upon the death of that individual, though the office was not abolished, its authority being destroyed, no successor was found, and the power which had been exercised by the patriarchs passed into the hands of the rabbinical aristocracy.

The power of the patriarch of the West was of a spiritual nature; but in the East, the office corresponding to the patriarchate involved a mixture of temporal authority. The Babylonian Jews are those inhabiting between the Tigris and the Euphrates. During the wars between the Jews and Hadrian, this colony was greatly increased by fugitives from the West. In their early history, and

till a considerable time after the introduction of rabbinism, the Babylonian Jews were less distinguished from the people among whom they lived than their brethren in the West. So long as the temple remained, it formed a bond of union between the two classes, as they all contributed regularly to its support. In addition to this religious tax, they paid another to the kingdom to which they belonged. A system of taxation was organized for this latter purpose, which was intrusted to a chief person among themselves, named the Resch Glutha, that is, a chief of the colonists, or as he is usually called, Prince of the Captivity. The office of this individual was at first wholly of a temporal nature, and all that related to matters of faith and worship was regulated by the decisions of the Sanhedrim at Jerusalem. After the destruction of Jerusalem an attempt was made to throw off the dependence upon the schools of Palestine, which was frustrated for a time by the arts of the patriarch and his senate. By degrees, however, the inconvenience of a constant reference to a distant country, and the growing celebrity of the schools of Nisibis and Nahardea, enabled the Resch Glutha to establish his independence. He formed a court after the model of that at Tiberias; and, under the prevailing belief that he was the lineal descendant of David, he succeeded in establishing his claim to a spiritual, in addition to his temporal authority. He exercised a power almost despotic over the Jewish people; and though a vassal of the king of Persia, he maintained an almost regal state. The rabbis were in complete subjection to him; and from his being able to bring his power as a temporal prince to bear upon his ecclesiastical mandates, his influence over the Jewish community was greater than that of the Nasi. From our ignorance of the state of the East beyond Persia, the extent of his dominions cannot be ascertained. His subjects consisted of shepherds, husbandmen, artisans, and merchants; of the latter many were wealthy. They do not seem to have been subjected to persecution,



and, in the enjoyment of peace, the interests of learning flourished. Schools rose rapidly in different parts of his dominions; and to one of these we are indebted for the Talmud of Jerusalem, which has exercised such an influence upon the Jewish people in all succeeding times. The increasing number of the schools, and of the learned men proceeding from them, gradually lessened the influence of the Resch Glutha, though the office continued in existence till the middle of the eleventh century, when it was suppressed by the tyranny of one of the caliphs.

The establishment of Christianity as the religion of the Roman empire, the irruption of the northern nations, and the rise and progress of Mohammedanism, had all a marked influence upon the condition of the Jews. The first Christian emperors conducted themselves towards the Jewish people with a lenity and forbearance that was not always agreeable to some of their subjects. Under Constantine the right of the Jews to the privileges of Roman citizenship was fully recognised, while the rabbis had the same exemption from civil and military offices as the Christian clergy. Christians, however, were prohibited from becoming Jews, while converts from Judaism were protected from the resentment of their countrymen. Under Constantius the Jews of Palestine subjected themselves to the severity of the laws by their interference in the contests between the Arians and Athanasians. Several of their cities were destroyed, and the law of Hadrian was renewed, by which they were forbidden to approach Jerusalem. The hatred of Julian to the Christians disposed him to view their enemies the Jews with a favorable eye. he entered into correspondence with the patriarch of Tiberias, and wrote a friendly letter to the Jewish community, in which he promised to put them again in possession of Jerusalem, and to restore their temple. At last an edict was issued for the rebuilding of the sacred structure, and instructions were given to Alypius, prefect of Syria, to carry it into effect. Jerusalem was once more filled

with Jews, who assembled from all sides emulous to give their aid in an undertaking which was to prove a new era in their history. Materials for the vast fabric were collected, and the mountain was purified from the abominations of idolatry. But when the workmen proceeded to dig for a foundation, they were surprised by a subterraneous explosion, in which some perished, while the rest took flight in dismay. Though a difference of opinion has existed as to the character of the igneous irruption, the evidence that the work was in fact suspended is of the strongest nature, and the truth of the predictions of Scripture was fully maintained. The death of Julian prevented the renewal of the attempt, and put an end to all his schemes for the benefit of the Jewish community. His successors showed in general a tendency to favor the Jews as useful subjects, and frequently protected them from the violence of the people, though in some instances the bigotry of the more powerful prelates prompted to measures of severity. It must be added, that the blind zeal of the Jews often rendered them the just objects of the popular indignation.

Upon the division of the Roman world, the position of the Jews in the eastern empire became less favorable than that of their brethren in the West. For a time, indeed, they continued to enjoy the rights of Roman citizens according to the law; but under Justin I. they were pronounced as belonging to the same class with heretics, and consequently disqualified for civil and military offices. The laws of Justinian were framed for persecuting them into proselytism. By the imperial edicts the duties of citizens without the honors were rigorously exacted. In mixed marriages, the education of the children was confined to the Christian parent; if the children grew up unbelievers, they were deprived of their inheritance; and in law-suits, except in cases where both parties were Jews, their testimony was inadmissible. Another law was passed by this emperor, in consequence of a division among the Jews them-

selves, which had it been observed, might have been followed with serious consequences to Judaism. Upon the suppression of the patriarchate, the power which had been enjoyed by that spiritual chief was divided among the primates or chief rabbis of the separate Jewish communities. The power of the rabbis arose principally from the respect in which the Talmud was held, and from the right which they enjoyed of expounding the sacred volume. From policy or habit their instructions were conveyed in ancient Chaldaic; and as this ceased to be understood by many of their hearers, who adopted the language of the country in which they settled, a very general wish prevailed for a change in this custom, and for a translation of their scriptures. This alarming spirit of innovation was resisted by the rabbis; and the contending parties resorted to the extraordinary expedient of referring the cause to the Christian emperor. The decision of the emperor was in favor of the rights of the people. In the edict which was issued, the fullest license was granted for reading the scriptures in the vernacular tongue; the Mischna was declared to be of human composition merely, and full of such errors as belong to all the works of men; and the hope of the emperor was expressed that the perusal of the Scriptures in a known language might lead to the conversion of many to the Christian faith. It is probable that this intimation awakened the suspicions of the people, who do not appear to have availed themselves of the permission that was given them.

In the western empire, upon the irruption of the barbarous tribes, the Jews suffered less than their Christian neighbors. Ready to accommodate themselves to every change of circumstances in the pursuit of gain, we find them following in the rear of conquering armies, or retreating before advancing hosts, contriving in one form or other to make their harvest of traffic in both cases, and frequently growing rich amidst the general ruin. In all the kingdoms which rose up out of the ruins of ancient Rome, the

Jewish people formed a part; but our information respecting them for a considerable period is far from being complete. In the absence of a literature of their own, we know of them only by ecclesiastical writers, who take notice of them chiefly as the objects of the converting zeal of the catholic church. The success of the Christian priesthood among their barbarous invaders inspired them with hopes of gaining converts among the Jews. But the circumstances of the two classes were altogether different. Among the heathen, when a prince or a successful warrior was converted to the faith, he carried along with him all his subjects, or his companions in war. But the Jews moved in masses only in matters connected with their own religion; in every other respect they were wholly independent of each other. Their conversion, therefore, could only be the effect of conviction on the part of each individual. The character of the Christian clergy did not fit them for so arduous an undertaking. Their ignorance and frequent immorality placed them at a disadvantage in regard to the Jews, who were in possession of the Old Testament Scriptures, and had arguments at command which their opponents could not answer. Besides, there were no inducements of a worldly nature at this period to influence the Jews to exchange their religion. They had no wish for the retreat of the cloister, nor did they stand in need of protection for deeds of violence and rapine. Their habits were of a description altogether different from those of the monk or brigand. The attempts of the clergy, however, were unremitted, and threats and blandishments were alternately resorted to, and the struggle was constant between Catholicism and Judaism. In the political contests between the Arians and the Catholics, the Jews, as they had done in Asia, took advantage of the divisions, naturally ranging themselves on the side of the Arians, and they found their advantage in this alliance. The Gothic tribes, however, were soon brought over to the orthodox belief, when



the Jews stood opposed to the united body of Christians, till the appearance of a new religion wrought a diversion in their favor.

The rise and progress of Mohammedanism proved, upon the whole, highly advantageous to the Jewish people. Equally descendants of Abraham with the followers of the prophet, they had in so far a common cause against idolaters, and against the defendants of the Christian doctrine; and this for a time made them forget the points of difference. In the new impulse given to trade by the progress of the Moslem arms, the Jews, ever awake to their own interests, took their advantage. In the wide extent of conquest, new wants were created by the advance of victorious armies, kingdoms which had long ceased to hold intercourse with each other were brought into union, and new channels of commercial intercourse were opened up; and, leaving the pursuits of agriculture, which were placed at a disadvantage by the policy of the caliphs, the Jews became the merchants by whom the business between the eastern and western world was conducted. In the court of the caliphs they were favorably received; and for centuries the whole management of the coinage was intrusted to them, from the superior accuracy and elegance with which they could execute it, and from their opportunities, by the extent and variety of their commercial relations, to give it the widest circulation, and at the same time to draw in the previous issues of other mints. Nor did they flourish only in commercial greatness. Not a few of them distinguished themselves in the walks of science and literature. They became eminent in astronomy, astrology, medicine; the principal translations by which the Arabians became acquainted with the discoveries and theories of Grecian and Roman authors were conducted by them, though their chief attention was directed to the Talmud, and to the literature connected with it.

Wherever the Moslem arms extended, we see the Jews for a time in a prosperous condition, though with various exceptions, in

different countries and under different caliphs. In North Africa, in Egypt, in Persia, we find Judaism in a more favorable state than formerly; and in Spain, the Jews rose to a height almost as great as that of the Moors themselves. In that country their religion enjoyed full toleration, and the Arabico-Jewish literature forms an important chapter in the history of learning from the seventh till the twelfth century.

There is a tradition, that during this period a Jewish kingdom was established on the shores of the Caspian, named Khazar. The inhabitants of the territory consisted indiscriminately of Jews, Christians, and Moslemites, drawn to the spot by the advantages which the situation of the country presented for trade. A king of the country (740) was converted to the Jewish faith, and for some time the affairs of the nation were conducted by a Jewish prince, with the assistance of a council, whose members were of different religious persuasions. A period of only a century and a half is fixed for the succession of Jewish princes, though at a later date a considerable part of the population consisted of Jews.

About the same period a combination of circumstances proved favorable to the condition of the Jews throughout Christendom. Charlemagne protected their interests. He is said to have had a Jewish merchant always near his person, and the correspondence between that great monarch and Haroun Alraschid was under the care of a Jew. The immediate successors of Charlemagne followed the same line of policy. France numbered the sons of Abraham as the richest of her merchants. Their fame as physicians was also widely spread; and their intelligence and activity commended some of them to high political offices.

But a time of change was approaching; and we have now to trace a gradual decline in the Jewish character and condition, till at last we find that unhappy people tramped upon, crushed, butchered, proscribed, in almost every country in Europe. The spe-

cial causes of the persecutions to which the Jews were subjected were different in different countries, and it would far exceed our limits to trace them minutely. Throughout the greater part of Europe, however, we witness the advances of a similar process. We find the Jews abhorred by the superstitious on account of their religion, envied by the powerful on account of their riches; and, amidst the contempt and injustice to which they were subjected, courting, if not meriting their fate, by crouching before and cozening their hated oppressors. In many parts of Europe they were not allowed to possess land, and were forbidden to aspire to offices of trust or honor. The injurious effects of this exclusion were soon manifest in their character and habits. Shut out from all the paths which lead to distinction, the aspiring aims of honorable ambition, and the ennobling feelings connected with the love of country became strangers to their bosoms. Their efforts were limited to the accumulation of wealth; and in the decay of commerce during the middle ages, their minds were debased by the petty details of the lower species of traffic, which was all that was now open to them. Their ambition being thus fixed upon one object, they soon mastered all the degrading arts of accumulating gain; and, prohibited from investing their gains in the purchase of land, they found a more profitable employment of it in lending it at usurious interest to the thoughtless and extravagant. The effect of this was inevitable. At a time when commercial pursuits were held in contempt, the assistance of the Jews became indispensable to the nobles, whose hatred rose in proportion to their obligations; and, where there was the power, the temptation to cancel the debt by violence became often irresistible. The Jews had no means of resisting such injustice, and their only revenge was in the exaction of more exorbitant terms when the necessitous again had recourse to them. The meanness and injustice of which they were thus unquestionably guilty inflamed the public feeling against

them, till every atrocity was considered as justifiable when directed against a Jew.

In the Germanic empire the rights which the Jews had enjoyed under the ancient Roman law were to a certain extent continued to them; and though they gradually became the objects of aversion to all classes, the imperial protection and the papal ordinances preserved them from general attack till the time of the Crusades. It was at Trèves that the suggestion was first made to the fanatical multitude proceeding under Peter the Pennyless to take possession of the Holy Land, that they should fall upon the enemies of the cross living among themselves. The choice of death or of conversion was given to the miserable Jews of that city, and only a few escaped alive from the general massacre. Fathers presented their breast to the sword after putting their own children to death, that they might be rescued from the danger of being trained up as Christians; and wives and virgins sought for refuge from the brutality of the soldiers by throwing themselves into the river with stones fastened to their bodies (1096). Similar scenes were repeated in Cologne, Mentz, Worms, and in all the cities on the Rhine; and the progress of the armies was marked by the blood of the Jews till they reached the plains of Hungary. Upon a moderate computation, not fewer than 17,000 are supposed to have perished. The minds of those who escaped were filled with consternation; and their synagogues resounded with their appeals to the justice and mercy of the God of their fathers, who seemed to have forsaken them who refused to forsake Him. Many fled to Silesia, Moravia, and Poland, where they laid the foundations of great communities. A few, however, still continued to cling to the land that had given them birth; and we find them again in sufficient numbers to excite the persecuting zeal of the second Crusaders (1146). Upon this occasion the greater part saved themselves by a timely flight. Forty years later, the Emperor Frederick gave his protection to his Jewish subjects till the tempest



of the third Crusade swept past. Disastrous as the period of the Crusades was to many of the Jews in Germany, there were some of them who yet contrived to reap a golden harvest. A demand for money was created for the support of so numerous armies. Many chiefs parted with their estates to enable them to proceed with their retainers to the Holy Land; and in the transfer of property which thus took place, as well as in the trade that was occasioned by the fitting out or march of numerous hosts, many Jews accumulated great wealth.

From the time of the Crusades, the condition of the Jews in Germany continued unsettled and degraded. History is full of instances of the injustice which they suffered from the rapacity of princes, and from the tumultuous assaults of the people. From certain states and cities they were interdicted altogether. In others, however, they had a right of residence, and a particular quarter of the city was assigned to them. But the privileges conferred upon them often proved the occasion of new injuries. They were frequently expelled from the streets to which they had a legal right, in order that a sum of money might be extorted from them for permission to return to their own dwellings; the popular fury was ever ready to break out against them; and needy princes held out the threat, that unless their coffers were replenished by contributions from the Jews, an incensed populace would be let loose upon them. Upon other occasions, the necessity of their conversion was insisted upon, and they were compelled to pay large sums to avoid the misery of being forcibly baptized. Reports were continually circulated to their disadvantage. Stories were told of Christian children having been found murdered in the house of a Jew, or of their own children being prevented by cruel threats from adopting the Christian faith, or of their stealing the consecrated host to crucify afresh the Son of God. And such fabrications had the effect of subjecting the Jews to the cruelty of lawless mobs, of circumscribing their

rights, and of placing their lives and fortunes at a miserable uncertainty. Enthusiasts arose, who considered themselves commissioned by Heaven to proclaim war against the unhappy people. A nobleman named Rhinfeisch, in the thirteenth century, proceeded through many of the most populous towns in Germany, followed by a multitude, who destroyed whole communities. A peasant named Armleder followed a similar course (1337), till his atrocities awakened the tardy justice of the emperor, by whom he was put to death. In 1346, the Flagellants came into a collision with the Jews of Frankfort, which terminated in a battle between the other citizens and their Jewish neighbors. A few years later, the whole of Europe being desolated by a plague, in Germany it was believed that the Jews had thrown poison into the public wells. The result was terrible. At Basle the Jews were brought into a vessel on the Rhine, which was set on fire, their children being spared that they might be educated as Christians. It would be tedious to enumerate the various forms in which the Jews met their death in other cities. But from Switzerland to Silesia the land was drenched with innocent blood, and even the interference of the emperor and the pope, proved long insufficient to put an end to the atrocities that were perpetrated.

Feelings of humanity, as well as the interests of his kingdom, led the Emperor Charles IV. to grant to certain states and cities privileges which they had long in vain petitioned for; and in the Golden Bull the condition of the Jews was determined in such a way as preserve them from the hazard of the massacre of whole communities, though it left them still exposed to the evils of individual oppression and injustice.

Though thus subjected to every variety of inhumanity and injustice in the German empire, they were still permitted to remain in the country; and in some states and cities considerable immunities were possessed by them. It was otherwise in France, Spain, and Britain, from which countries, after be-

ing subjected to the most galling persecution, they were ultimately driven into banishment. In France the condition of the Jews had always been more precarious than in Germany; and from the tenth century we see them gradually and rapidly declining from a learned, and influential, and powerful class of the community, to miserable outcasts; the common prey of clergy, and nobles, and burghers; and existing in a state worse than slavery itself. Even in this wretched situation, though deprived of every thing else, and denied the common rights of humanity, they were still possessed of gold. This was at once their strength and their weakness; though hated by all, all were dependent upon them; and, possessed of a large proportion of the wealth of the kingdom, they had articles of value in pawn from all classes of the community. They suffered here, as in Germany, by popular violence; and the proceedings of the princes were if possible more arbitrary and tyrannical. The archives of the kingdom, however, contain evidence of usurious extortion so monstrous as loudly to call for legal interference, though not certainly in the way in which it was actually made. The edicts which terminated in their final expulsion from the kingdom began with Philip Augustus. He issued an ordinance for the relief of those who were indebted to the Jews. According to it, all the pledges in their hands were to be restored. Among these a golden crucifix and a Gospel being found, the popular suspicion was awakened, and all the Jews of Paris were sent into banishment. The necessities, or cruelty, or superstition of succeeding kings varied the modes of Jewish persecution. Louis VIII. annulled all interest on debts due to the Jews. Under Louis IX. an edict was promulgated for the destruction of the Talmud. By other laws, Jews were forbidden to hold social intercourse with Christians; and no punishment was to be inflicted upon a Christian who killed a Jew. As in Germany, monstrous tales were spread abroad, and believed, of their sacrilege and cruelty. They were

accused of throwing poison into rivers, of practising magic, of holding correspondence with infidel kings. They were proscribed, hunted down, burnt to death. Yet still they sought to live in the country that oppressed them, paid a price to live in it,—and their revenge upon their oppressors was to drain them of their gold. At last, in the latter part of the reign of Charles VI. (1594), they were commanded to quit the kingdom. This sentence was rigidly put into execution; and the greater part of the exiles withdrew to Germany, Italy, and Poland.

The time of the introduction of the Jews into England is unknown. Traces of them are discoverable before the Norman invasion; after which event a considerable addition was made to their numbers. William II. found in his Jewish subjects so great a source of profit, that he refused to allow them to become converts to Christianity. The Jews flourished accordingly under his reign; they increased in numbers and in opulence in various cities throughout the kingdom, and the greater part of Oxford is said to have belonged to them. It is somewhat remarkable, however, that their only burial-place was in London, and it was not till the time of Henry II. that they were allowed the privilege of interring their dead elsewhere. Though favored for a time by the English monarchs, from the advantages they derived from them, the Jews became the objects of popular hatred, partly from motives of superstition, and partly from the odium that at that time was generally attached to the practice of lending money upon interest, as well as from the rigor with which this practice was exercised by them. The first general display of the public hatred was in the reign of Richard I. On the day of the coronation of this prince, some Jews, contrary to an express prohibition, were discovered as spectators of the ceremony. An attack was made upon these individuals, which terminated in a general assault upon the Jews. Their houses were plundered, and in many instances committed to the flames. Richard in vain attempted to



repress the tumult, which continued to rage two days. Similar outrages ensued in Norwich, Stamford, and in several other towns. Knights who were proceeding to the Holy Land considered themselves justified in robbing the rich Jews, to aid them in their pilgrimage. And, in many cases, those who had borrowed money from their Jewish neighbors stirred up the people to a tumultuous onset, as the easiest way of cancelling their debts. In York the Jews took refuge in the castle, and made a vigorous resistance; but finding their situation hopeless, they devoted themselves to a voluntary destruction. They first destroyed everything of value that belonged to them. After this their chief with his own hands murdered his wife and five children, and then submitted to death himself. Their dead bodies were thrown over the ramparts. The example was followed by five hundred others. In the mean time, those who were indebted to the Jews proceeded to the cathedral, where the bonds were kept, and committed them to the flames. During the two following reigns, the history of England abounds in instances of the oppressions to which the Jews were subjected, and of the vast sums extorted from them by the necessities of the monarchs; though privileges were occasionally conceded to them, in such forms as insured a profitable return. The tyrannical proceedings of King John in reference to the unhappy race are well known, and in particular the anecdote of his ordering that a rich Jew of Bristol should lose a tooth daily until he paid 10,000 merks. The Jew lost seven teeth before he yielded. Their situation was in no degree improved under Henry III. Though various decrees were issued in their favor, the superstitions of the clergy and the people, and the necessities of the government, subjected them to every varied form of contumely and wrong. After the king had repeated his extortions so frequently that the Jews made the vain threat of leaving the kingdom, he sold to his brother all the Jews in his realm for 5000 merks, with full power over their persons and pro-

perty. At last, in the succeeding reign, of Edward I., an edict was issued (1290), without any known pretext afforded by their conduct, for their expulsion from the country altogether; and, after having been deprived of all their possessions, the wretched race, amidst the mockery and triumph of the common people, proceeded to the shore, and finally left the island. The exiles amounted to 15,000, or, according to others, to upwards of 16,000.

The history of the Jews in the Spanish peninsula forms one of the most interesting and affecting chapters in the strange vicissitudes of that ill-fated race. During many centuries their situation, both in Spain and Portugal, was more favorable than in any other European country. The political influence which they enjoyed with the Moslems commanded for them the respect of the Christians, if it increased their hatred; and after the decay of the Mohammedan power, their superior education, their talents for affairs, their wealth and their industry, in a country where the lower orders were sunk in the deepest degradation, while the nobles were engaged almost wholly in war, rendered them too important a class of the community to allow their rights to be rashly interfered with. The protection which they enjoyed arose in no small degree from the policy of the sovereigns, who found their Jewish subjects invaluable, not only to themselves individually in various departments, as physicians or ministers of finance, but also to the country generally, from the life which their industry gave to trade, and from the unfailing certainty with which recourse might always be had to them upon every occasion when money was required. The nobles, and even the priesthood, were by no means insensible to the latter of these advantages; and when, in some instances, the sovereigns, forgetting their true interests, prepared to make the Jews the subjects of their extortion, we find the clergy overcoming their superstitious feelings, and interfering in their behalf.

The political or rather legal position of

the Jews in Spain varied in different periods, and even at the same time in different parts of the country. In the most favorable circumstances, they were considered as belonging to the king directly, and indirectly to his greater vassals; and thus they enjoyed the right of self-defence, and could claim the protection of their liege lords when unjustly attacked. In all their greater communities they had their own courts of law, which enjoyed a certain jurisdiction both in civil and criminal affairs. They could possess landed property, though many efforts were made to restrict this right, which induced them here, as in other countries, to engage in the practice of lending money upon interest. The rate of interest was fixed by law; and we do not find charges of chicanery and extortion brought against them similar to those made against their countrymen in France, or England, or Germany. Among their other privileges, they could not be imprisoned on account of debt, and, with certain limitations, their evidence was received in courts of justice. In Portugal they enjoyed similar privileges as in Spain.

The superior character of the peninsular Jews proved that these advantages were not unworthily conferred. They held a much higher rank than in the other parts of Christendom. Not compelled to have recourse to arts that sunk them in their own esteem, they maintained a generous rivalry in the liberal use they made of the wealth which they acquired in the walks of honest industry. Their literature betokens no ordinary progress in civilization. Their acquaintance with Arabic put them in possession of all the treasures of that language. Their poets, grammarians, mathematicians, naturalists, are of no mean reputation. And their astronomers were in so great renown, that some of them were employed by Alphonso the Wise in the construction of his celebrated Tables. The study of mental science, was also controlled with no ordinary care, though the pursuits of science whether natural or metaphysical, were ever more or less connected with

their theology. Three epochs have been marked in the progress of the philosophy of the Jews of Spain. In the first, we have the endeavor to connect the discoveries of science with the doctrines contained in the Talmud, and to present the peculiarities of Judaism in a philosophic form. In the second, we find the spirit of rabbinism lording it over the efforts of philosophic genius. In the third, a contest was carried on, sometimes under the forms of philosophy, between the advocates of Judaism, and those who endeavored by the force of argument to gain converts to the Christian faith.

The point at which the star of the fortunes of the Spanish Jews might be said to culminate, was in the thirteenth century, during the reign of Alphonso X. From that period the superstitions of the people were more bitterly directed against the unfortunate race, and in the succeeding reigns constant attempts were made to diminish their privileges, while local outbreaks of popular dislike subjected individuals and whole communities to severe suffering. Alphonso XI. though himself favorably disposed towards them, was compelled (1325) to yield in various particulars to the feeling that began to be expressed against them. In this reign they were enjoined to confine themselves to particular streets, at the greatest distance from the churches; and thenceforth particular districts were known in every city where a community existed as the Jews' Quarter. The greatest misery, however, to which they were subjected arose from attempts for their conversion. A proselytizing spirit had manifested itself in various forms from an early period. An institution was erected in Aragon in 1250, for the express purpose of training men to enter into controversy with the Jews; but, not trusting to the mere force of argument, the rabbinical writings were frequently subjected to a censorship, by which whatever was supposed to be injurious to the interests or hurtful to the feelings of churchmen was cancelled. Such instances of intolerance, however, afforded but feeble presage of the fearful



and widely destructive hurricane that at last arose.

The attack commenced in Seville in 1391, where the minds of the citizens were inflamed by a sermon which an archbishop delivered in the cathedral. Individuals among the Jews were insulted and plundered. The attempts made by the civil authorities to restrain the popular fury increased its violence, till at last a general attack was made upon the Jews' Quarter, and of 7000 families upwards of one half were put to death, while the remainder sought for safety by a pretended conversion to Christianity. The example was followed in Cordova, Toledo, Valencia, and in all the cities where the greatest communities of the Jews were to be found. Many thousands were butchered; not a few left the kingdom, seeking for refuge in Italy, Turkey, and the states of Barbary; and it is calculated that 200,000 were forced into a profession of Christianity. The condition of these converts, or pretended converts, was truly deplorable. Subjected to the suspicions of the Christians, and to the hatred of those of their countrymen who continued steadfast to their ancient creed, many of them found their situation altogether insupportable, and became voluntary exiles. Not a few returned to the profession of Judaism choosing rather to brave all the horrors of persecution than to submit to the odium of a suspicious apostasy.

The government showed its disposition to protect those who did not depart from the Jewish religion; several of the princes were opposed to extreme measures; and affairs began to wear a more favorable aspect. But the calm was only temporary. The sincerity of the whole of the Jewish converts, or, as they were called, the *New Christians*, began to be questioned. The honor of the church was considered as at stake; and, by the influence of Alphonso of Godeja, a bull was obtained from Pope Sixtus IV. for the institution of the inquisition, effectually to prevent a return to Judaism. The queen, the Jews, even the Cortes, resisted the introduc-

tion of this dread tribunal; but the priesthood prevailed. The tribunal was opened in Seville, and invested with full power to summon every individual suspected of secret attachment to Judaism. The unsparing energy with which it was to proceed was marked by the fact, that in a short time Seville numbered more prisoners than inhabitants; and in the course of a single year, in that city and in the immediately surrounding country, upwards of 2000 were put to death, several were imprisoned for life, and 17,000 were subjected to corporal punishment. At last a large stone building was constructed for containing a multitude of prisoners, combustible materials were placed around the outside of the walls, while the wretched inmates were left to perish by a slow death. Four inferior inquisitions were erected in other quarters, and each tribunal received the strictest injunctions to use every effort to preserve the church from the strain of a return to Judaism. The different signs that were supposed to indicate a secret attachment to the abjured religion were defined by law; and wherever any one of them was observed, the individual was to be brought to trial. A free pardon was offered to those who confessed their guilt, if they evinced the sincerity of their contrition by revealing the names of such as had shared with them in their deceit. The rabbis were forced, upon their oath, to declare if they knew any who secretly adhered to the hatred worship. Death was the punishment of concealment. The fiercest civil war, the wildest incursion of barbarous hordes, could not have occasioned the death of so many innocent men, or annihilated so many sources of advantage to the kingdom. The impolicy was not less infatuated than the injustice and cruelty were monstrous.

Hitherto the persecution had been confined to those who were suspected of insincerity in their profession of the catholic faith; it was now to be extended to wider limits. The arms of Ferdinand and Isabella had been prosperous against the Moors, and the soil of

Spain was freed from the infidel race. The inquisition gave the horrid promise of torturing the new Christians into sincerity, or of destroying them by death; and nothing now remained but the expulsion of the Jews to deliver the kingdom from every taint of heresy. The ambition of the crowned heads became alive to the glory and advantage of reigning over a land purified from all admixture of error, and in 1492 the order was given, that within four months every Jew should leave the country. Upon the issuing of this memorable edict, the minds of the unhappy people were filled with astonishment and horror. From the one end of Spain to the other, the voice of lamentation was lifted up. But superstition is inexorable; and the appeal to the justice or mercy of Ferdinand or his queen was alike in vain. The decree was passed, and it was not to be recalled. The Jews now acted worthy of the high character which they had sustained in Spain for nearly a thousand years. The resource of apostasy still remained; but the temptation was spurned, and the sincerity of their attachment to their faith was shown by their preferring it to every thing. Upwards of 300,000 left all that was dear to them on earth, and went forth in search of lands where they might be allowed to worship the God of their fathers in peace. But misfortune continued to follow them on their path. The account of their sufferings is heart-rending; our limits permit us only to mention in general, that the richer part of them withdrew first to Portugal, where the Jewish faith had been hitherto tolerated. But the contagious influence of the proceedings in Spain extended to the sister kingdom; and the wretched exiles, after being made the objects of new forms of cruelty and injustice, were at last expelled from that kingdom also. Others, who directed their course for the states of Barbary and Morocco, were subjected to the horrors of shipwreck and pestilence; some were set ashore on desert islands by the inhuman ship-owners, and some were sold as slaves. Some went to

Italy, where the hardest fate of all awaited them, in the cruelty with which their own countrymen refused to receive them. Thousands lay perishing for hunger on the shore, till even the pope (Alexander VI.) interfered by a sentence of banishment against the resident Jews. But, notwithstanding all the sufferings to which they were exposed, and which so materially diminished their numbers, flourishing communities were formed by the offspring of the exiles in Barbary, Turkey, Italy; and this perhaps more than any thing else evinces how great multitudes had been sent into banishment.

In Spain there were now no professed Jews. There were still, however, many secret adherents of the proscribed faith. Of these, many were so dexterous in the concealment which they practised, as to escape every effort for their detection; and some of them were seated as judges in the very inquisition that had been instituted for their destruction. Others, however, were less successful, and against them horrible cruelties were exercised under the Emperor Charles V. and by Philip II. and III.

The policy of the Spanish government was extended also to Naples, from which city the Jews were expelled by Charles V. The example, however, was not followed in other parts of Italy. In that country, from the time of Charlemagne, the legal position of the Jews was nearly the same as it was in Germany. They were placed under the protection partly of the popes and partly of the emperors, to both of whom they were bound to do homage. Here, as elsewhere, they were chiefly engaged in money-lending and in petty traffic. Their head-quarters was Rome, but numbers of them were to be found in all the other principal cities. The conduct of the popes varied in reference to the Jews, according to their personal character. Paul IV. was the first who shut them up in a confined quarter in Rome, called the Ghetto. By other popes they were compelled to assemble regularly in a church at stated periods, where sermons were preached for









their conversion. They were subjected to many other galling interferences till the time of Sextus V. who annulled most of the vexatious regulations of his predecessors, and restored them to some degree of liberty.

The changes effected upon the character and condition of the Jews by the restoration of letters, and by the movements occasioned by the reformation, were less than upon any other portion of European society. There were indeed individuals among them who made noble use of the newly-discovered art of printing, and who were distinguished in the walks of literature and philosophy. But the great proportion of the people, excluded from all share in the government of the countries in which they lived, viewed the mighty changes which were taking place without interest or advantage. The great events that were stirring other men's minds into activity, freeing them from the shackles of ancient prejudices, and opening new views of human affairs, were looked upon by the Jews as a spectacle in which they had no concern. Their spirit was even more concentrated upon their individual gains and their national hopes; and in the progress of the human mind, and in the new views that were continually opening up, they saw nothing more than the fluctuations of a wild uncertainty, that wedded them with a deeper pride to the contracted principles of their unchanging rabbinism. On the other hand, the benefit of more enlarged views that began to be entertained upon the subject of liberty, and respecting the rights of citizens, were not for a long period extended to them; and it is not till within the last fifty years that an instance has been afforded of the full concession of the privileges of citizenship to a Jew.

Still the progress of civilization was silently preparing the way for greater justice being done to this people; and their conduct, in circumstances where they were allowed scope for the development of their better qualities, tended greatly to the removal of the prejudices that existed against them. In no history have we more remarkable illus-

trations of the great truths, that to enslave is to degrade, and that to render men useful citizens, it is essential to bestow upon them the rights of citizens.

Upon the revolt of the Netherlands, many of the Portuguese Jews (a name applied to all the Jews of the Spanish peninsula) took refuge from the persecutions of Philip II. and III. in that country. The distinctions on account of religion were to a certain extent removed, and the Jews of Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and Antwerp, vied, in the highest qualities of commercial greatness, with the citizens of the new republic. They were afterwards joined by many of their countrymen, but of a lower order, from Germany and Poland. Offshoots from the new community in Holland grew up in circumstances scarcely less favorable in Denmark and Hamburg. The continued persecution of the new Christians in Spain drove other Jews to seek their fortune in the Spanish and other colonies in the New World. They settled in the Brazils, and in some of the West India islands, with various fortunes; but many distinguished themselves by their regularity, and enterprise, and wealth, in such a way as to produce an impression favorable to their European brethren.

The recognition of the independence of the United States in America may be marked as the epoch that secured to the Jews the prospect of their being admitted to the full privileges of citizenship, and freed them from the disabilities that had been so long considered as inseparable from their religious condition. The fundamental principle of the new republic involved the treating of the Jews upon the same terms as the other inhabitants. It was not acted upon, however, throughout all the States, till the year 1822. They are now distinguished in no respect, except their religion, from any other part of the population. They have synagogues in New York, Philadelphia, Charleston, Richmond, and the principal cities of the United States.

The movements in America were int

mately connected with the changes which soon afterwards took place in France; and to this may in some degree be traced the new policy that was observed in that country in reference to the Jews at the beginning of the revolution. Notwithstanding the edict of exclusion by Charles V., some Portuguese Jews had been allowed by Henry II. to settle in Bordeaux and Bayonne; and at a later period, the conquest of Alsace, and other changes, added some of their communities to the French dominions. The condition of these communities was taken into consideration in 1789, without any thing, however, being done in that year. But in 1791 they were admitted to equal rights as citizens. In 1806 a sanhedrim was assembled by Bonaparte at Paris; and, upon satisfactory answers being returned to certain queries proposed to them respecting their civil institutions, and their views as citizens and subjects, a plan for the organization of the Jews throughout the empire was adopted. The abuse made of their privileges in some of the provinces of the Rhine, led subsequently to partial restrictions in regard to money lending; and an effort was made to turn their attention to agricultural pursuits. The privileges conferred by Bonaparte were not interfered with upon the restoration of the Bourbons; and, since the revolution in 1830, the Jewish rabbis, as well as the clergy of the different Christian sects, received a stipendiary allowance from the state. Though by no means approving of such a measure, we conceive it to be worthy of remark, that the minister by whom it was proposed supported it upon the ground that they had shown themselves deserving of the patronage of the state, having, during the preceding quarter of a century, acted in such a way as to give the noblest refutation to all the slanders of their enemies.

At a national assembly held in 1796, they were declared in every respect citizens of the Batavian republic; and the union of France with Holland led to the removal of every disability of the Dutch Jews.

In Germany little change had taken place in the condition of the Jewish inhabitants for many centuries. The diet of Frederick the Great (1750), for the regulation of his Jewish subjects, was of the most intolerant description. The severest measures were resorted to for preventing their increase beyond a fixed number. They were excluded from all civil offices, and from many departments of lucrative and honorable employment, and subject to an equal load of taxation. Their condition in other parts of the empire was not more favorable till towards the end of the last century. Various circumstances contributed about that period to a decided improvement. Among these, the writings and character of Moses Mendelssohn may be mentioned as having considerable effect in elevating the character of the people in the general opinion. An edict of toleration was published by the Emperor Joseph II. The most important part of it perhaps consisted in the attention it directed, and the support which it promised, to elementary education, and to its throwing open the schools and universities of the empire to the Jews. Freedom of residence and of trade was also granted to them. They were no longer excluded from public places of amusement; and they were permitted to wear certain decorations, and might be created barons. The influence of Bonaparte was exerted for the advantage of the Jews in many parts of the German states; and from 1809 to 1813, we find ordinances issued for the melioration of their condition, admitting them to civil rights, and abolishing odious distinctions. By an act of the congress of Vienna in 1815, the diet is pledged to turn its attention to the melioration of the state of the Jews; and it may be safely affirmed that their condition has of late years been one of progressive advancement. In the Rhenish provinces of Prussia, some restrictions have taken place in their privileges, by disqualifying them for certain civil offices; and, in 1822, their learned men were excluded from holding offices in school or universities. In



the free towns, commercial jealousy more than feelings of a religious nature still places the Jews in some respects at disadvantage.

In Switzerland, the privileges which the Jews enjoyed during the reign of Bonaparte have been done away. In Italy also their condition is less favorable than formerly. In the ecclesiastical states they are again shut up in the Ghetto, and 300 every Sabbath are obliged to hear a sermon for their conversion; in 1829 a proposal was made for banishing them from the dominions of the pope, which, however, has not been carried into effect.

The greatest accumulation of Jews in any one point is in the countries of ancient Poland, now divided amongst the emperors of Russia and Austria and the king of Prussia. Their state has long continued fixed. They form the middle class between the nobles and the serfs, occupying all the common branches of traffic. The rabbinical spirit exists here in greater severity than in any other country. The Austrian emperors have shown a laudable zeal for the melioration of their Jewish subjects. The Emperor Nicholas of Russia, though his attention was directed to the subject, showed a less enlightened spirit.

In England the Jews again obtained a legal re-establishment under the protectorate of Cromwell, and have ever since maintained their footing. A bill for their naturalization was passed in the year 1753; but the prejudices against the measure were so strongly expressed, as to lead to its repeal in the following year.

In the last quarter of a century some changes have taken place in the civil condition of the Jews:

In Spain and Portugal their rights are still denied them with all the exclusive rigor of the middle ages. In Spain, where every man must belong to the Romish Church, their existence only is tolerated; and even in Portugal, where the Church of Rome has not the same constitutional power, protection alone is guaranteed. In France Napoleon

III. has left unchanged the arrangement of 1831, which introduced the rabbis into the circle of religious pensionaries of the state. The affairs of the French Jews are managed by a general consistorium at Paris, and their schools in Algiers enjoy the same privileges with those at home. Nowhere is their social position higher than within the realms of France. In Holland and Belgium the only remaining restrictions were swept away by the revolution of 1830. The Belgian government now undertakes the expense of Jewish education, and follows the example of France in treating them with favor, although, as in Maestricht in 1840, the popular prejudice against the race occasionally breaks out in open violence. In Denmark, since 1814, Jews have been eligible for communal magistracies; and in 1850 the special prerogative of the crown to sanction their intermarriage with Christians was dispensed with, on the condition that the children be educated in the Christian faith. In Sweden the favorable disposition of the government in 1838 was checked by popular indignation, in which the artisans of Stockholm were particularly prominent. In Norway the law of 1814, which forbade the toleration of their worship, has been gradually relaxed, until, in 1851, the parliament, with the consent of the king, placed them on the same footing with the various sects that do not belong to the national church. In Russia, which contains about two-thirds of the entire Jewish population of Europe, their position is very various. In the Polish provinces their numbers often exceed those of the Christian population; and in some of the smaller towns they stand so high in influence that, for the sake of convenience, the rest of the population has found it advisable to hold the Christian Sabbath on the Saturday. In Old Russia their residence is fettered with intolerable conditions. Great anxiety is manifested by the government for their conversion to the Greek Church, and in 1842 important exemptions from taxation were, by an imperial ukase, made vena. with apos

tacy. Within the last ten years, however, a severer regimen has been adopted, partly on account of the known sympathies of the Jews with all the revolutionary outbreaks in Poland, and partly on account of their participation in the smuggling trade on the frontier. Chiefly on the latter account they were interdicted, in 1843, from settling within a certain distance from the Austrian and Prussian boundaries, and all who were settled within the prescribed limits were compelled to sell their houses, and remove to the interior. Another ukase of September 1843 ordained that, in the deficiency of Russian subjects, they should be subjected to military service, instead of purchasing exemption by a heavy tax. More oppressive was the legislation of the 1st October, 1846, which fixed the right to wear a long beard, a caftan, girdle, and cap of sable at 50 rubles yearly, and doomed all to wear a Christian dress except children under ten, or old men above sixty, who could not pay that sum. In 1850 an equally oppressive ukase forbade altogether the practice prevalent among Jewish women in Russia of cutting off their hair at their marriage, and wearing their head covered. A mitigation of some of their burdens was granted in 1851; a capitation tax, levied on Jews who came from Austria into Poland, was repealed, and the price exacted for a safe-conduct to all who quitted the Russian dominions for Galicia was also abated. In the late war with Turkey Jews were compelled to enlist in the Russian militia when the regiments of the interior were drafted south, and melted away in the Crimea. In Turkey they enjoy, in an equal measure of bondage and contempt, all the privileges accorded to foreign nations under the sway of the sultan. In Italy the ban of the middle ages still hangs over the Jewish people; only in Parma and Tuscany is there any alleviation of their lot. At Ancona, in 1843, a promise was given that the power of the Inquisition over them should cease, and their position beyond the pale of civil society otherwise amended. In

Rome they are still confined to the Ghetto, and must pay 800 scudi yearly for the wretched solace of papal protection. It is due to the republic of 1849 to state that this odious tax was formally annulled during the short period of its power; but on the restoration of the pope it was again imposed, and the old law, which forbade the employment of Jewish females in Christian households was, in 1851, revived with heavier penalties than before. The emancipation of the Jews in Sardinia, which was promised in 1848, has not yet been carried out at least to its full extent. In Switzerland the prevailing liberalism of their institutions has not prevailed so far as to affect the social position of the Jews. So late as 1839 they were forbidden to enter the canton of Basle except on market-days, and Jews in the service of Christian merchants received only a few days' notice to quit the province. Lucerne followed the example and expelled them from the public market in 1850. A second time, in 1851, the canton of Basle repeated this odious decree; and, in spite of the remonstrances of the French, the penalty for employing a Jewish servant was fixed at 300 francs. In Germany their condition varies very much, each principality enacting laws more or less intolerant, according as the government controls, or is controlled by the invariably unfriendly voice of the people. In Austria the decree of Joseph is still in force. Their removal from one province to another is at the option of the emperor, and trade itself is loaded with restrictions which prevent them from ever reaching the position of a native craftsman or merchant. Only in some parts are they permitted to rent or purchase land beyond the space occupied by their own dwellings. In Hungary alone the Magyar nobles have allowed them to free privileges of unrestricted trade. After the commotions of 1848 the Jewish capitation tax was mitigated to all except the residents of Vienna; but in Hungary their share in the revolutionary movements of that year became the occasion of a heavy exaction, ostensibly to



be devoted to the cause of Jewish education. Popular hatred, however, avails far more than legislative enactment effectually to isolate the Jews from the commercial and literary circles of the kingdom; and few years pass without some flagrant act of expulsion or exhibition of petty tyranny, from which there is no redress and no protection. In Prussia there has been no recent legislation of any consequence. Their admission as teachers in the gymnasia, and physicians in the army, has been several times proposed by government and abandoned. Commercial jealousy is still powerful enough to procure their expulsion from the exchange, and popular hatred to debar them from the public gardens of the great cities. In the free towns their condition is scarcely much higher than in the most rural districts. In Frankfurt the decree of 1824, which excluded them from practicing as physicians or advocates, and interdicted them from trading in raw material, or employing any assistants except those of their own faith, was slightly modified in 1849, and a revision of questionable tendency was made in 1851. In Lubeck their equalization with the other citizens has

been only promised; and in Bremen they must, as clients, pay a price for their protection. In Hamburg they have since 1849 been admitted to civic privileges; and in 1851 their marriage with Christians was legalized, leaving it to the parents to decide in what faith the children shall be educated.

Wherever Islamism prevails they are the helpless victims of studied insult and oppression. In Persia their fate is wretched in the extreme. In Syria the sudden disappearance of a clergyman in 1840 revived the old outcry that the Jews mingled Christian blood in their paschal ceremonies, and Damascus became the scene of a persecution, which quickly spread to the other towns of the Ottoman empire. The intervention of their British compatriots has, however, availed to procure their protection from the Porte.

The probable number of the Jews has been the subject of frequent but not very successful conjecture. The most cautious estimate is about six millions; but, as their numbers are very great in lands where there is no census, it is scarcely possible to say whether this falls short of the truth or not.

## ASIA MINOR.

FROM the unsettled state of the country, once the seat of early civilization, and the cradle of the fine arts, Asia Minor is now comparatively imperfectly known, and the accounts left us by ancient writers are very meagre and unsatisfactory. It is, however, of perhaps greater interest to the geographer, the historian, and the antiquary, than almost any other country. It everywhere abounds with relics and monuments of antiquity, all tending more or less to throw light upon the history of the human race.

The grandeur and picturesque beauty of its scenery renders it at least equal if not superior to any country in Europe, while its extreme productiveness, coupled with the number of its excellent ports and other advantages, give evidence, that under a more favorable system of government it might become a land of commercial importance; but at present its imports are subject to very heavy and arbitrary taxes, and almost every branch of industry is paralyzed by a still more ruinous system of monopolies.

When the descendants of Noah were, from their numbers, obliged to disperse themselves over the earth, the family of Lud, one of the sons of Shem, is supposed to have been the first to people the wilds of Asia Minor, and to have at length settled on the banks of the Hermus. The traditionary Lydus the original king of the Lydians is supposed to be the same with Lud, and his grandfather Manes is probably the Noah of Scripture.

The term Asia Minor does not seem to

have been used until the fourth century of our era, and was then applied to that peninsula of Asia extending westward from an imaginary line drawn from Trebisonde to the gulf of Scanderoon. It comprehended Mysia, Lydia, Caria, Lycia, Pisidia, Cilicia, Bithynia, Paphlagonia, Pontus, Phrygia, Galatia, Lycaonia, and Cappadocia. We shall now give a brief notice of the principal states, separately.

## MYSIA.

Mysia lay in the extreme northwest corner of Asia Minor. The province was originally divided into Mysia, Troas, Aebolis, and Luthuania. To the first of these the Mysians originally belonged; they had come from the country of the Lydians, or as some historians assert, from Thrace. They gradually spread southward, encroaching upon the Trojan, Arabian, and Phrygian settlers, until they attained sufficient importance to communicate their name to the entire province. Little is known of their history. They were subject at one time to the Lydian monarchy. They are mentioned by Homer among the allies of Persia. The country afterward formed a part of the third satrapy under the Persians, and then a part of the Syrian empire that was created after the death of Alexander the Great. On the defeat of Antiochus, the last king of Syria, in B.C. 65, it was given by the Romans to Eumenes, king of Pergamus. It was afterward incorporated in the Roman Province



of Asia. Mysia is most celebrated from the ancient town of Troy which lay on the northwestern coast, directly opposite to Europe, from which it was separated by the narrow strait, now called the Dardanelles. The only accounts of the Trojan war which we have are in the form of poetry; and in these narratives the truth is so intricately interwoven with the fabulous, the gods of Olympus appearing and assisting the mortal heroes, and the whole so contradictory and inconsistent, that we are forced to exclude them from the domain of actual history, and class them with the rest of the Grecian mythology.

#### LYDIA.

The origin of the Lydians was a disputed point among the ancients; all we know for certain is, that they were a very ancient nation; and this is manifest from their fables; for Atys, Tantalus, Pelops, Niobe, and Arachne, are all said to have been the children of Lydus. Zanthus informs us that the ancient city of Ascalon, one of the five satrapies of the Philistines, mentioned in the books of Joshua and the Judges, was built by one Ascalus, a Lydian, whom Achiamus, King of Lydia, had appointed to command a body of troops which he sent into Syria, we know not on what occasion. The Heraclidæ, or Kings of Lydia descended from Hercules, began to reign before the Trojan War, and had been preceded by a long line of sovereigns sprung from Atys, a strong proof of the antiquity of the kingdom.

The Lydians began very early to be governed by kings, whose authority seems to have been despotic, and the crown hereditary. We read of three distinct races of kings reigning over Lydia,—the Atyadæ, the Heraclidæ, and the Mermnadæ. The *Atyadæ* were so called from Atys the son of Cotys, and grandson of Manes, the first Lydian king. But the history of the family is obscure and fabulous. The *Atyadæ* were succeeded by the *Heraclidæ*, or the descendants of Hercules. This hero having, by the

direction of the oracle, been sold as a slave, Omphale, Queen of Lydia, in order to expiate the murder of Iphitus, had by one of her slaves, during his captivity, a son named Cleolaus, whose grandson Argon was the first of the Heraclidæ who ascended the throne of Lydia. This race is said to have reigned 505 years, the son succeeding the father for twenty-two generations. They began to reign about the time of the Trojan War. The last of the family was the unhappy Candaules, who lost both his life and kingdom by his imprudence. Of this event an account is given by Herodotus. Candaules had a wife whom he passionately loved, and believed to be the most beautiful of her sex. He extolled her charms to Gyges, his favorite, whom he used to intrust with his most important affairs; and to convince him the more of her beauty, resolved to show her to him quite undressed. Enraged at this wanton affront, she told Gyges that he must either by his death atone for the criminal action he had been guilty of, or put to death Candaules, the contriver of it, and receive both her and the kingdom of Lydia as his reward. Gyges chose the latter alternative, and having stabbed the king whilst he was asleep, married the queen, and took possession of the kingdom, in which he was confirmed by the response of the oracle of Delphi. Candaules is said to have purchased, for its weight in gold, a picture painted by Bularchas, representing a battle of the Mag-nates; a circumstance which shows how early the art of painting had begun to be appreciated in that country, Candaules having been contemporary with Romulus.

Gyges having thus possessed himself of the kingdom of Lydia, sent many rich and valuable presents to the oracle of Delphos, amongst which were six cups of gold, weighing thirty talents, and greatly esteemed for the workmanship. He made war upon Miletus and Smyrna, took the city of Colophon, and subdued the whole country of Troas. In his reign, and by his permission, the city of Abydus was built by the Milesiads. Plu-

tarch and other writers give a different account of his accession to the crown of Lydia, and inform us, without making any mention of the queen, that Gyges rebelled against Candaules, and slew him in an engagement. In Gyges commenced the third race called *Mermnadæ*, who were also, properly speaking, Heraclidæ, being descended from a son of Hercules by Omphale.

Gyges reigned thirty-eight years, and was succeeded on the throne by his son Ardyes, who possessed himself of Priene, and of Sardis the metropolis of Lydia, and after reigning forty-nine years, was succeeded by his son Sadyattes, who reigned twelve years, during most part of which he carried on war with the Milesians.

After him came his son Alyattes, who, for the space of five years, continued the war which his father had begun against the Milesians, ravaging their country, and about harvest-time yearly carrying away all their corn; when having on one occasion set fire to the corn in the fields, the flames were carried by a violent wind, which happened at that time to blow, to the temple of Minerva at Assesus and burned it down to the ground. Not long afterwards, Alyattes falling sick, sent to consult the oracle at Delphos; but the god refused to return any answer until the king should rebuild the temple of Minerva at Assesus. Alyattes, thus warned, dispatched ambassadors to Miletus, enjoining them to conclude a truce with the Milesians until the temple should be rebuilt. On the arrival of the ambassadors, Thrasybulus then King of Miletus, having commanded all the corn which was at that time in the city to be brought into the market-place, ordered the citizens to banquet in public, and to revel as if the city were plentifully stored with all manner of provisions. This stratagem Thrasybulus practised that the ambassadors, seeing such quantities of corn, and the people everywhere diverting themselves, might acquaint their master with his affluence, and thus divert him from pursuing the war. As Thrasybulus had intended, so it happened.

Alyattes, who believed the Milesians greatly distressed for provisions, receiving a different account from his ambassadors, changed the truce into a lasting peace, and ever afterwards lived in amity and friendship with Thrasybulus and the Milesians.

After a reign of fifty-seven years, he was succeeded by his son Croesus, whose uninterrupted prosperity, in the first years of his reign, far eclipsed the glory of his predecessors. He was the first who made war on the Ephesians, whose city he besieged and took, notwithstanding their consecrating it to Diana, and their fastening the walls by a rope to her temple, which was seven stadia from the city. After the reduction of Ephesus, he, under various pretences, attacked the Ionians, and Æolians, obliging them, and all the other Greek states of Asia, to pay him an annual tribute. Having met with such extraordinary success by land, the Lydian prince determined to render his power equally conspicuous by sea. For this purpose he had serious thoughts of equipping a fleet, with which he purposed to invade and conquer the Grecian islands directly opposite to his dominions. But this design, which, considering the slow progress of maritime power amongst the nations most diligent in attaining it, would probably have failed of success, was prevented by the advice of a philosophical traveller, conveyed in such a lively turn of wit as easily changed the resolution of the king. Bias of Priene, in Ionia (some say Pittacus of Mitylene, in the Isle of Lesbos), whilst he travelled, after the Grecian custom, from curiosity and a love of knowledge, was presented to Croesus at the Lydian court; and being asked by that prince what news he brought from Greece answered with a republican freedom, that the islanders had collected powerful squadrons of cavalry with an intention of invading Lydia. "May the gods grant," said Croesus, "that the Greeks, who are unacquainted with horsemanship, should attack the disciplined valor of the Lydian cavalry; there would speedily be an end to the contest." In the same manner,"



replied Bias, "as if the Lydians who are totally unexperienced in naval affairs, should invade the Grecians by sea." Struck by the acuteness of this unexpected observation, Cræsus desisted from his intended expedition against the islands; and, instead of employing new means for extending his conquest, determined peaceably to enjoy the laurels he had won, and to display the grandeur he had attained. But his happiness was soon afterwards alloyed by the death of his favorite son Atys, who was unfortunately killed in the chase of a wild boar. This loss rendered him disconsolate for two years, and reduced him to a state of inaction till the conquests of Cyrus and the growing power of the Persians roused up his martial spirit, and diverted his mind to other thoughts.

Cræsus apprehending that the success which had attended Cyrus in all his undertakings might at last prove dangerous to himself, resolved, if possible, to put a stop to his progress. In adopting this resolution, which might probably be attended with the most important consequences, he was desirous to learn the will of heaven concerning the issue of the war. The principal oracles which he consulted were those of Branchis in Ionia, of Ammon in Libya, and of Delphi in Greece. But, amongst these respected shrines, the oracle of Delphi maintained its ascendant, as the most faithful interpreter of fate. Cræsus was fully persuaded of its veracity; and, generally desirous to compensate the priests of Apollo for the trouble which he had already given, and still meant to give, he sacrificed three thousand oxen to the god, and adorned his shrine with gifts equally valuable for the workmanship and for the materials, viz., precious vessels of silver, ewers of iron, beautifully inlaid and enamelled, various ornaments of pure gold, particularly a gold lion weighing ten talents and a female figure three cubits, or nearly five feet in height. In return for these magnificent presents, the oracle, in equivocal and ambiguous language, flattered Cræsus with obtaining an easy victory over his ene-

mies, and with enjoying a long life and a prosperous reign. The god at the same time enjoined him to contract an alliance with the most powerful of the Grecian states.

Elevated with these favorable predictions of Apollo, Cræsus prepared to yield a ready obedience to the only condition required on his part for the accomplishment of his aspiring design. Not deeming himself sufficiently acquainted with the affairs of Greece to know what particular republic was meant by the oracle, he made especial inquiry of those who were best informed concerning the state of Europe, and discovered that amongst all the members of the Grecian confederacy, the Athenians and Lacedæmonians were justly entitled to the pre-eminence. But in order to learn which of these communities deserved the epithet of "most powerful," it was necessary to send ambassadors into Greece. The Lydians dispatched on this important commission soon discovered that the Athenians, having been long harassed by internal dissensions, were actually governed by the tyrant Pisistratus. The Spartans, on the other hand, though anciently the worst regulated of all the Grecian communities, had enjoyed domestic peace and foreign prosperity ever since they had adopted the wise institutions of Lycurgus. To the Lydian ambassadors, therefore, the Spartan republic appeared to be pointed out by the oracle as the community whose alliance they were enjoined to solicit. Having accordingly repaired to Sparta, they were introduced not only to the kings and senate, but, as the importance of the negotiations required, to the general assembly of the Lacedæmonians to whom they, in few words, declared the object of their commission. The Lacedæmonians, pleased with the alliance of a warlike king, and still more with the fame of their valor, readily accepted the proposal. To the strict connection of an offensive and defensive league they joined the more respected ties of sacred hospitality. A few years before this transaction they had sent to Sardis to purchase gold for making a statue of

Apollo, and on that occasion Cræsus had gratuitously supplied their wants. Remembering this generosity, they gave the Lydian ambassadors at their departure, as a present for their master, a vessel of brass containing three hundred amphoras (above twelve hog-heads), and beautifully carved on the outside with various forms of animals.

Cræsus, having thus happily accomplished the design recommended by the oracle, was eager to set out upon his intended expedition. He had formerly entered into alliances with Amasis, King of Egypt, and Labynetus, King of Babylon; and he had now obtained the friendship of the most warlike nation of Europe. The newly-raised power of Cyrus and the Persians seemed incapable of resisting such a formidable confederacy. Elevated with these flattering ideas of his own invincible greatness, Cræsus waited not to attack the Persian dominions until he had collected the strength of his allies. The sanguine impetuosity of his temper, unexperienced in adversity, unfortunately precipitated him into measures no less daring than ruinous. Attended only by the arms of Lydia and a numerous band of mercenaries, whom his immense wealth enabled him at any time to call into his service, he marched towards the River Halys, and having with much difficulty crossed that deep and broad stream, entered the province of Cappadocia, which formed the western frontier of the Median dominions. That unfortunate country soon experienced all the calamities of invasion. The Pterian plain, the most beautiful and fertile district of Cappadocia, was laid waste; the ports of the Euxine, as well as several inland cities, were plundered, and the inoffensive inhabitants were either put to the sword, or dragged into captivity. Encouraged by the unresisting softness of the natives of those parts, Cræsus was eager to push forwards; and if Cyrus did not previously meet him in the field, he had determined to proceed in triumph to the mountains of Persia. Against this dangerous resolution he was in vain exhorted by a prudent

Lydian named Sandamis, whom he dismissed with contempt and prepared to prosecute his fatal enterprise.

Meanwhile the approach of Cyrus, who was not of a temper to permit his dominions to be ravished with impunity, afforded the Lydian king an opportunity of bringing the war to a more speedy issue than by his intended expedition into Persia. The army of Cyrus gradually augmented as he advanced. He marched from the shores of the Caspian to those of the Euxine Sea before the army of Cræsus had provided the necessaries for their advance. That prince, when apprised of the neighborhood of the Persians, encamped on the Pterian plain; Cyrus likewise took up a position at no great distance; frequent skirmishes occurred between the light troops; and at length a general engagement was fought with equal fury and perseverance, and only terminated by the darkness of night. The loss on both sides prevented a renewal of the battle; but the numbers as well as the courage of the Persians much exceeded the expectation of Cræsus; and as they discovered no intention of harassing his retreat, he determined to fall back on Sardis.

But this design was defeated by the watchful vigilance of Cyrus. That experienced leader allowed the enemy to retire without molestation, carefully informing himself of every movement they made, and of every measure they seemed determined to pursue. Patiently watching the opportunity of a just revenge, he waited until Cræsus had re-entered his capital, and disbanded the foreign mercenaries, who composed the most numerous division of his army. Cyrus then put his Persians in motion; and such was his celerity, that he brought the first intelligence of his own arrival in the plain of Sardis. Cræsus, whose firmness might well have been shaken by the imminence of this unforeseen danger, was not wanting on the present occasion in the duties which he owed to his fame and the lustre of the Lydian throne. Though his mercenaries were disbanded, his own sub-



jects, who served him from attachment, who had been long accustomed to victory, and who were animated with a high sense of national honor burned with a desire to check the daring insolence of the invaders. Cræsus indulged and encouraged this generous ardor. The Lydians in that age fought on horseback, armed with long spears; the strength of the Persians consisted in their infantry. The latter were so little accustomed to the use of horses, that camels were almost the only animals which they employed as beasts of burden. This circumstance suggested to a Mede, by name Harpagus, a stratagem, which, being communicated to Cyrus was immediately adopted with the approbation of that prince. Harpagus having observed that horses had a strong aversion to the shape and smell of camels, advised that the Persian army should be drawn up with the camels in front, mounted with armed men. As the troops on both sides approached to join battle, the Lydian cavalry, terrified at the unusual appearance of the camels, mounted with men in arms, were thrown into disorder, and the horses turning their heads, endeavored to escape from the field; but the Lydians abandoning their horses, prepared with uncommon bravery to attack the enemy on foot. They were soon obliged to take refuge, however, within the fortified strength of Sardis, where they imagined themselves secure. The walls of that city bade defiance to the rude art of attack, as practised by the most warlike nations. If the Persian army should invest it, the Lydians were provided with provisions for several years; and there was reason to expect that in a few months, nay, even weeks, they would receive such assistance from Egypt, Babylonia, and Greece to which countries they had already sent ambassadors, as would oblige the Persians to raise the siege.

The Lydian ministers dispatched into Greece met with great sympathy from the Spartans. They immediately resolved therefore to send speedy and effectual relief to Cræsus; and for this purpose they assembled their

troops, made ready their vessels, and prepared everything necessary for the expedition. The valor of the Spartans might perhaps have upheld the sinking empire of Lydia; but before their armament set sail, Cræsus was no longer a sovereign. Notwithstanding the strength of Sardis, that city was taken by storm on the twentieth day of the siege; the walls having been scaled in a quarter which appearing altogether inaccessible, was too carelessly guarded. This was effected by the enterprise of Hyreades, a Mede, who accidentally observed a sentinel descend part of the rock in order to recover his helmet. Hyreades was a native of the mountainous province of Mardia, and, being accustomed to clamber over the dangerous precipices of his native country, resolved to try his activity in passing the rock upon which he had discovered the Lydian. The design was more easily accomplished than he had reason to expect; emulation and success encouraged the bravest of the Persians to follow his example; these were supported by great numbers of their countrymen; the garrison of Sardis was surprised, the citadel stormed, and the rich capital of Lower Asia subjected to the vengeful rapacity of an indignant conqueror. Thus ended the ancient kingdom of Lydia, which continued subject to the Persians until they in their turn were conquered by the Macedonians.

### CARIA

was a maritime province in the southwest corner of Asia Minor. The boundaries of the kingdom, as possessed by the original Carians, seem to have undergone rapid changes with the advancement of Dorian and Ionian colonization on the coast. Accordingly the earlier geographers assign it a much larger territory than those who wrote at a later period. The principal encroachment seems to have been made in the north, where the Ionian settlers dispossessed the Carians entirely of the plain between the Messogis range and the Mæander, which from that time forward became the northern

boundary of Caria. The Dorian immigrants contented themselves with seizing on the islands and part of the sea-coast, which however still remained as the great natural boundary of the Carian province. The eastern frontier is distinctly marked by the range of Mount Cadmus; and the river Calbis, near the left bank of which stood Calynda, the frontier town according to Strabo, sufficiently divides the province from Lycia on the south. The interior of the country consisted chiefly of a fertile plain, inclosed by the Mæander and the Messogis hills, and several smaller valleys inclosed by the ridges which stretch from the eastern boundary in a south-westerly direction to the sea, and are prolonged in the various peninsulas and islands on the coast. Beyond the cultivation of the olive and vine, and the tending of their flocks of sheep on the highlands, the Carians paid little attention to agricultural pursuits. They served like the modern Swiss as mercenaries to almost all their more powerful neighbors; and while indifferent to anything but their pay, they were generally planted in front of the battle, and fought with the greatest bravery. Their mercenary character in ancient times, however, gave rise to several proverbs in which cheapness, rudeness, and treachery were associated with the Carian name. The islands on the coast were too widely scattered and too much exposed to the powerful maritime states in the neighborhood, to remain long in connection with an oppressed people on the mainland; but must have afforded admirable shelter to the Carians when they were the pirates of the *Ægean*. Syme alone remained faithful to the continental interest.

Of the Carian ancestry very conflicting accounts have come down to us from antiquity. They piqued themselves in being an aboriginal people, but their Cretan rivals gloried in affirming that they had been once subjects of the great Minos. They seem originally to have been extensively scattered over the islands of the *Ægean*, and to have been confined within, if not actually driven to, their

possessions on the mainland by the flood of Dorian and Ionian colonies, which seized on every convenient point for maritime settlements. According to Thucydides, their characteristic armor was to be seen in the graves of Delos; while vestiges of a totally distinct, although perhaps an allied people, were to be found on the mainland which afterwards went by their name. If these native Pelasgi were dispossessed by the Carian fugitives, they themselves shared the same fate at the hands of the Dorian and Ionian colonies, and the enterprising Rhodians, who stripped them respectively of Cnidus and Halicarnassus, Mycale and Miletus, Peræa, and what was afterward called the Rhodian Chersonese. Notwithstanding the presence of these invaders in their territory, the Carians still enjoyed a large measure of independence, retaining their own dialect, and preserving their own political constitution. Their Chrysoræum or convention met in the interior at the temple of Zeus Chrysoræus and settled their private affairs, even after the surrounding districts had yielded to a foreign yoke. The Persians, who, not without a protracted contest, reduced them to obedience after the Ionian revolt, pushed their conquests no farther than to establish a line of native princes, who ruled at Halicarnassus, and were dependent on the Persian crown. On the approach of Alexander the Great, Ada the rightful queen vindicated her claim to Grecian descent by detaching herself from the Persian interest, and was rewarded for her allegiance with the throne of Caria. Her descendants did not fare as well from the subsequent Macedonian princes, who established themselves in her dominions, and paved the way for their occupation by Antiochus the Great. On the rise of the Roman power in Asia Minor, the district of Caria was dismembered and partitioned between Eumenes, king of Pergamus, and the Rhodians, and soon after incorporated with the Roman province of Asia. On the fall of the Eastern empire it passed into the hands of the Turks.



## LYCIA.

From the account given by Herodotus, we may infer that the country was originally called Milyas, and was inhabited by two tribes, the Solymi and Tremilæ, or Termilæ; that a band of adventurers under Lycus, son of Pandion, drove the former tribe back to the northern mountains, and subdued the latter; and that, while the northern parts of the country still retained the ancient name of Milyas, the remaining parts were called Lycia, after the name of their conqueror. The northern part of Lycia is rendered rugged by offsets from Mount Taurus. The two principal rivers, the Limyrus, the Xanthus, both flow southward into the Mediterranean. Pliny represents the country as fruitful, and noted for its firs, cedars, and plane trees. It appears to have been governed in the time of Homer by kings, but afterwards by a congress of deputies from the different free cities. By this congress, the chief magistrate, called Lyciarch, the judges, and other officials, were chosen, and the general affairs of the country administered. In the time of Strabo the free cities amounted to twenty-three. Of these, the principal were Xanthus, Patara, Olympus, Myria, Pinara, and Tlos. All these had three votes each in the decisions of the assembly. Of the remaining towns, some had two votes each, others only one. So productive of peace and good order was this constitution, that it was left in full operation by the Romans after they had subdued the country. Finally, however, it became disordered and incompetent, and was abolished by the Emperor Claudius. According to Herodotus, the Lycians had derived their customs partly from the Cretans, and partly from the Carians; but differed from these nations as well as from all others in assuming the name of their mothers and not of their fathers.

Recent discoveries have ascertained that the Lycians had an alphabet compounded of the Greek and some other character. Although possessing a language of their own,

they seem also to have been intimate with that of the Greek, a circumstance that might be partly the result and partly the cause of their want of a national literature. The remains of their temples and richly ornamented tombs show, that in architecture and sculpture they were not far behind the Greeks.

At a very early period the Lycians seem to have waged a protracted warfare with the Solymi, the aborigines of the country; and to this struggle the legends of the Lycian hero Bellerophon, as related by Homer, bears reference. In the *Iliad* the Lycians are enumerated among the allies of the Trojans; and their two champions, Glaucus and Sarpedon, act a prominent part in the war. Strongly banded together by their excellent government, the towns of Lycia successfully repulsed the arms of Croesus. Yet they were forced by Cyrus to submit to the yoke of the Persians, and are mentioned by Herodotus as contributing their contingent fifty ships to the fleet of Xerxes. They succumbed after a slight resistance to the power of Alexander the Great; and after the dismemberment of the Macedonian empire, came successively under the sway of the Ptolemies, the Seleucidæ, and the Romans. Adopting the cause of Octavianus and Antony, they were subdued and severely taxed by Brutus. After the government of Lycia had been abolished by the Emperor Claudius, that country became part of the prefecture of Pamphylia. However, in the reign of Theodosius II., it was constituted a separate province.

## BITHYNIA

was in the northeast of Asia Minor, stretching along the Propontis, the Thracian Bosphorus, and the Euxine, between the rivers Rhyndacus in the west, and the Parthenius in the east. In the south it bordered on Galatia and Phrygia Epictetus. The country derived its name from its inhabitants, the Bithyni, whose original home was the country about the Strymon in Thrace. Remnants of this nation remained in Thrace, and are frequently spoken of under the name of

Thyni, or Thraces Bithyni. On their arrival in Asia, they expelled or subdued the native tribes of the Mysians, Bebryces, Caucones, and Mygdones; the Mariandyni, however, maintained themselves on the coast in the north-eastern part of the country. The Bithyni, after their conquest of the new country, appear to have been divided into two branches, the Thyni on the coast about the river Sangarius, and the Bithyni in the southern part of the country. In the reign of Cræsus, Bithynia was incorporated with the Lydian empire, together with which it soon after fell into the hands of the Persians. Under the dominion of the latter, who probably made no great changes in the constitution of the country, it was governed by the Satrap of Phrygia; for at that time it scarcely contained any towns except the Greek colonies of Chalcedon and Astacus. During the subsequent disturbances in the Persian empire, some native princes of the Thyni made themselves independent, and maintained this independence even against Alexander the Great and his successors. Nicomedes, the first who assumed the title of king, reigned until B.C. 246. His successor, Prusias I., who died in B.C. 192, and Prusias II. (who probably died in B.C. 150) did much to establish the kingdom on a firm basis, and to extend its boundaries. The last king, Nicomedes III., in B.C. 75, bequeathed his kingdom to the Romans, who at first united it with their province of Asia, and afterwards with Pontus, until Augustus constituted it as a separate proconsular province. At the same time that emperor united the western part of Paphlagonia, under the name of Pontus, with Bithynia. Theodosius II. again divided the province, restricting the name of Bithynia to the western half, which contained the cities of Nicomedia, Nicaea, and Chalcedon, while the eastern part, with the cities of Heraclea, and Claudiopolis, received the name of Hcnorias.

LYCAONIA, PISIDIA, PAMPHYLIA, and PAPHLAGONIA, were the names of several little

states. They require no separate notice, for their history is nearly the same; at first, they were inhabited by different independent tribes, generally branches of the Phrygian stock, and then they fell a prey to their more powerful neighbors, such as the Lydians, and after that, they passed under the successive dominion of the foreign conquerors of Asia Minor, the Persians, Alexander the Great, the Seleucidæ, the Romans, and finally the Mohammedans.

#### PHRYGIA.

Phrygia was one of the most important provinces of Asia Minor. The ancient boundaries are very uncertain. The origin of the Phrygians, one of the most ancient and powerful races of the world, is lost in obscurity. At one time they extended over the larger part of northern Greece, and the adjacent countries; and the influence of their religious ideas is very perceptible in the Grecian mythology. Yielding to the pressure of the northern nations, they appear to have been driven back into Asia, about ninety years before the Trojan war. Of their history little is known; the people were agricultural, and the country was celebrated for its fine breed of sheep, and their excellent wool. Phrygian marble was much prized, and gold was found in the beds of the streams. The independent existence of Phrygia ceased after the overthrow of Alexander the Great, and its geographical boundaries were lost in the new divisions of the country.

#### CAPPADOCIA,

an ancient kingdom of Asia Minor, comprehended originally all the country which lies between Mount Taurus and the Euxine Sea.

Its early history and condition are wrapped in obscurity. The only authentic accounts which have come down to us do not remount beyond the period of its subjection to Persia, and the native princes who held it in fief from the Persian king. The first of these was Pharnaces, who is said to have married Atossa, the sister of Cambyses, and to have



been slain in a war with the Hyrcanians. The princes who succeeded him (Smerdis, Atamnas, Anaphas I. and II., Datames, Ariamnes I., Ariarathes I., and Olophernes) continued faithful to the Persian interest, and under Ariarathes II., who (disregarding the previous and somewhat fabulous line of kings,) is generally called Ariarathes I., the Cappadocians continued to struggle for their independence, when the rest of the kingdom had been overrun and dismembered by Alexander the Great. After the death of Alexander, Perdiccas, marching into Cappadocia with a powerful and well-disciplined army, succeeded in taking Ariarathes prisoner, and crucified him and all those of the royal blood who fell into his hands. His son Ariarathes II., however, having escaped the general slaughter, fled into Armenia, where he lay concealed till the civil dissensions which arose among the Macedonians after the death of Eumenes (to whom Perdiccas had surrendered the kingdom), gave him a favorable opportunity of recovering the throne. Having defeated Amyntas in a pitched battle, he compelled the Macedonians to abandon all the strongholds, and after a long and undisturbed reign, left his kingdom to his son Ariamnes II., under whose peaceful administration Cappadocia made great progress. Under Ariarathes III., who waged a successful war with Arsaces, founder of the Parthian monarchy, the territory of Cappadocia was considerably enlarged.

He was succeeded by Ariarathes IV., who joined Antiochus the Great against the Romans, and after his defeat was obliged to atone for taking up arms against the people of Rome by paying a fine of two hundred talents. He afterwards assisted the republic with men and money again Perseus king of Macedon, and was honored by the senate with the title of *the friend and ally of the Roman people*. He left the kingdom to his son Mithridates, who took the name of Ariarathes V.

During the reign of this prince, surnamed *Philopater*, from the strength and constancy

of his filial affection, the Cappadocians remained in close alliance with Rome. In the beginning of his reign, having been relieved from an invasion by Mithrobarzanes the king of Lesser Armenia, whom he himself had placed on the throne at the intervention of the republic, he presented the senate with a golden crown, and received in return a staff and chair of ivory. Not long before this, Demetrius Soter, king of Syria, had offered Ariarathes in marriage to his sister, the widow of Perseus, king of Macedon, an honor which he declined for fear of offending the Romans. Demetrius, greatly incensed at the slight, set up a rival to the throne of Cappadocia in the person of Olophernes a supposititious son of the deceased king, and succeeded in driving Ariarathes from his throne.

The usurper having sent a present to Rome in token of his allegiance, contrived to make his case appear so plausible to the senate that he was invested by them with a share of the kingdom; but in the following year he was expelled by Attalus, who had succeeded Eumenes on the throne of Pergamus.

Ariarathes, being thus restored, avenged the refusal of the Priennians to restore four hundred talents of gold which Olophernes deposited with them, and would have stormed their capital if the Romans, to whom they appealed, had not commanded him to desist. Disappointed of his revenge in this respect, Ariarathes hastened to Syria to avenge himself on Demetrius Soter, by whose instrumentality he had been driven from the throne. By joining his forces to those of Alexander Epiphanes, who had already taken the field against the Syrian king, the war was quickly ended. In the very first engagement Demetrius was slain, and his army entirely dispersed. Some years afterwards Ariarathes, having espoused the cause of the Romans in their contest with Aristonicus, a claimant of the throne of Pergamus, he was slain in the same battle in which Crassus proconsul of Asia was taken, and the Roman army cut to pieces. He left

six sons by his wife Laodice, on whom the Romans bestowed Lycania and Cilicia. But Laodice, fearing lest her children when they came of age should take the government out of her hands, poisoned five of them; the youngest only having escaped her cruelty by being conveyed out of the kingdom. She was soon, however, put to death by her subjects, who rose in rebellion against her tyrannical government.

Laodice was succeeded by Ariarathes VI., who soon after his accession married Laodice, daughter of Mithridates the Great, wishing to gain the alliance of that powerful prince in his contest with Nicomedes king of Bithynia, who laid claim to part of his kingdom. Mithridates, however, instead of assisting, procured the death of Ariarathes by poison, and under pretence of maintaining the rights of the Cappadocians against Nicomedes, proclaimed himself regent till the children of Ariarathes should be competent to govern the kingdom. The Cappadocians at first acquiesced; but finding him unwilling to resign the regency in favor of the lawful king, they rose in arms, expelled the foreign garrison, and placed Ariarathes VII., eldest son of the late king, on the throne.

The new prince found himself immediately engaged in a war with Nicomedes; but, being assisted by Mithridates, not only drove him out of Cappadocia, but stripped him of a great part of his hereditary dominions. On the conclusion of the peace, the refusal of Ariarathes to recall Gordius the murderer of his father, led to a war with Mithridates. When the two armies met on the frontiers of Cappadocia, Mithridates invited Ariarathes to a conference, and openly stabbed him with a dagger which he had concealed in his dress. The terror-stricken Cappadocians immediately dispersed, and submitted to the yoke of Mithridates; but, unable to endure the tyranny of his prefects, they quickly rose in rebellion, and recalling the exiled brother of the late king they placed him on the throne. He had scarcely ascended the throne when Mithridates invaded the kingdom at

the head of a numerous army, defeated the army of the Cappadocians with great slaughter, and compelled Ariarathes VIII. to abandon the kingdom. The unhappy prince soon after died of grief, and Mithridates bestowed the kingdom on his own son, a youth only eight years old, giving him also the name of Ariarathes. But Nicomedes Philopater, king of Bithynia, dreading the increase of power in a rival already so formidable, claimed the throne for a youth who pretended to be the third son of Ariarathes, and whom he sent with Laodice to Rome, to advocate his cause. Having received the declaration of Laodice that the petitioner was one of the sons which she had borne to Ariarathes, and whom she had kept concealed lest he should share the fate of his brothers, the senate assured him that they would reinstate him in his kingdom. Mithridates, receiving notice of these transactions, despatches Gordius to Rome to advocate his cause, and to persuade the senate that the youth to whom he had resigned the kingdom of Cappadocia was the lawful son of the late king, and grandson to Ariarathes, who had lost his life in the service of the Romans against Aristonicus. On receiving this embassy, the senate inquired more narrowly into the matter, discovered the whole plot, and ordered Mithridates to resign Cappadocia. The Cappadocians enjoyed their freedom for a short time, but soon sent embassadors to Rome, requesting the senate to appoint a king. Leave was given to elect a king of their own nation; as the family of Pharnaces was now extinct, they chose Ariobarzanes, who received the sanction of the senate, and continued steadily attached to the Roman interest.

Ariobarzanes had scarcely taken possession of his kingdom when he was driven out by Tigranes, king of Armenia, who resigned Cappadocia to the son of Mithridates, in terms of an alliance previously concluded between them. Ariobarzanes fled to Rome, and by the assistance of Sylla, who routed Gordius the general of Mithridates, he was quickly reinstated in his kingdom. On the



retreat of Sylla, however, Ariobarzanes was again driven out by Ariarathes, the son of Mithridates, whom Tigranes had set up as king. By the intervention of Sylla, Ariobarzanes was again placed on the throne; and immediately after Sylla's death he was a third time forced to abandon his kingdom, when Pompey, after defeating Mithridates near Mount Stella, restored the unfortunate monarch, and rewarded him for his services during the war with the provinces of Sophene, Gordyene, and a great part of Cilicia. Wearied with such a succession of disasters, soon after his restoration he resigned the crown to his son Ariobarzanes, and spent the rest of his life in retirement.

Ariobarzanes II. proved no less faithful to the Romans than his father had been. On the breaking out of the civil war between Cæsar and Pompey, he sided with the latter; but after the death of Pompey he was received into favor by Cæsar, who bestowed upon him a great part of Armenia. While the emperor was engaged in a war with the Egyptians, Pharnaces, king of Pontus, invaded Cappadocia and stripped Ariobarzanes of all his dominions; but Cæsar, after defeating Pharnaces, restored the king of Cappadocia, and honored him with new titles of friendship. After the murder of Cæsar, Ariobarzanes, refusing to join Brutus and Cassius, was declared an enemy to the republic, and soon afterwards taken prisoner and put to death. He was succeeded by his brother Ariobarzanes III., who shared the same fate at the hands of Antony. With him the royal family became extinct.

Archelaus, the grandson of the general of the same name who commanded against Sylla in the Mithridatic war, owed his elevation to the throne of Cappadocia solely to the intrigues of his mother Glaphyra with Mark Antony, to whom he remained faithful in the contests with Augustus. On the defeat of Antony, he was pardoned by the emperor at the intercession of the Cappadocians, and received Armenia Minor and Cilicia Trachæa as a reward for having assisted the Romans

in clearing the seas of pirates, who infested the coast of Asia. He contracted a strict friendship with Herod the Great, king of Judea; and married his daughter Glaphyra to Alexander, Herod's son. On the accession of Tiberius (who entertained a secret hostility to Archelaus on account of his previous neglect of his merits during the lifetime of Caius Cæsar), he was decoyed to Rome by the fair promises of Livia, the emperor's mother; but being accused before the senate, and loaded with reproaches at the court, he died of grief, after a reign of fifty years.

On the death of Archelaus, the kingdom of Cappadocia was reduced to a Roman province, and governed by men of the equestrian order. It shared the fortunes of the Eastern Empire till the rise of the Turkish power and the fall of Byzantium. Under the Turkish rule it is comprehended in the Ejalet, or government of *Ssiwas*.

In the time of the Romans, the inhabitants of Cappadocia were so famous for vice and profligacy that among the neighboring nations a worthless man was aptly termed a *Cappadocian*. The reception of Christianity, however, produced a wondrous change on the character of the population; and in the struggles of the early church we find them taking a prominent part. In ecclesiastical history, several of its cities have become among the most famous of antiquity. Nyssa and Nazianzum, the cities of the two Gregories; Cæsarea, the city of Basil, to say nothing of Tyana and Samosata.

We have now no system of the Cappadocian laws, and scarcely anything by which to form an estimate of Cappadocian jurisprudence. The commerce was limited to a trade in horses, great numbers of which were reared in the table lands, and taken to the fairs of Tyre to be sold, as we learn from Ezek. xxvii. 14. It is probable that they also acted as carriers of the mineral produce of the Cappadocian Pontus.

The religion of the ancient Cappadocians resembled that of the Persians, but was largely interspersed with Grecian myths.

At Comana there was a rich and stately temple in which the bloody rites of Bellona were celebrated; and the temples of Apollo, Catanius, and Jupiter, were thronged with crowds of votaries. The chief priest of Jupiter was next in rank to that of Bellona, and, according to Strabo, had a yearly revenue of fifteen talents. Diana Persica was worshipped in a city called Castaballa, where women devoted to the worship of that goddess were reported to tread barefoot on burning coals without receiving any hurt. The temples of Diana at Diospolis, and of Anias at Zela, were likewise held in great veneration both by the Cappadocians and Armenians, who flocked to them from all parts. In the latter were taken all oaths in matters of importance; and the chief priest, who was attended by a royal retinue, possessed unlimited authority over all the inferior servants and officers of the temple. The Romans, who readily adopted all the superstitious rites of conquered nations, greatly increased the revenues of the temples, and thus made the priesthood the willing tools of their ambitious designs. It is said that human sacrifices were offered at Comana; and that this barbarous custom was brought by Orestes and his sister Iphigenia from Tauris Scythica, where men and women were immolated to Diana. But this custom, if ever it obtained in Cappadocia, was abolished in the time of the Romans.

#### CILICIA.

Cilicia was a maritime province, lying south of Cappadocia, and played a conspicuous part in ancient history, from the seafaring and adventurous character of the people, who chiefly distinguished themselves as pirates, making themselves feared by all the navigators of the Mediterranean.

According to the old Greek myths, the Cilicians (who were originally called Hypachæi) took their name from Cilix, son of the Phœnician Agenor. They were originally governed by native kings, who successfully resisted the attempt of Crœsus and others to

subdue them, and remained independent till the rise of the Persian empire. Even after their incorporation with that power they continued to be governed by their own princes. When Xerxes was organizing a fleet for the invasion of Greece, Cilicia contributed 100 galleys, which were placed under the command of Syennesis, whose bravery is eulogized by Æschylus.

If tradition may be believed, the Greeks began at a very remote period to settle in Cilicia. Historical evidence of their presence in the country, however, is wanting till the days of Alexander the Great. The natives gradually retired before them, and took refuge in the mountainous regions of the Trachæa, where they maintained themselves till the time of Cicero. After the downfall of Persia, Cilicia passed into the family of the Seleucidæ, by whom it was retained till Pompey reduced the Campestris to a Roman province. The mountaineers were not finally subdued till B.C. 52, in which year the proconsul Cicero took their stronghold Pindenessus—an exploit for which he was rewarded with a triumph on his return to Rome. After this the Trachæa continued to be governed by native princes till the reign of Vespasian, when it was reduced to a Roman province. The character of the Cilicians never stood very high among the ancients. By the Greeks and Romans, the Cilicians, Carians, and Cappadocians were classed together as the three bad Ks.

#### GALATIA.

Galatia took its name from a body of Gauls who invaded Asia Minor about the year 279 B.C. They had formed part of the army which invaded Greece under Brennus; but having quarrelled with that commander had left his standard, and marching into Thrace under generals of their own choice, advanced to Byzantium, whence they were invited by Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, to cross into Asia and help him in his struggle against his brother Zibætus. After perform-



ing the required services, they turned their arms against their employer, and ravaged the western half of Asia Minor. Their success allured over hordes of their countrymen, who readily took service with the Asiatic kings in their wars against each other. No oriental prince was found able to check them, until Attalus king of Pergamus defeated them in a great battle, B.C. 239, and compelled them to settle in part of the country, which after them was called Galatia. They still remained independent, however, and proved a formidable foe to the Romans in their wars with Antiochus. It was found necessary to direct a special army against them, and the result of the campaign was their complete subjugation to the power of Rome. Galatia, however, was not at this time reduced to a Roman province, but the Gauls were still allowed to choose their own kings. One of the most famous of these was Deiotarus, who, in return for the assistance he gave the Romans, was rewarded with a grant of Pontus and Armenia Minor, and styled king by the senate. On the death of his son Amyntas, B.C. 25, Galatia became a Roman province. Theodosius the Great subdivided it for purposes of government into Galatia Prima, of which Ancyra was made the capital, and Galatia Secunda, with Pessinus for its chief town.

#### PONTUS.

Pontus was an ancient kingdom in the northeast of Asia Minor, which derived its name from its being on the Pontus Euxinus, extending from the river Colchis in the east to the river Halys in the west. In early times its various parts were designated after the tribes which inhabited them. From the middle of the seventh century B.C., many of those tribes inhabiting the coast rose to great power and opulence, spreading Greek culture and civilization around them; while many of those in the interior were extremely savage and wild. According to tradition it was conquered by Ninus, founder of the Assyrian empire; and it was certainly under the Per-

sian dominion after the time of Cyrus the Great. In the reign of Artaxerxes II., Ariobarzanes conquered several of the Pontian tribes, and laid the foundation of an independent kingdom. Mithridates II. succeeded him B. C. 337, who, by availing himself of the disputes of the successors of Alexander, considerably enlarged his dominions. He was followed by Mithridates III., by Ariobarzanes III., by Mithridates IV., by Pharnaces I., and by Mithridates V.

Mithridates VI., surnamed Eupator, and usually styled "The Great," king of Pontus, who succeeded his father, Mithridates V., at the age of eleven, about 120 B.C. His reign began amid daring conspiracies, which summoned up prematurely his great tact and intrepidity. Afraid of being poisoned by his treacherous subjects, he followed the practice of swallowing antidotes, until his frame became thoroughly fortified against the action of the most deadly drugs. The more open attempts against his life he baffled by incessant activity. There was no warlike exercise in which he did not engage, and none in which he did not excel. He was also a keen daring hunter, pursuing his sport into distant and desolate regions, disturbing the lair of the most savage animals, and sleeping on the ground under the most inclement skies. Under such a thorough training, he acquired an iron strength, great agility, a stature almost gigantic, and a spirit indifferent to the presence of any danger. His mind meanwhile was not neglected. He studied with success the physics and philosophy of that age, and cultivated his mind with so much diligence, that he is said to have acquired the languages of no less than twenty-five of the neighboring nations. At the age of eighteen Mithridates began to govern in his own person. One of his first public acts, it is said, was to render his claim to the throne undisputed by the assassination of his mother and brother. He then directed the entire strength of his kingdom to foreign conquest. Leading his armies eastward along the shores of the Euxine, he

conquered Lesser Armenia, Colchis, and other barbarian kingdoms. The wild Scythians of the Tanais, who had dared the might of so many conquering kings, were compelled to submit to his yoke; and his generals being then entrusted with the command of his armies, extended his conquests as far as the river Tyras, and exacted tribute from the Tauric Chersonese. Shortly afterwards he seized upon the sovereignty of Bosphorus, left vacant by the death of Parisades.

With his strength and resources thus augmented, Mithridates formed the design of wresting all the Asiatic states from the powerful grasp of Rome. Cautiously making his preparations, he first traveled in disguise through Asia Minor, and employed his intimate knowledge of the different languages of that country in ascertaining from the inhabitants the state of their defences and their feelings towards their Roman masters. He then formed an alliance with the Parthians and Iberians, and married his daughter to Tigranes, the powerful king of Armenia. He even entertained the gigantic design of banding together in one great league all the foes of Rome, and of convulsing her sovereignty in all parts of the world by one general shock. His legates accordingly traveled as far as the pillars of Hercules, negotiating with the rebel Marsians and every people and predatory band that were up in arms against the Romans. Before these preparations were completed he became involved in a war with his nephew Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, who was an ally of the Romans. Ariarathes fell in battle, and Mithridates placed his own son upon the vacant throne. Rome, however, interfered, and seized the Cappadocian crown for Ariobarzanes, a creature of her own. Mithridates succumbed for a time; but about 90 B.C. he openly attacked and deposed the puppet of the Romans. At the same period he wrested the sceptre from the young king Nicomedes of Bithynia, another tributary of the Romans. Both of the wronged sovereigns laid their cases before the senate of Rome and were

reinstalled in their dominions. Mithridates again submitted; but no long time had elapsed before he was lying at the head of an army of 300,000 waiting for the Romans or their allies to strike the first blow. He did not wait long. Nicomedes, at the instigation of the Romans, invaded Pontus. Mithridates then poured his troops into Cappadocia, and in a short time overran and subdued the whole country. As speedily did his generals Archelaus and Neoptolemus prostrate the might of Nicomedes in a great battle on the banks of the Amnias, and wrest Bithynia from the remnants of his army. The neighboring states, eagerly hailing the outbreak of a war that seemed likely to free them from the insatiable rapacity of their Roman oppressors, raised the standard of revolt. All the cities of Asia Minor, with a few exceptions, flung open their gates to the victorious king of Pontus, and he marched westward without opposition to the shores of the *Ægean* Sea. Lesbos, Delos, Eubœa, and the islands of the Cyclades, were next subjected to his sway, and even Athens was betrayed into the hands of his general Archelaus. In the height of his triumph Mithridates repaired to Pergamus, and abandoned himself to luxury and pleasure. It was then that he issued a decree for the extermination of all the Roman citizens in Asia Minor. With an eager promptitude the vengeful natives obeyed the order; and the massacre of 80,000, or, according to some, of 150,000 Romans, cut off Mithridates from all chances of reconciliation with his powerful foes. About the middle of 87 B.C. he was roused to his former activity by the news that a Roman army under Sylla was approaching Greece. He immediately despatched Taxiles with an immense force to co-operate with Archelaus. In the following year, however, the news arrived that Athens had been captured, and that his troops had been routed at the battle of Charonea. With unslackened perseverance he equipped another army of 80,000, and sent it under the command of Dorylaus to the scene of conflict. But the tide of fortune



was running against him; and in 85 B.C. his position had become critical. The time-serving Asiatics, estranged by his growing misfortunes, were rising in revolt around him, and assassinating the tetrarchs he had placed over them. An army sent by the Marian party at Rome had invaded Asia Minor, had defeated a large force under his son Mithridates, and was pursuing himself from place to place. About the same time he received the intelligence of the almost utter annihilation of his Grecian troops at Orchomenus. Almost his only resource, therefore, was a treaty of peace. This, after some difficulty, he purchased from Sylla in 84 B.C. at the expense of 2,000 talents, 70 ships, and all the territories he had wrested from the Romans.

In spite of this treaty, Mithridates knew well that nothing less than his complete humiliation would satisfy his haughty enemies, and therefore he resolved to prepare for the worst. Several years were spent in building navies, in collecting magazines of arms and provisions, in recruiting his army, and in gathering hordes of mercenaries from every quarter both in Asia and in Europe. He equipped his troops with Roman arms, and attempted to infuse into them the magnanimous Roman valor by subjecting them to the severe Roman discipline. He even entered into an alliance with Sertorius the great Marian general in Spain. After such preparations he was bold enough, on the death of Nicomedes III. in 74 B.C., to lay claim to the vacant throne of Bithynia. He then burst into that country with a mighty army, swept through it without encountering opposition, and overwhelmed the forces of Cotta the prætor under the walls of Chalcedon. Marching then into Mysia, he sat down before Cyzicus, and invested that city by land and sea. Thither Lucullus the Roman general followed him. For some time the two armies lay encamped near each other without meeting in any general engagement.

At last Mithridates, unable to provide for so large an army in so narrow a territory,

was forced to raise the siege and to commence a retreat towards the west. Lucullus then hovered about his rear, threw his army into confusion, and took many prisoners. With great difficulty Mithridates embarked his shattered forces and set sail homewards. On the way a storm sunk his fleet, and he arrived in his own dominions with a fragment of that magnificent army with which he had set out. Yet Mithridates still retained his invincible energy, and that soon supplied him with another army. By the spring of 72 B.C. he had organized a large force of his own subjects, of Scythians, and of Parthians, and awaited the arrival of Lucullus in an impregnable position among the mountains at Cabira. Lucullus arrived, but found that his enemy had learned a lesson from former misfortunes, and that he was resolved to act merely on the defensive. He attempted to dislodge him, but was repulsed with great loss. In a short time he discovered that his provisions were effectually cut off and that want was beginning to lay waste his camp. At this crisis an accident saved him. The forces of Mithridates, compelled by a misfortune to shift their camp, were struck with a sudden panic. A headlong flight ensued, and their ranks were cut to pieces and scattered over the whole country by the pursuing Roman cavalry. The King himself, after braving many dangers in his desperate attempts to rally his troops, fled to the kingdom of his son-in-law Tigranes, and left all his dominions in the power of Lucullus.

In 69 B.C. Tigranes mustered a large army to vindicate the cause of his father-in-law, and at the same time to defend his own territories against the invading Romans; but risking, in opposition to the advice of Mithridates, a pitched battle at Tigranocerta, he was defeated by Lucullus with great slaughter. The ensuing winter was spent by Mithridates in equipping a select force of 70,000 with Roman armor, and in inuring them to Roman discipline. In the summer of 68 B.C. he commenced to harass the advance of Lucullus into Armenia by cutting

off his foraging parties, and by galling his rear with bodies of skirmishers. At length he was brought to a general engagement near Artaxata, and suffered a severe defeat. But no sooner had the enemy marched into Mesopotamia to lay siege to the strong fortress of Nisibis, than Mithridates betook himself to Pontus at the head of 40,000 chosen troops, and commenced a sudden and daring guerilla war. Garrison after garrison was surprised and wrested from the Romans; his old soldiers rallied round his standard; the army under Fabius, the lieutenant of Lucullus, was cut to pieces; and when winter suspended the contest, Triarius was the only Roman commander who was capable of offering any effectual resistance. With him Mithridates prepared to engage in the spring of 87 B.C. A pitched battle soon took place, in which the Romans, after an obstinate struggle, fled, leaving their camp in the hands of the enemy and 7000 of their officers and private soldiers lying dead on the field. This defeat, the most disastrous blow that had fallen upon Rome for many years, left the greater part of Pontus in the hands of Mithridates.

The king of Pontus was engrossed with the re-organization of his government when Pompey the Great arrived in Asia in 66 B.C. to supersede Lucullus. That able general immediately formed an alliance with the Parthian king, and thus rendered it necessary for Tigranes to keep his troops for the protection of his own dominions. Mithridates was accordingly left to meet his great antagonist all alone. At first he tried negotiating, but scorned to stoop to the conditions that were offered to him. He then placed himself at the head of 32,000 well-disciplined troops, and resorted to his former plan of defensive warfare. For some time he attended the movements of the Romans, intercepting their provisions, destroying their foragers, and baffling all their attempts to force him to a general engagement. At length desperation drove Pompey to attack him by night on the banks of the Euphrates.

An accident spread a panic through the king's forces; in a few moments there was a general flight, and the greater part of the Pontine army were either slain by the Romans or drowned in attempting to cross the river. Mithridates himself, at the head of a few horsemen, cut his way through the legions of the enemy, and escaped to the border stronghold of Synoria. Thence he hastened with a considerable body of troops to take refuge in Armenia. But dread of the Romans prevented Tigranes from giving him any countenance. The only retreat now left to him was the kingdom of Bosphorus, over which his son Machares reigned. Thither, therefore, he directed his course by forced marches through the country of Colchis, until he arrived at Dioscurias. Assured then that he was beyond the reach of Pompey, he halted, and passed the winter enlisting troops and equipping a fleet for the remainder of his journey. In 65 B.C. he continued his march through the midst of the most savage tribes, exciting the opposition of some and the enthusiastic admiration of others, yet pressing onwards with resistless constancy. At length he arrived at Panticapæum, the capital of the kingdom of Bosphorus, and found that his son Machares, who had formerly sent in his submission to the Romans, had put an end to his life on hearing of his approach. Mithridates accordingly seated himself in the vacant throne. His newly-acquired power was far beyond the reach of the grasping tyranny of Rome, and he might now have rested from that disastrous struggle in which he had been engaged for the last twenty-six years. Yet hardly had he organized his government, when he conceived the daring plan of marching at the head of a large army round the north and west coasts of the Euxine, of rallying round his standard all those barbaric tribes who cherished a deadly enmity towards Rome, of bursting with an overwhelming horde into the Roman possessions, and of even penetrating into Italy and striking at the Eternal City itself. With all possible speed he set himself to



muster the strength of his kingdom, and soon saw himself at the head of an army of 36,000, supported by a considerable fleet. However, as the desperate nature of the coming expedition began to be generally known, the soldiers began to falter in their allegiance. This growing disaffection speedily swelled into open revolt, through the intrigues of Pharnaces, the king's own son and heir. In vain did Mithridates attempt to awe his troops into obedience, and to excite filial regard in his son. He was forced to flee for his life into a strong fortress. There he resolved to die, that he might not fall alive into the hands of his remorseless subjects. He tried to poison himself; but his iron constitution, even at the age of sixty-eight, was proof against the deadly drug, and he was compelled to die on the sword of a faithful Gallic mercenary, after having, for so long a period, resisted the whole power of Rome.

After the fall of Mithridates, his kingdom was dismembered by Pompey, B.C. 65, who annexed the western part of the nation and gave the remainder to the native chiefs. A portion between the Iris and the Halys, was given to the Galatian Deiotarus, which was henceforth called Pontus Galaticus. The Colchians and other tribes received a king in the person of Aristarchus. Pharnaces II., son of Mithridates, received the Crimea and some neighboring districts, under the name of Bosphorus; and the central part of the Pontian kingdom, subsequently given to Polemon, was henceforth termed Pontus-Polemoniatus. The widow of Polemon, on her marriage with Archelaus, King of Cappadocia, transferred to him the eastern part of the kingdom, subsequently called Pontus Cappadocius. On occasion of Polemon II., son and successor to Polemon I., resigning his kingdom into the hands of Nero, Pontus was made a Roman province A.D. 63. In the changes which transpired under Constantine, the province was divided into two parts,—viz., Helenopontus after the emperor's mother Helena, and Pontus Polemaicus.

## RHODES AND CYPRUS

In the very earliest times the beauty and fertility of the island of Rhodes seem to have brought it into notice: it is said to have had several names; and the one that it has since retained signifies probably the Island of Roses. After various poetical legends about its original inhabitants, we learn that it was colonized by the Dorians, who emigrated from their native land; and that its cities, Lindus, Jalytus, and Camirus, formed, along with Cos, Cnidus and Halicarnassus, the Dorian Confederacy, or Hexapolis, worshipping at the common sanctuary of Apollo on the Triopian headland. The island was then divided among the three confederate towns, and soon attained a flourishing condition, sending out colonies to the coasts of Lycia, Cilicia, Sicily, Italy, Spain, and the Balearic Islands. It was not till a later period, however, that Rhodes became one of the great maritime and political powers in Greece. After the Persian wars it belonged to the Athenian confederacy, and remained in subjection to it for the most part of the Peloponnesian war. But in 412 the aristocratic party gained the ascendant, and the Rhodians deserted the Athenian cause. In 408 the new capital, Rhodes, was built, and peopled by the other three cities. The architect was Hippodamus of Miletus, who had planned and embellished the Piræus at Athens; and the new city soon became one of the most splendid in the world, adorned with magnificent buildings and exquisite works of art. When Conon and his fleet restored the Athenian power by his victory off Cnidus, Rhodes again embraced the victorious cause; but her fidelity during the subsequent contests was not very great. Sparta afterwards received the allegiance of the island; and in the Social War (B.C. 157-5) it joined the alliance against Athens; and, with the assistance of the Carian monarch Mausolus, succeeded in achieving independence. But finding the power of that king dangerous to their liberties, the Rhodians once more

sued for the Athenian protection, which they obtained through the eloquence of Demosthenes. But neither they nor the rest of Greece could resist the overwhelming power of Macedonia, though Memnon, a Rhodian, was one of the ablest generals under the last Persian king, and attempted to check the career of Alexander. Rhodes received a Macedonian garrison; but it was expelled after the death of Alexander, and a resolute resistance was begun to the Macedonian power. This formed one of the most illustrious periods in the history of the island. The capital was besieged in 303 B.C. by Demetrius Poliorcetes, with a large army and a complete train of the artillery of that age. Although a breach was effected in the walls, the desperate valor of the defenders foiled all the attempts to carry it by assault, and cost the besiegers the lives of some of their generals and a great number of their soldiers. This heroic resistance obtained for the Rhodians great renown; they enjoyed the friendship of Rome, and obtained possession of some of the adjacent islands and coasts. For arts as well as arms the island was then renowned: Æschines, who had contended in eloquence with the greatest of orators, opened a school of rhetoric here; Protogenes embellished the city with his paintings; and Chares of Lindus with the celebrated statue, in which

"the gigantic king of day  
On his own Rhodes looks down;"

and the Rhodian laws especially on maritime affairs, were reckoned the best in antiquity, and many of them adopted into the Roman code. The Colossus, not probably striding over the harbor, stood for fifty-six years, till an earthquake prostrated it in 224 B.C. Being the sovereigns of the seas, the Rhodians by their fleets rendered good service to Rome, with whom they were in alliance, and retained their independence for a long time. The severest blow they suffered was from Cassius in 42 B.C. who plundered it even to the bare temple walls in the desperate cause of liberty, for the island had embraced the side of Caesar. Under the empire the liberty of

Rhodes was permitted and withdrawn according to the caprice of the sovereign. It continued a part of the Roman empire; after its partition, of the Eastern, till 616 A.D., when Chosroes the Persian obtained possession of it for a short time. It was subsequently conquered by Moawiyah, one of Othman's generals; but, recovered by the Byzantine empire, it proved the last of their Asiatic possessions that succumbed to the infidel. In 1308 it was granted by the Emperor Emmanuel to the Knights of St. John, who soon after resisted a siege by the Sultan Othman. They strengthened the natural advantages of the place by skillful fortifications; and by discipline and equipments made themselves nearly a match for the superior numbers of the Turks. Nor did the knights restrict their efforts to self-defence; they conquered Smyrna, and established an outpost there in 1344; and at a later period formed a league against the common enemy of Christendom. But in 1401 Smyrna was taken by Timour: in 1480 Mahomet II. besieged Rhodes with a vast train of artillery; and, though then averted by the courage of its few defenders, the downfall of the place could not long be averted. The last and most famous siege of Rhodes took place in 1522, when after a desperate resistance for four months to the overwhelming numbers of the Ottomans, the knights, being left unassisted by all the European powers, capitulated on honorable terms, and evacuated the island. On the first day of 1523, Villiers de Lisle Adam, the grand master, embarked, the last of the small band, carrying away all the property of the order, and leaving the ruins of their city to the enemy. The knights subsequently settled in Malta, where they also gained great renown. Rhodes has since been in possession of the Turks, and is now the residence of the pasha of the Archipelago.

The first settlers in CYPRUS appear to have been of Phœnician origin, and as early as the days of Solomon acknowledged the supremacy of the Syrians. To them the Greeks



succeeded. They in turn were reduced by the Egyptians under Amasis, who kept the island until dispossessed by the superior power of the Persian Cambyses. An attempt made shortly after this by the Greek portion of the inhabitants to throw off the Persian yoke was put down, and the island remained subject to its oriental conquerors till the overthrow of their naval powers at Salamis. Afterwards Cyprus was governed alternately by Greeks and Persians till the days of Alexander the Great, when it declared for that monarch, and sent a fleet to assist him in his eastern conquests. Upon Alexander's death Cyprus was incorporated with Egypt, and fell to the lot of Ptolemy. It was wrested from Ptolemy by Demetrius Poliorcetes, who retained it for about ten years; at the end of which period it once more fell into the hands of Ptolemy, by whose successors it was carefully watched over, and to whose annual revenues it contributed a very large proportion. It remained in the family of the Ptolemies as a sort of storehouse for the jewels and plate belonging to the Egyptian crown, till in B.C. 58 it became a province of the Roman empire and in the political distribution of the Roman conquest was annexed to Cilicia, having, however, a quæstor and judi-

cial courts of its own. Under Augustus it became an imperial province, and was governed by a proconsul with a staff of inferior officers. Before the close of the first century of the Christian era the Jewish population of the island had greatly increased, and in the reign of Hadrian is said to have risen in rebellion and slain 200,000 of the other inhabitants. In the seventh century Cyprus fell into the hands of the Saracens; and in the ninth it owned the supremacy of the "good" Haroun Al Raschid. At the close of the twelfth century it was conquered by Richard Cœur de Lion, who made it over first to the knights of the Temple, and ultimately to Guy of Lusignan, titular king of Jerusalem. For three centuries the island remained in the family of Lusignan, till in 1473 it became an appanage of the Venetian republic. Cyprus was retained by the Venetians till in 1571 it was overrun by an army of Turkish invaders, who stormed Lefkosia and Famagosta, and made a general massacre of the inhabitants. Since that date the island has remained in possession of the Turks, and now forms a pashalic in the Eyalet of Djizairs. Under the Turkish rule, as might be expected, the material prosperity of Cyprus has greatly declined.

# AFRICA.

## A GENERAL VIEW.

THE knowledge of this great continent which ancient writers have transmitted to posterity, is of very limited extent, owing principally to its physical construction. The great desert, which in a broad belt stretches quite across the continent, forbade every attempt to pass it until the introduction of the camel by the Arabs. The want of any known great river, except the Nile, that might conduct into the interior, contributed to confine the Greek and Roman colonists to the habitable belt along the northern coast. The Phœnicians are known to have formed establishments on the northern coast of Africa at a very early period of history, probably not less than three thousand years ago; and the conquest of Egypt by Cambyzes dates as far back as the year B.C. 525. We may consider, therefore, the coasts of Egypt, of the Red Sea, and of the Mediterranean, to have been settled and well known to the ancient Asiatics, who were constantly passing the narrow isthmus which divided their country from Africa, and led them immediately from parched deserts into a fertile valley, watered by a magnificent river. But whether they were much or little acquainted with the western coast, which bounds the Atlantic, and the eastern coast washed by the Indian Ocean, is a question that has exercised the research and ingenuity of the ablest scholars and geographers, and has not yet been satisfactorily answered.

Africa lies between the latitudes of 38° north and 35° south, and is of all the conti-

nents the most truly tropical. It is, strictly speaking, an enormous peninsula attached to Asia by the isthmus of Suez. The most northern points is the Cape, situated a little to the west of Cabo Blanco, and opposite Sicily. Its southernmost point is Cabo d'Agulhas; the distance between these two points being about 5000 English miles. The westernmost point is Cabo Verde, its easternmost, Cape Jerdaffun, the distance between the two points being about the same as its length. The western coasts are washed by the Atlantic, the northern by the Mediterranean, and the eastern by the Indian Ocean.

The form has been likened to a triangle, or to an oval, but such a comparison is scarcely warranted, it being of an irregular shape, the northern half rounding off, the southern one terminating in a point.

The superficial extent of Africa has never been accurately determined, but may be taken at 13,550,000 geographical square miles, exclusive of the islands. It is much larger than either Europe or Australia, but smaller than Asia and the New World.

The coast line of Africa is very regular and unbroken, presenting few bays and peninsulas. The chief indentation is formed by the Gulf of Guinea, with its two secondary divisions, the Bight of Benin and the Bight of Biafra. On the northern coast, the Gulf of Sidra and the Gulf of Kabes must be mentioned, and on the eastern coast the Gulf of Arabia.



The physical configuration may be considered under two heads, the great plain of Northern Africa, and the great table lands, with their mountain ranges and groups, of Central and Southern Africa. The great plain comprises the Sahara, the Lake Tsad region, and the valley of the Lower Nile. The Sahara is by no means a plain throughout, but for the greater part it rises into table-lands, interspersed with mountain groups of six thousand feet elevation, and probably more, and the term plain can only be applied to it in a general way, to distinguish it from the more elevated regions to the south.

The Sahara has often been pictured as a monotonous and immense expanse of sand; but nothing could be more erroneous, as the greatest variety exists in the physical configuration of its surface, as well as in its geological features. Our knowledge is as yet too scanty to enable us to trace its features in every part. On the north, this great desert is fringed with extensive table-lands, which in some places rise abruptly from the Mediterranean, as the table-land of Barca, elevated fifteen hundred feet, and gradually descending towards the Delta of the Nile. This elevated ground is succeeded to the south by a depressed region, which extends from the Great Syrtis or Gulf of Sidra, in a general direction as far as middle Egypt, and comprises the oases of Augila and Siwah. This depressed region is again followed by a table-land of considerable extent and width, extending from the Gulf of Kabes in a southerly direction, along the Tripoline shores, and probably traversing, in the same direction, the Libyan Desert, and reaching as far as the Nile, near the first cataract. Its north-western part, as far as Sokna, consists of the Hamadah, a stony, dreary, and extensive table-land, "which seems to be like a broad belt intercepting the progress of commerce, civilization, and conquest, from the shores of the Mediterranean to Central Africa." Our knowledge of this table-land is only of recent date, derived as it is, from the expedi-

tion under Richardson, Barth, and Overweg, and the journey of Dickson to Ghadamis. Near Sokna, this plateau breaks up and forms what are called the Black Mountains, a most picturesque group of cliffs; and again, on the route from Murzuk to Egypt, it also breaks into huge cliffs, and bears the name of El-Harouj. The edge of this table-land towards the Tripoline shores is formed by what is generally called the Gharian Mountains; but, strictly speaking, this name applies only to a small portion of that range, situated due south of Tripoli. This range is not, as is generally supposed, connected with the Atlas Mountains, but is separated from them by a depressed belt, which even sinks below the level of the sea. This depressed region forms the north-western boundary of the Sahara, and extends from the Gulf of Kabes along the southern slope of the Atlas system to the Wady Draa, bordering on the States of Morocco, Algeria, and Tunis. The extensive oasis of Tuat occupies the central portion of that region. From Wady Draa, this great plain extends along the western shore as far as the river Senegal, and probably continues as such to the east towards Timbuktu, and thence to Lake Tsad. To the south of the Hamadah, the kingdom of Fezzan and the oasis of Ghadamis are flat and depressed; and between Fezzan and Lake Tsad, a tract of country intervenes which may also be considered rather a desert plain than a table-land. Thus it appears, that the western half of the Sahara is surrounded by a broad belt of plains and depressions, the central parts being formed by extensive table-lands and mountainous regions, comprising the kingdom of Air or Asben, lately explored by Messrs. Richardson, Barth, and Overweg.

The eastern portion of the Sahara appears for the greater part to be a considerably elevated table-land, comprising the mountainous country of Borgu. The summit of Ercherdat-Erner is said to be the highest in the whole region, but the testimony of European eye-witnesses is altogether wanting in treat-

ing of its geographical features. The narrow valley of the Nile forms the eastern boundary of the Great Desert.

To the south of the region just described, Africa may be considered as one connected mass of elevated land, rising more or less above the level of the sea, and comprising the most extensive table-lands, as well as high mountain groups and chains. Some geographers have attempted to trace a system of terraces, which, they maintained, this elevated mass presented on all sides. Such is certainly the case in its southern extremity, where three well-defined terraces are well known to exist, but the same feature cannot be traced throughout; on the contrary, the plateau either gradually slopes down into a plain along the sea-shore, or it rises abruptly almost from out the sea, and presents a deep edge of from seven to eight thousand feet elevation, as the northern part of the Abyssinian table-land at Massowah. The edge of the table-land, however, is generally from one hundred to three hundred miles distant from the sea-shore. Little is known at present beyond some parts of this outer fringe, and a few routes across the interior. Commencing at the Cape of Good Hope, and traversing the three aforementioned terraces, an almost uninterrupted table-land has recently been ascertained to extend to the north for at least one thousand geographical miles. The southern portion is formed by the basin of the Orange river, followed by the desert of Kalihari, which is again succeeded by the basin of the River Sesheke and Lake Ngami, with many other rivers, traversing a region which presents a dead level. That region probably is in connection with the basin of Zambezi. Farther north the ground ascends to the line of water-parting with the basin of the Congo river and Lake Nyassa; a region very little known, and succeeded by a complete *terra incognita*, extending to the north of the equator. In this region are supposed to be the celebrated "Mountains of the Moon," which have played so exciting a part in the history of African geography,

and have given rise to so many curious hypotheses. Since the time of Ptolemæus of Alexandria, geographers have continued to shift these mountains from one latitude to another, from 10° to the north of the equator to 12° to the south of it, but all seem to have agreed in one point, namely, in giving them a direction from west to east. Rennell, one of the ablest geographers of recent times, argued that a very high central chain must cross Africa from east to west in about 10° N. Lat., beginning at Cape Jerdaffun and ending at Sierra Leone; and in some of the most recent maps this direction is still to be seen. When, therefore, the Egyptian expeditions up the Bahr-el-Abyad, not only advanced as far as the fourth parallel of north latitude, but actually sailed over the alleged site of the Mountains of the Moon, without seeing any elevations whatever which could claim the title of mountains, that favorite hypothesis fell completely to the ground. Dr. Beke was the first who, from his own personal researches, combined with extensive studies of the geography of Eastern Africa, propounded the opinion that the Mountains of the Moon have a direction from north to south, and run parallel to the eastern coast, and that they form in fact the southern continuation of the Abyssinian table-land. This direction also agrees much better with what is known of the basin of the Nile. It is a remarkable feature that the most elevated peaks rise on the outer edge of this great table-land, and even between it and the coast as isolated cones. This seems to be the case with the Kenia and Kilimanjaro, which are the only snowy mountains of Africa at present known, and must have for that reason an altitude of at least 20,000 feet. Abba Yared rises out of the northern edge of the Abyssinian table-land to the height of 15,000 feet. Mendif, south of Lake Tsad, another isolated mountain, is probably as high as 10,000 feet; and Alantika, a conspicuous mountain to the south of Yola (in 8. 30. N. Lat. 13. 45. E. Long.) also an isolated peak, was estimated by Barth to be 10,000 feet high; the highest of the



Cameroons is 13,760 feet, and the highest known mountain of southern Africa, the Spits Kop, or Compass Berg, attains 10,250 feet.

The system of the Atlas mountains is quite distinct from either of the two divisions described above; it occupies the north-western region of Africa, consists of several ranges, and its highest summits are said to reach an altitude of about 15,000 feet.

Of all the rock formations, those of sandstone and limestone are the most frequent and the most widely distributed in Africa; natron, a rare deposit in other countries, is comparatively abundant; salt is very widely distributed, though in some districts wholly wanting. Metals, although met with in different quarters, seem nowhere abundant; of all the different metals, gold being the most generally distributed. Precious stones, so frequent in other tropical regions, are here of rare occurrence. The African continent is nearly exempt from volcanic action.

Africa is emphatically the land of deserts, which are productive of a scarcity of rivers. Many of the smaller rivers and lakes, and not a few of the large ones, present only dry water-courses during certain periods of the year. Even Lake Tsad is said at times to become nearly dry; this large expanse of water has no outlet, and the immense supply of water received during the rainy season is lost again by evaporation. With the rains floods are prevalent all over the country, even in the desert, as the recent observations made by the expedition under Richardson testify. That traveller relates that when on the borders of the kingdom of "Aïr, on the 30th September 1850, there was a cry in the encampment, 'The wady is coming.' Going out to look I saw a broad white sheet of foam advancing from the south between the trees of the valley. In ten minutes after a river of water came pouring along, and spread all around us, converting the place of our encampment into an isle of the valley. The current in its deepest part was very powerful, capable of carrying away sheep and cat-

tle, and of uprooting trees. This is one of the most interesting phenomena I have witnessed during my present tour in Africa. The scene, indeed, was perfectly African. Rain had been observed falling in the south; black clouds and darkness covered that zone of the heavens; and an hour afterwards came pouring down this river of water into the dry parched-up valley. This instance of Wady Tintaghoda explains the Scriptural phrase, 'rivers of waters,' for here indeed was a river of water, appearing in an instant, and almost without notice." The importance of the floods and inundations of the Nile scarcely needs to be referred to.

Africa is chiefly drained into the Atlantic Ocean, and its branch the Mediterranean Sea, the river system of the Indian Ocean being comparatively inconsiderable.

The Nile is the oldest of historical rivers, and afforded the only means of subsistence to the earliest civilised people on earth. Thus renowned from immemorial ages as the gift of the Nile, Egypt issues from the womb of primordial time with a civilization already perfected at the very earliest epoch of her history, hieroglyphed on the monuments of the third and fourth dynasties, prior to the thirty-fifth century before the Christian era.

A strange mystery formerly enshrouded the sources of this river, one of the mightiest of the globe. Its three principal tributaries from the east have, each in succession, claimed the distinction of being the main stream, but this doubt has recently been removed. The Atbara, called by the Abyssinians Takkazie, the last of the tributaries of the Nile before it disembogues into the sea, was looked upon, in early Christian ages, as the head of the Nile, it rises in the Abyssinian provinces of Lasta and Samen, amid mountains attaining the height of 15,000 feet. From the same lofty regions issues the Abaï, termed formerly the Astapus, which becomes the Bahr-el-Azrek, or "Blue River," at Khartum. The Abyssinians still look upon the Abaï as the Gihon of the Gen-

esis; as did the Portuguese Jesuits in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. One hundred and fifty years before Bruce, its source in the peninsula of Godjam was visited and far more accurately described by Pedro Paez.

Above the junction of the Astapus with the Bahr-el-Abyad, or "White River," the ancients seem to have known nothing of the course of the Nile, previously to the time of Ptolemy the geographer, except that it came from the west: in this vaguely referring to the Keilak. The White Nile is joined, in Lat. 9. 20. N., on its eastern banks by the Sobat, and a little beyond this point the stream divides itself into two great arms, the eastern one of which has been traced to a large lake not far from the equator. This discovery which had so long baffled the researches of geographers, was reserved for the enterprise of the nineteenth century. An exploring expedition started from Zanzibar on the eastern coast, in 1858, under the command of Capt. Burton, the celebrated African traveler. When they reached Kajeh Capt. Burton was taken sick, and the expedition went on in charge of Capt. Speke. Leaving the Lake Tanganyika behind, he pushed on into the interior, and soon came to another large lake, which the natives told him was called Nyanza, and they said terminated at the north in a large river, which was much navigated by white men. It immediately occurred to Capt. Speke that they might mean the Nile, and that this might be its long sought-for source. Impressed with this idea, and unable to proceed farther, he hurried back to Capt. Burton, who, however, received his views with incredulity, and declined to follow up the subject. He then returned to England, and succeeded in interesting the Geographical Society in the project, and by their assistance he succeeded in fitting out a new expedition with which he started from Zanzibar, in October, 1860. After much delay and hardship, they arrived at the lake Nyanza. Here he succeeded in gaining the good will of the king of Ny-

anda, through whose territory he was obliged to pass, and he was even aided by him in his explorations. He found that the lake was not so large as the natives had described it, being only about two hundred miles in length. After some trouble with the natives on the way, he finally reached the actual source of the Nile, where it issues from the lake. It is at this point about four hundred and fifty feet broad. A little way lower down, it descends a fall of twelve feet, to which Capt. Speke gave the name of Ripon Falls. In consequence of the tribes on the banks being at war, it was impossible to follow the whole course of the river, and they were compelled to cross the country. Between the territory of the king of Nugoro and that of the Madi, the river, it is said, takes a great bend to the west, and unites with another lake. The greater part of its course is through valleys deep and narrow. It is thought that the other rivers of Central Africa have their source in lakes on the same plateau, which are fed by streams which descend from mountains under the equator.

There are no rivers, of any consideration, along the northern shores of Africa. Proceeding to the western coasts, we first find the Wady Draa, augmented by the Wady Sagis and el Hamra, which runs into the sea opposite the Canary Islands, and is spoken of as a considerable river. The River Senegal has a length of upwards of eleven hundred miles, and has its sources in the same elevated tract of land as those of the Kawara. The Gambia and Rio Grande, south of the River Senegal, are also considerable rivers. The Kawara, commonly but erroneously called Niger, is next to the Nile the largest of African rivers. Its sources are still unknown. It appears to be the Amner, which is said to rise in a high group of mountains east of Liberia. As far as Timbaktu the river is called Joliba, and its course is pretty well known, but from that place to Yaouri it is as yet unexplored. Thence down to its mouth it was first traced by Lander. It is there called Kawara in gen-



eral, although it has several names in the different languages of the tribes which inhabit the shores. Of the tributaries of the Kawara our knowledge is very scanty. The Tchadda is the most important of these, and rivals the Kawara, if it do not actually surpass it in magnitude; it extends far into the heart of Inner Africa, and was recently explored by Dr. Barth in its upper course, where it flows through the kingdom of Adamana: even there it is half a mile broad, and ten feet deep, and is called Benue. It is highly probable that this splendid river will eventually form the natural and most important line from the west for the spread of commerce and civilization into the very centre of Africa. The kingdom of Adamana, situated in the valley of the upper Tchadda, with its pastoral and agricultural population, is spoken of by Dr. Barth as the most beautiful country in Central Africa, and as such may probably become the key to the interior of that continent.

South of the equator, the west coast receives many large rivers which are as yet little explored. Such are, the Zaire or Congo, known only for a short distance beyond its mouth; the Coanza, which is better known; the Nourse river or Cunene, almost unknown.

The Orange river is about one thousand miles in length.

Rounding the southern extremity of Africa, and proceeding up its eastern coast, the Limpopo is the first river requiring notice. Its head streams and its middle course are pretty well known, but whether it disembogues into the sea at Delagoa Bay or at Inhambane, is a matter of doubt. The most trustworthy testimony is that it reaches the sea at the latter place.

The Zambezi is the largest river of the eastern coast. Its upper course is also shrouded in mystery. It is most probable that the Rivers Sesheké and Chobé, recently discovered by Messrs Livingston and Oswell, form the head streams of the Zambezi; their magnitude is opposed to the hypothesis en-

tained by some that they are lost in the sands.

Africa possesses several considerable lakes, among which Lake Tsad is probably the largest and most interesting. It was discovered by Denham and Clapperton, who traced its borders, except on the eastern side; but was first navigated by Overweg, who recently fell a victim in the cause of African exploration. This was done in a boat which had been conveyed from Malta across the Sahara to Lake Tsad. It was successfully launched on the 18th of June, 1851; and Dr. Overweg embarked in it at Bree, to the east of Kuka. At a distance of twelve miles from the former place he reached the first of the islands, of which there are about one hundred of large size scattered over the lake. They are wooded, and inhabited by the Bidduma, a Pagan tribe who have remained independent of the Mohammedan nations living around the lake. They have herds of cattle and goats; the shores are infested by numerous crocodiles and hippopotami. The dimensions of the lake were found by Dr. Overweg to be considerably smaller than those given by Major Denham; it being from west to east only sixty miles in extent, whereas in Denham's map it is more than double that size. This apparent discrepancy, however, may find its explanation in the remarkable nature of the lake,—it being an immense body of water which is greatly augmented in the rainy season, but in the season of drouth evaporates so much that it seems at times to dry up entirely. This was said to have taken place six years previously to the date of Overweg's visit. The average depth of the lake is from ten to fifteen feet, and its waters are fresh and clear. Dr. Overweg was received with great kindness by the Biddumas on his landing at several of the islands, and during his visits to many of their villages. Lake Tsad has no connection with the Kawara or the Nile, but forms an inland receptacle receiving the waters of some of the most distant regions of Inner Africa.

Lake Fittri, east of Lake Tsad has never

been explored by Europeans. Lake Tsana or Dembea is the chief lake within the basin of the Nile, as far as known. It is situated on the table-land of Abyssinia, has a length of about sixty miles, and possesses many islands. The Abai flows through it.

In Inner Africa a number of considerable lakes are reported to exist, but only two are known south of the equator with any degree of certainty. They have various names, but are best known under those of Nyassa and Ngami. Nyassa, the great lake or sea in 10° south latitude, is as yet only approximately laid down in the maps, according to native information, and whether it be the feeder of a large river, or merely a recipient lake, is unknown. It is represented as stretching in a general direction of south-east to north-west. Nyassa or Nyassi is the name given to it by the Yao, nations living on its eastern shores, but it is also called Ziwa by the Sawahili, and is farther identified with the Nhanja, and the Murusura, as also with the Maravi and Zambeze of early geographers,—Zembere, Zembre, Zambre being considered corruptions of the latter. Zambeze is probably only the name of the river flowing into the Indian Ocean at Quillimane, a branch of which rises near the south-east extremity of the lake, but by no means issues from it.

Another lake in that region has recently been reported by the natives to Dr. Krapf, as being situated west of Mombas, beyond Kilimanjaro, and in the country of Uniamenzi.

Lake Ngami was known to exist upwards of twenty years ago, and is alluded to by Philips, Campbell, Harris, and others, and indicated in maps under the name of Mampoor or Mampua; but it was first reached by Europeans in 1849, when Messrs. Livingston, Murray, and Oswell, undertook a voyage chiefly for the purpose of its discovery. They only saw its north-eastern extremity, however, which there opened out, like the Firth of Forth, with an unbounded horizon of water towards the south-west. As to its extent, nothing positively could be ascertained from the natives, who said that it took

twenty-five days to travel round it; their canoes never cross it, but some coast round and along the shores. It was said to contain hippopotami, alligators, and large fish. The river Zouga, which issues from the lake, is lost in the sands before it reaches the sea.

Lakes Tsad, Nyassa, and Ngami are extensive fresh-water formations. To these may be added the lake discovered by Capt. Speke in 1858, and called by him Albert Nyanza. There are, besides, numerous small salt and natron lakes in various parts of Africa.

Africa lies almost entirely in the torrid zone, and is the hottest continent of all. The greatest heat, however, is not found under the equator but to the north of it, in consequence of the northern portion being of greater extent than the southern, and of less elevation. The greatest temperature is found throughout the Sahara, particularly in its eastern portions towards the Red sea. In Upper Egypt and Nubia eggs may be baked in the hot sands, and the saying of the Arabs is, "in Nubia the soil is like fire and the wind like a flame." The regions along the Mediterranean and Atlantic coasts are rendered more temperate by the influence of the sea. To the south of the Great Desert, where the country becomes more elevated, the temperature decreases, and it is now fully confirmed that some spots, quite near the equator, even reach the altitude of permanent snow. Regular snowfall, however, does not occur even in the most southern or northern regions. The intensity of radiation and its influence upon the temperature are very great in Northern Africa: while in the day time the soil of the Sahara rapidly absorbs the solar rays, during the night it cools so rapidly that the formation of ice has often been known to occur. Africa is not much under the influence of the regular winds, except the monsoons of the Indian Ocean. It will be seen in the next paragraph, that the monsoons, although they extend only about a third portion of the East-African shores, have an extremely important bearing upon the physical



economy of the whole African continent. From hurricanes Africa is nearly exempt, except its south-eastern extremity, to which at times the Mauritius hurricanes extend. Northern Africa is much exposed to the hot winds and storms from the Sahara, which are called in Egypt Khamsin, in the Mediterranean, Scirocca, and in the western regions Harmattan. Extreme heat and dryness are the characteristics of these winds, which raising the sand, filling the air with dust and prodigiously favoring the powers of evaporation, are often fatal to the vegetable and animal creation in the regions visited by them.

The supply of rain is, upon the whole, scanty in this continent. The Sahara and also the Kalihari of Southern Africa are almost rainless regions. There seems, however, no part where rain is entirely wanting, even in the middle of the desert. A very striking instance, as related by Mr. Richardson, has already been referred to. At sea, between the tropic of Capricorn and the Cape of Good Hope, on both sides of the continent, the transparency of the atmosphere exceeds what is known in any other part of the world; and European astronomers, on first visiting those latitudes, contemplate with astonishment the nocturnal splendor of the heavens, in which the naked eye can perceive stars of considerably less magnitude than it can discern in the northern skies. There Jupiter and Venus shine with startling refulgence, and cause opaque bodies to cast well-defined shadows; the fixed stars Aldebaran, Castor and Pollux, the Corona Australis, and Orion, appear preternaturally brilliant. The shore regions of Western Africa, from the Kawara to the Senegal, receive copious falls of rain with the south-east trade-winds. But the largest supply of rain appears to be brought to Africa by the summer-monsoon on the east coast. This monsoon, lasting from April to October, extends over the Indian Ocean in a half-circle from south-east to north-east by west. From the latitude of Mozambique to the equator it has a general direction from south-east, and

there, in a corresponding manner the chief rainy season is found during April, June, and July. Under the equator the direction of the monsoon changes and becomes south-west. To these winds are to be ascribed the heavy falls of rain that drench the extensive plains and ascending grounds of the east horn of Africa. Farther inland they are broken by the great Abyssinian table-lands, so that they do not extend beyond the strait of Babelmandeb, south-east of which a great fall of rain consequently occurs; to the north-west, on the other hand, scarcely any rain falls. No rain occurs in these regions when the monsoon comes from the opposite direction, namely, from the Asiatic continent. The south-east monsoon does not stop in the coast regions, but continues in a more or less modified direction northwards as far as Lake Tsad and Kordofan; in both regions its influences begin to be felt in May, or one month later than on the coast. This is a most important fact, as it evidently shows that no connected equatorial range of high mountains—such as the hypothetical Mountains of the Moon of early geographers—can exist in Central Africa, and the assumption is corroborated by the fact that in the eastern portion, where high mountains are known to exist, the same rainy wind is interrupted so much that it reaches the northern portions of Abyssinia one month later than Lake Tsad and Kordofan. The upper basin of the Nile, probably not far from the coast, receives the undiminished supply of water with the beginning of the monsoon, and hence, after two months, the Nile begins to rise in Upper Egypt and continues to do so till September. Were the head streams of the Nile surrounded by a high mountain range in the east and south, like the Andes of South America, the monsoon would probably not have the same beneficial influence upon its development.

Although Africa belongs almost entirely to the torrid and warm zones, its vegetable productions are essentially different in different parts. Thus, in the extreme north, groves of oranges and olives, plains covered

with wheat and barley, thick woods of evergreen-oaks, cork-trees, and sea-pines, intermixed with cypresses, myrtles, arbutus, and fragrant tree-heaths form the principal features of the landscape. On this northern coast the date-palm is first found; but its fruit does not arrive at perfection, and it is chiefly valued as an ornamental object in gardens. Various kinds of grain are cultivated. Beyond this region of the coast and the Atlas chain, with the borders of the Sahara commences a new scene. It is in this region, extending to the borders of Sudan, that the date-tree forms the characteristic feature, it being peculiarly adapted to excessive dryness and high temperature, where few other plants can maintain an existence. Were it not for the fruit of the invaluable date-tree, the inhabitants of the desert would almost entirely depend on the products of other regions for their subsistence. With the southern boundary of the Sahara, the date-tree disappears, the baobab or monkey bread-tree takes its place, and, under the influence of the tropical rains, a new, rich, and highly-developed flora presents itself. These trees, together with huge cotton-trees, oil-palms, sago-palms, and others of the same majestic tribe, determine the aspect of the landscape. The laburnum expands its branches of golden flower, and replaces the senna of the northern regions, and the swamps are often covered with immense quantities of the papyrus plant. Instead of waving fields of corn, the cassava, yam, pigeon-pea, and the ground-nut, form the farinaceous plants. The papaw, the tamarind, the Senegal custard-apple, and others, replace the vine and the fig. In Southern Africa, again, the tropical forms disappear, and in the inland desert-like plains, the fleshy, leafless, contorted, singular tribes of kaspas, of mesembryanthemums, euphorbias, crassulas, aloes, and other succulent plants, make their appearance. Endless species of heaths are there found in great beauty, and the hills and rocks are scattered over with a remarkable tribe of plants called *oycadaceæ*.

Of the characteristic African plants, the date-tree is one of the most important, as it is likewise among the nearly one thousand different species of palms. It furnishes, as it were, the bread of the desert, beyond which it occurs only in Western Asia, wherever a similar dry and hot climate prevails. This tree requires a sandy soil, and springs must not be absent. The dates furnish food not only for man, but for the camel and the horse. For the latter purpose the stones are used in many parts, and are said to be more nourishing than the fruit itself. The Arabs make a great variety of dishes of which dates form the chief part. Of the sap of the tree palm-wine is prepared, and the young leaves are eaten like cabbage.

In Southern Africa are the extensive miniature woods of heaths, as characteristic as the groves of date-palms in the north. No less than five hundred species have already been discovered. These plants, of which some reach the height of twelve to fifteen feet, are covered throughout the greater part of the year with innumerable flowers of beautiful colors, the red being prevalent.

The papyrus is an aquatic plant, having a stem from three to six feet high. It inhabits both stagnant waters and running streams, and is common in the countries of the Nile, particularly Egypt and Abyssinia. Its soft, smooth, flower-stem afforded the most ancient material from which paper was prepared, and for this reason it is one of the noticeable African plants. It has, however, also been used for other purposes; its flowering stems and leaves are twisted into ropes; and the roots, which are sweet, are used as food.

Africa is distinguished from other continents by the scarcity of forests: it has consequently very few of the animals which inhabit forests. Deer are almost entirely wanting; in their place we find antelopes, which occur in greater numbers than in any other country. Peculiar to Africa are the zebras and other striped mammalia of the equine and asinine tribes; the giraffe, and their constant companion the ostrich. The



extraordinary swiftness of these animals, which enables them to seek for their food at great distances, is peculiarly adapted to the immense plains of the country. The scarcity of forests further corresponds with that of squirrels, the few that are found being mostly ground-squirrels. Mice are numerous, as are also hares, which prefer steppe-like countries to woodland. The immense quantity of game affords food for plenty of carnivorous animals. Upon the whole, the mammalian fauna of Africa approaches in resemblance much nearer to that of Southern Asia than that of South America.

From the shores of the Mediterranean to about the latitude of 20° north, the population of Africa consists largely of tribes not originally native to the soil, but of Arabs and Turks, planted by conquest, with a considerable number of Jews, the children of dispersion; and the recently introduced French. The Berbers of the Atlas region, the Tuaricks and Tibbus of the Sahara, and the Copts of Egypt, may be viewed as the descendants of the primitive stock, while those to whom the general name of Moors is applied, are perhaps of mixed descent, native and foreign. From the latitude stated, to the Cape colony, tribes commonly classed together under the title of the Ethiopic or negro family are found, though many depart very widely from the peculiar physiognomy of the negro, which is most apparent in the natives of the Guinea coast. In the Cape colony, and on its borders, the Hottentots form a distinct variety of the population of Africa, most closely resembling the Mongolian races of Asia.

The Copts are considered to be the descendants of the ancient Egyptians. They do not now compose more than one-sixteenth part of the population of Egypt. Conversions to the Mohammedan faith, and intermarriages with the Moslems, have occasioned this decrease in their numbers; to which may be added the persecutions which they endured from their Arabic invaders and subsequent rulers. They were forced to adopt distinc-

tions of dress, and they still wear a turban of a black or blue, or a grayish or light brown color, in contradistinction to the red or white turban. In some parts of Upper Egypt, there are villages exclusively inhabited by the Copts. Their complexion is somewhat darker than that of the Arabs, their foreheads flat, and their hair of a soft and woolly character; their noses short, but not flat; mouths wide, and lips thick; the eyes large, and bent upwards in an angle like those of the Mongols; their cheek-bones high, and their beards thin. They are not an unmixed race, their ancestors in the early ages of Christianity having intermarried with Greeks, Nubians, and Abyssinians. With the exception of a small proportion, the Copts are Christians of the sect called Jacobites, Eutychians, and Monothelites, whose creed was condemned by the council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451. They are extremely bigoted, and bear a bitter hatred to all other Christians; they are of a sullen temper, extremely avaricious, great dissemblers, ignorant, and faithless. They frequently indulge in excessive drinking; but in their meals, their mode of eating, and the manner in which they pass their hours of leisure, which is chiefly in smoking their pipes and drinking coffee, they resemble the other inhabitants of the country. Most of the Copts in Cairo are employed as secretaries and accountants, or tradesmen; they are chiefly engaged in the government offices; and as merchants, goldsmiths, silver-smiths, jewellers, architects, builders, and carpenters, they are generally considered more skillful than the Moslems. The Coptic language is now understood by few persons, and the Arabic being employed in its stead, it may be considered as a dead language.

The countries above Egypt are inhabited by two tribes of people resembling each other in physical characters, but of distinct language and origin. One is, perhaps, the aboriginal or native, the other a foreign tribe. Dr. Prichard terms them Eastern Nubians, or Nubians of the Red Sea, and Nubians of the Nile, or Berberines. All these tribes are

people of a red-brown complexion, their color in some instances approaching to black, but still different from the ebony hue of the Eastern negroes. Their hair is often frizzled and thick, and is described to be even woolly; yet it is not precisely similar to the hair of the negroes of Guinea. The Eastern Nubians are tribes of roving people who inhabit the country between the Nile and the Red Sea; the Northern division of this race are the Ababdeh, who reach northward in the eastern desert as far as Kosseir, and towards the parallel of Deir border on the Bishari. The Bishari reach thence towards the confines of Abyssinia. The latter are extremely savage and inhospitable; they are said to drink the warm blood of living animals: they are for the most part nomadic, and live on flesh and milk. They are described as a handsome people, with beautiful features, fine expressive eyes, of slender and elegant forms; their complexion is said to be a dark brown, or a dark chocolate color. The Barábra or Berberines are a people well known in Egypt, whither they resort as laborers from the higher country of the Nile. They inhabit the valley of that name from the southern limit of Egypt to Sennaar. They are a people distinct from the Arabs and all the surrounding nations. They live on the banks of the Nile; and wherever there is any soil, they plant date-trees, set up wheels for irrigation, and sow durra and some leguminous plants. At Cairo, whither many of this race resort, they are esteemed for their honesty. They profess Moham-medanism.

The country of the Nubians is limited on the west by that of the Tibbus, who are spread over the eastern portions of the Sahara, as far as Fezzan and Lake Tsad. Their color is not uniform. In some it is quite black, but many have copper-colored faces. They are slim and well made, have high cheek-bones, the nose sometimes flat like that of the negro, and sometimes aquiline. Their mouth is, in general, large, but their teeth fine. Their lips are frequently

formed like those of Europeans, their eyes are expressive, and their hair, though curled, not woolly. The females are especially distinguished by a light and elegant form, and in their walk and erect manner of carrying themselves are very striking. Their feet and ankles are delicately formed, and not loaded with a mass of brass or iron, as is the practice in other countries of Northern Africa, but have merely a light anklet of polished silver or copper, sufficient to show their jetty skin to more advantage; and they also wear neat red slippers. The Tibbus are chiefly a pastoral people. They keep horses, cattle, sheep, and goats, but camels constitute their principal riches. The villages of the Tibbus are very regularly built in a square, with a space left on the north and south faces of the quadrangle for the use of the cattle. The huts are entirely of mats, which exclude the sun, yet admit both the light and air. The interior of these habitations is singularly neat: clean wooden bowls for the preservation of milk, each with a cover of basket-work, are hung against their walls. They are greatly exposed to the predatory incursions into their country by the enemies who surround them. They carry on a considerable traffic in slaves between Sudan, Fezzan, and Tripoli.

"All that is not Arabic in the kingdom of Morocco," says Dr. Latham, "all that is not Arabic in the French provinces of Algeria, and all that is not Arabic in Tunis, Tripoli, and Fezzan, is Berber. The language, also, of the ancient Cyrenaica, indeed the whole country bordering the Mediterranean between Tripoli and Egypt, is Berber. The extinct language of the Canary Isles was Berber; and finally, the language of the Sahara is Berber. The Berber languages, in their present geographical localities, are essentially inland languages. As a general rule, the Arabic is the language for the whole of the sea-coast, from the Delta of the Nile to the Straits of Gibraltar, and from the Straits of Gibraltar to the mouth of the Senegal." The Berber nation is one of



great antiquity, and from the times of the earliest history has been spread over the same extent of country as at present. The mountains of Atlas are said to be inhabited by more than twenty different tribes, carrying on perpetual warfare against each other. They are very poor, and make plundering excursions in quest of the means of supporting life. They are described as an athletic, strong-featured people, accustomed to hardships and fatigue. Their only covering is a woollen garment without sleeves, fastened round the waist by a belt.

The Shuluh, who are the mountaineers of the Northern Atlas, live in villages of houses made of stone and mud, with slate roofs, occasionally in tents, and even in caves. They are chiefly huntsmen, but cultivate the ground and rear bees. They are described as lively, intelligent, well-formed athletic men, not tall, without marked features, and with light complexions. The Kabyles, or Kabaily, of the Algerian and Tunisian territories, are the most industrious inhabitants of the Barbary States, and, besides tillage, work the mines contained in their mountains, and obtain lead, iron, and copper. They live in huts made of the branches of trees, and covered with clay, which resembles the *magalia* of the old Numidians, spread in little groups over the sides of the mountains, and preserve the grain, the legumes, and other fruits, which are the produce of their husbandry, in *mattoures*, or conical excavations in the ground. They are of middle stature; their complexion is brown, and sometimes nearly black.

The Tuarick are a people spread in various tribes through the greater portion of the Sahara.

The various tribes are very different in their characters, but they are all fine men, tall, straight, and handsome. They exact a tribute from all the caravans traversing their country, which chiefly furnishes them with the means of subsistence. They are most abstemious, their food consisting principally of coarse brown bread, dates, olives, and

water. Even on the heated desert, where the thermometer generally is from 90° to 120°, they are clothed from head to foot, and cover the face up to the eyes with a black or colored handkerchief.

The Moors who inhabit large portions of the empire of Morocco, and are spread all along the Mediterranean coast, are a mixed race, grafted upon the ancient Mauritanian stock; whence their name. After the conquest of Africa by the Arabs, they became mixed with Arabs; and having conquered Spain in their turn, they intermarried with the natives of that country, whence, after a possession of seven centuries, they were driven back to Mauritania. They are a handsome race, having much more resemblance to Europeans and western Asiatics, than to Arabs or Berbers; although their language is Arabic, that is, the Mogrebin dialect, which differs considerably from the Arabic in Arabia, and even in Egypt. They are an intellectual people, and not altogether unlettered; but they are cruel, revengeful, and bloodthirsty, exhibiting but very few traces of that nobility of mind and delicacy of feeling and taste which graced their ancestors in Spain. The history of the throne of Morocco, of the dynastic revolutions at Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli, is written with blood; and among the pirates who infested the Mediterranean they were the worst. Their religion is the Mohammedan. They are temperate in their diet, and simple in their dress, except the richer classes in the principal towns, where the ladies literally cover themselves with silk, gold, and jewels, while the men indulge to excess their love of fine horses and splendid arms. They generally lead a settled life as merchants, mechanics, or agriculturists, but there are also many wandering tribes. They exhibit considerable skill and taste in dyeing, and in the manufacture of swords, saddlery, leathern-ware, gold and silver ornaments. At the Great Exhibition in London in 1851, the Moorish department contained several articles which were greatly admired. The Moors, along the coast of

Morocco, still carry on piracy by means of armed boats.

At two different periods, separated from each other by perhaps a thousand years, Africa was invaded by Arabic tribes which took a lasting possession of the districts they conquered, and whose descendants form no inconsiderable portion of the population of North and Central Africa, while their language has superseded all others as that of civilization and religion. The second was that effected by the first successors of Mohammed, who conquered Egypt, and subsequently the whole north of Africa as far as the shores of the Atlantic, in the course of the first century of the Hegira, or the seventh of the Christian era. As regards language, Egypt is now an entirely Arabic country, although in many other respects the Fellahs are totally different from the peasants in Arabia. But there are also several tribes of true Arabic descent scattered about from the highlands of Abyssinia down over Nubia and Egypt, and westward over the central provinces of Kordofan, Darfur, Waday, and Bornu. Others wander in the Libyan deserts and the Great Sahara, as well as in the states of Tripoli, Tunis, and Algiers, leading a similar life with the Kabyles, but constituting a totally distinct race. Others, again, dwell in the empire of Morocco, among whom those along the shores of the Atlantic are notorious for their predatory habits and ferocious character. In many places Arabic adventurers have succeeded in subduing native tribes of every nationality, over which they rule as sovereign lords; and on the coast of Zanzibar resides an Arabic royal dynasty. Many of the smaller islands to the north of Madagascar are inhabited by Arabs, and traces of them have been discovered in Madagascar itself. The African Arabs are not all alike in features and color of skin, the difference being attributable to some of them having intermarried with natives, while others preserved the purity of their blood.

The early settlements of the Jews in Egypt are facts universally known. Under the Ptole-

mies, large numbers of them settled in Alexandria and in Cyrenaica, and after the destruction of Jerusalem they rapidly spread over the whole of the Roman possessions in Africa; many also took refuge in Abyssinia. King Philip II. having driven them out of Spain, many thousands of families took refuge on the opposite coast of Africa. They are now numerous in all the large towns in the north, where they carry on the occupation of merchants, brokers, etc., the trade with Europe being mostly in their hands. They live in a state of great degradation, except in Algiers, where the French restored them to freedom and independence. They have acquired much wealth, and, although compelled to hide their riches from the cupidity of their rulers, they lose no opportunity of showing them whenever they can do so without risk of being plundered, fear and vanity being characteristic features of their character. The Jewesses in Morocco and Algiers are of remarkable beauty.

Ever since the conquest of Egypt by Sultan Selim, and the establishment of Turkish pashalics in Tripoli, Tunis, and Algiers, Turks have settled in the north of Africa; and as they were the rulers of the country, whose numbers were always on the increase, on account of the incessant arrivals of Turkish soldiers and officials, the Turkish became, and still is, the language of the different governments. Properly speaking, however, they are not settled, but only encamped in Africa, and hardly deserve a place among the African nations.

Not all the inhabitants of the country called Abyssinia are Abyssinians in ethnology; nor are the real Abyssinians all of the same origin, being a mixed race, to the formation of which several distinct nations have contributed. The primitive stock is of Ethiopian origin, but, as their language clearly shows, was at an early period mixed with a tribe of the Himyarites from the opposite coast of Arabia, who, in their turn, were ethnologically much more closely connected with the Hebrews than the Joctanides, or



the Arabs properly speaking. In the age of the Egyptian Ptolemies, and after the destruction of Jerusalem, Jews settled in Abyssinia in such numbers, that not only their religion spread among the inhabitants, but the Hebrew language became mixed with the Abyssinian as it then was. The uninterrupted intercourse with Arabia, and the immigration of several Arabic tribes, also contributed towards the apparently Semitic aspect of the present Abyssinian language. A large portion of Abyssinia having been occupied by Galla and other tribes, we shall here only dwell on the original Abyssinians. They inhabit a large tract extending from the upper course of the Blue River, north as far as the Red Sea, and some isolated districts in the south and south-east. To the west of them are the Agau Abyssinians, a different tribe, whose idiom, however, is the common language of the lower classes in Tigre and Amhara also. Abyssinia was once a large and powerful kingdom, but the Galla having conquered the whole south of it, it gradually declined until the king or emperor became a mere shadow, in whose name several vassal princes exercised an unlimited power each in his own territory. Owing to their jealousy and mutual fears, war seldom ceases among the inhabitants. The Christian religion was introduced into Abyssinia in the first centuries after Christ; but whatever its condition might have been in former times, it now presents a degraded mixture of Christian dogmas and rites, Jewish observances, and heathenish superstition. Yet of Judaism, which was once so powerful, but feeble traces are extant, while the Mohammedan religion is visibly on the increase. European missionaries have been and still are very active among them, but their efforts have been crowned only with partial success. The Abyssinians, the Gallas being excluded from that denomination, are a fine strong race, of a copper hue more or less dark, and altogether different from the Negroes, with whom, however, they have frequently been confounded because they were called a black

people. Their noses are nearly straight, their eyes beautifully clear, yet languishing, and their hair is black and crisp, but not woolly. They are on the whole a barbarous people, addicted to the grossest sensual pleasures; and their priests, among whom marriage is customary, are little better than the common herd of people. They live in huts, a large assemblage of which forms a so-called town, and although they possess some solid constructions of stone, such as churches and bridges, it appears that they were built by the Portuguese, the ruins at Axum and other places belonging to a much earlier period, when the country undoubtedly enjoyed a higher civilization than at present. Owing to influence exercised upon them during the last thirty years by European missionaries and travelers, their conduct towards strangers is less rude than it used to be at the time of Bruce. It is a remarkable fact that, notwithstanding the low state of their religion, the Christians in Abyssinia are not allowed to keep slaves, although they may purchase them for the purpose of selling them again.

This extensive race comprehends by far the greater number of African nations, extending over the whole of Middle and South Africa, except its southernmost projection towards the Cape of Good Hope. A line drawn from the mouth of the Senegal in the west to Cape Jerdaffun in the east, forms its northern limits almost with geometrical accuracy, few Ethiopic tribes being found to the north of it. All the members of this race, however, are not Negroes. The latter are only one of its numerous offshoots, but between the receding forehead, the projecting cheek-bones, the thick lips of the Negro of Guinea, and the more straight configuration of the head of a Galla in Abyssinia, there are still many striking analogies; and modern philology having traced still greater analogies, denoting a common origin, among the only apparently disconnected languages of so many thousands of tribes, whose color presents all the hues between the deepest black and the

yellow brown, it is no longer doubtful that the Negro, the Galla, the Somali, and the Kaffre, all belong to the same ethnological stock. Owing to our most imperfect knowledge of the central parts inhabited by that race, a classification of all its numerous members must always remain imperfect.

The principal Negro nations, as we know them, are the Mandingoes, who are numerous, powerful, and not uncivilized, in Senegambia, and farther inland, around the head waters of the Kawara, where they have established a great number of kingdoms and smaller sovereignties. The inland trade is chiefly in their hands. They are black, with a mixture of yellow, and their hair is completely woolly. The Wolofs or YoloFs, whose language is totally different from those of their neighbors, are the handsomest and blackest of all Negroes, although they live at a greater distance from the equator than most of the other black tribes, their principal dwelling-places being between the Senegal and the Gambia along the coast of the Atlantic. They are a mild and social people. The Foulahs or Fellatahs occupy the central parts of Sudan, situated in the crescent formed by the course of the Kawara, and also large tracts to the south-east as far as the equator west to the Senegal, and east till beyond Lake Tsad. Their color is black, with a striking copper hue, some of them being hardly more dark than gypsies. They are one of the most remarkable nations in Africa, very industrious, live in commodious and clean habitations, and are mostly Mohammedans. Of the principal nations in Guinea, among whom the true Negro type is particularly distinct, especially around the Bight of Benin, are the Feloops, near the Casamance, very black, yet handsome; and the Ashanti, of the Amina race, who surpass all their neighbors in civilization, and the cast of whose features differs so much from the Negro type that they are said to be more like Indians than Africans; although this is perhaps only true of the higher orders. They are still in possession of a powerful kingdom.

The country behind the Slave Coast is occupied by tribes akin to the Dahomeh on the coast. In South Guinea we meet three principal races, namely, the Congo, the Abunda, and the Benguela Negroes, who are divided into a variety of smaller tribes, with whom we are much less acquainted than with the northern Negroes, although the Portuguese have occupied this coast for upwards of three centuries. The next great branch of the Ethiopic race comprehends the Galla, who occupy an immense tract in Eastern Africa from Abyssinia as far as the inland portions of the Portuguese possessions in Mozambique to the south of the equator. Our knowledge of them is chiefly confined to those Gallas who conquered Abyssinia. With regard to their physical conformation, they stand between the Negro of Guinea and the Arab and Beber. Their countenances are rounder than those of the Arabs, their noses are almost straight, and their hair, though strongly frizzled, is not so woolly as that of the Negro, nor are their lips quite so thick. Their eyes are small (in which they again differ from the Abyssinians), deeply set, but very lively. They are a strong, large, almost bulky people, whose color varies between black and brownish, some of their women being remarkably fair, considering the race they belong to.

An interesting tribe of them has lately been brought to the knowledge of Europeans, the Somali, a widely-scattered nation which leads a pastoral life on the uplands, and also nearer to the coast of the Indian Ocean from Cape Jerdaffun southward for a considerable distance. They seem to be of a mild and peaceful disposition, while on the contrary the other Galla are a warlike race, which has been pressing upon its neighbors during the last three hundred years, and are much feared by all those who are obliged to come near them.

The Kaffres, who, together with the tribes most akin to them, occupy the greater portion of South Africa, especially the eastern portions, have some analogy with Europeans



in their features ; but they are woolly-haired, and while some are almost black, others are comparatively fair, although some of their tribes might have been mixed with Eastern Negroes. They have been very wrongly classed with the Negroes. They are a strong, muscular, active people, addicted to plunder and warfare. The Eastern Kaffres, among whom the Amakosan and Amazuian are best known to us on account of their frequent invasions of the Cape Colony, are much more savage than the western and northern, or the Bechuana and Sichuana tribes. All Kaffres are pastoral, keeping large herds of cattle, but the last-named tribes inhabit large towns, well-built houses, cultivate the ground carefully, and exhibit every appearance of being capable of entire civilization. The word Kaffre or Kafir, as it ought to be written, is Arabic, and was first applied by the Europeans to the inhabitants of the coast of Mozambique, because they were so called by the Mohammedans, in whose eyes they were *Kafirs*, that is infidels.

We conclude this sketch with the Hottentot race, which is entirely different from all the other races of Africa. Where they originally came from, and how they happened to be hemmed in and confined entirely to this remote corner of the earth, is a problem not likely to be ever satisfactorily solved. The only people to whom the Hottentots has been thought to bear a resemblance, are the Chinese or Malays, or their original stock the Mongols. Like these people, they have the broad forehead, the high cheek-bones, the oblique eye, the thin beard, and the dull yellow tint of complexion, resembling the color of a dried tobacco leaf ; but there is a difference with regard to the hair, which grows in small tufts, harsh, and rather wiry, covering the scalp somewhat like the hard pellets of a shoe-brush. The women, too, have a peculiarity in their physical conformation, which, though occasionally to be met with in other nations, is not universal, as among the Hottentots. The constitutional "bustles" sometimes grow to three times the

size of those artificial stuffings, with which our fashionable ladies have disfigured themselves. Even the females of the diminutive Bosjesmen Hottentots, who frequently perish of hunger in the barren mountains, and are reduced to skeletons, have the same protuberance as the Hottentots of the plains. It is not known even whence the name of Hottentot proceeds, as it is none of their own. It has been conjectured that *hot* and *tot* frequently occurring in their singular language, in which the monosyllables are enunciated with a palatic clacking with the tongue, like that of a hen, may have given rise to the name, and that the early Dutch settlers named them *hot-en-tot*. They call themselves *quiquæ*, pronounced with a clack. They are a lively, cheerful, good-humored people, and by no means wanting in intellect ; but they have met with nothing but harsh treatment since their first connection with the Europeans. Neither Bartholomew Diaz, who first discovered, nor Vasco de Gama, who first doubled, the Cape of Good Hope, nor any of the subsequent Portuguese navigators, down to 1509, had much communication with the natives of this southern angle of Africa ; but in the year above mentioned, Francisco d'Almeyda, viceroy of India, having landed on his return, at Saldanha (now Table) Bay, was killed, with about twenty of his people, in a scuffle with the natives. To avenge his death, a Portuguese captain, about three years afterwards, is said to have landed a piece of ordnance loaded with grape shot, as a pretended present to the Hottentots. Two ropes were attached to this fatal engine ; the Hottentots poured down in swams. Men, women, and children flocked round the deadly machine, as the Trojans did round the wooden horse. The brutal Portuguese fired off the piece, and viewed with savage delight the mangled carcasses of the deluded people. The Dutch effected their ruin by gratifying their propensities for brandy and tobacco, at the expense of their herds of cattle, on which they subsisted. Under the British sway they have received protection, and shown

themselves not unworthy of it. They now possess property, and enjoy it in security. One of the most beautiful villages, and the neatest and best-cultivated gardens, belong to a large community of Hottentots, under the instruction and guidance of a few Moravian missionaries.

The forlorn people called Bushmen are of Hotteptot origin. Of them also several tribes have been discovered much farther north, and intelligence has lately reached Europe, that between the Portuguese possessions, in the very centre of South Africa there is a nation of dwarfish appearance who possess large herds, and who seem to belong to the original Bushmen stock.

The island of Madagascar is inhabited by a race of Malay origin, exhibiting traces of Negro and Arabic mixture.

The total population of Africa is vaguely estimated, according to the most recent researches, at 150,000,000.

In describing the political divisions of Africa, we shall proceed from north to south.

The country included under the general name of Barbary extends from the borders of Egypt on the east, to the Atlantic on the west, and is bounded by the Mediterranean on the north, and by the Sahara on the south. It comprises the states of Morocco, Algeria, Tunis, and Tripoli.

Morocco, the most westerly state of Barbary, is thus named by the Europeans, but by the Arabs themselves *Mogr'-eb-el-Aksa*, or "the extreme west." The eastern boundary was determined in the treaty with the French of 18th March 1845, by a line which, in the south, commences east of the oasis Figueg, intersecting the desert of Angad, and reaching the Mediterranean at a point about 30 miles west of the French port Nemours. It comprehends an area of about 170,000 geographical square miles, and a population of 8,500,000.

Algeria extends from Morocco in the west, to Tunis in the east, and closely answers in its limits to the ancient kingdom of Numidia.

The eastern and southern boundaries are not very definite, falling, as they do, within the boundless plains of the desert. The area is estimated at 100,000 square miles, the population at 3,000,000.

Tunis is the smallest of the Barbary states. The area may be estimated at 40,000 square miles, and the population between 2,000,000 and 3,000,000.

The configuration of the surface is similar to that of Algeria, the northern part being mountainous, the southern and eastern consisting of lowlands and plains. The highest peaks range between 4000 and 5000 feet. The southern plains comprise the land of dates (*Belad-el-Jerid*), and several extensive salt lakes. Tunis possesses but few rivers and streams, and springs are plentiful only in the mountainous regions. The climate is, upon the whole, salubrious, and is not of the same excessive character as that of Algeria; regular sea-breezes exercise an ameliorating influence both in summer and winter; frost is almost unknown, and snow never falls. During the summer occasional winds from the south render the atmosphere exceedingly dry and hot. The natural productions of the country are somewhat similar to those of the other Barbary states, but dates of the finest quality are more largely produced. The horses and camels are of excellent breed, and the former are eagerly sought for the French army in Algeria. Bees are reared in great quantity, and coral fisheries are carried on, especially at Tabarka. Of minerals, lead, salt, and saltpetre, are the most noticeable. The population consists chiefly of Moors and Arabs; the former have attained a higher degree of industry and civilization than their brethren elsewhere; those of the latter who inhabit the central mountainous regions are nearly independent.

Tripoli, a Turkish province, extends from Tunis to Egypt, along the shores of the Mediterranean. Politically, it includes the pashalics of Fezzan and Ghadamis, countries which, in a physical point of view, are included in the Sahara. The area is estimated



at 200,000 square miles, and the population at 1,500,000.

Tripoli is the least favored by nature of the Barbary states, possessing a great extent of sterile surface.

The climate is somewhat more excessive than that of Tunis, especially in the interior, where extreme heat is followed by a considerable degree of cold. As far south as Sokna, snow occasionally falls. The climate of Murzak is very unhealthy, and frequently fatal to Europeans.

The natural products are very much like those of Tunis. Oxen and horses are small, but of good quality; the mules are of excellent breed. Locusts and scorpions are among the most noxious animals. Salt and sulphur are the chief minerals.

Egypt occupies the north-eastern corner of Africa, and comprises 100,000 square miles with 2,000,000 inhabitants. It is remarkable for its ancient and sacred associations, and its wonderful monuments of human art.

Egypt is a vast desert, the cultivable and fertile portions being confined to the Delta of the Nile and its narrow valley, a region celebrated in the most ancient historic documents for its singular fertility, and still pouring an annual surplus of grain into the markets of Europe. By the annual inundation of the Nile this region is laid under water, and upon its retirement the grain crops are sown in the layer of mud left behind it. Barren ranges of hills and elevated tracts occupy the land on both sides of the Nile, which is the only river in the country. The amount of its rise is a matter of extreme solicitude to the people, for should it pass its customary bounds a few feet, cattle are drowned, houses are swept away, and immense injury ensues; a falling short of the ordinary height, on the other hand, causes dearth and famine according to its extent. The water of the Nile is renowned for its agreeable taste and wholesome quality. In connection with the Nile is the Birket-el-Kerun, a salt lake.

The climate is very hot and dry. Rain falls but seldom along the coasts, but the

dews are very copious. The hot and oppressive winds called khamsin and simooms are a frequent scourge to the country; but the climate is, upon the whole, more salubrious than that of many other tropical countries.

The natural products are not of great variety. The wild plants are but few and scanty, while those cultivated include all the more important kinds adapted to tropical countries: rice, wheat, sugar, cotton, indigo, are cultivated for export; dates, figs, pomegranates, lemons, and olives, are likewise grown. The doum-palm, which appears in Upper Egypt, is characteristic, as also the papyrus. The fauna is characterised by an immense number of waterfowl, flamingoes, pelicans, etc. The hippopotamus and crocodile the two primeval inhabitants of the Nile, seem to be banished from the Delta, the latter being still sometimes seen in Upper Egypt. The cattle are of excellent breed. Large beasts of prey are wanting; but the ichneumon of the ancients still exists. Bees, silkworms, and corals are noticeable. Minerals are scarce, natron, salt, and sulphur being the principal.

Since the last century the inhabitants, then amounting to four millions, have considerably diminished in number. In 1840 their total number was calculated at 2,895,500. The native Egyptians of Arab descent amount to 2,600,000 souls, composing the great bulk of the people. Next in number, though comparatively few (150,000) are the Copts, descending from the old inhabitants of the country, the ancient Egyptians, but far from being an unmixed race. The Arabic Bedouin tribes were calculated in 1840 at 70,000, the Negroes at 20,000, the European Christians at 9500, the Jews at 7000, and the dominant Turks at only 12,000.

Nubia extends along the Red Sea, from Egypt to Abyssinia, comprising the middle course of the Nile. The total population amounts to 1,000,000 at the least.

The natural features of this country are varied; the northern portion consisting of a burning sterile wilderness, while the south-

ern, lying within the range of the tropical rains, and watered by the Abyssinian affluents of the Nile, exhibits vegetation in its tropical glory, forests of arborescent grasses, timber-trees, and parasitical plants largely clothing the country. This latter territory, which may be called Upper Nubia, includes the region of ancient Meroe, situated in the peninsula formed by the Nile proper, the Blue River, and the Atbara, and comprises, further south, the recently extinguished modern kingdom of Sennaar.

The climate of Nubia is tropical throughout, and the heat in the deserts of its central portions is not exceeded by that of any other part of the globe. The southern half of the country is within the influence of the tropical rains, the northern partakes the character of the almost rainless Sahara; and while the latter is generally very salubrious, the former is a land of dangerous fever particularly in the plains subject to inundations. Such is the Kolla, a marshy and swampy region of great extent, situated along the foot of the Abyssinian Mountains, between the Blue River and the Takkazie.

The northern region is poor in natural productions, but in the south the vegetation is most luxuriant; palms form a prominent feature, and the monkey bread-tree attains its most colossal dimensions. The date-tree, dourra, cotton, and indigo, are cultivated. The date-palm does not extend beyond the south of Abou-Egli, in Lat. 18.36.

The elephant is native to this region, and is seen in herds of several hundreds; also the rhinoceros, lion, and giraffe. The waters are inhabited by crocodiles more ferocious than those of Egypt, and by huge hippopotami. The young hippopotamus brought to the zoological gardens, Regent's Park, in 1850, was captured in Nubia, in an island of the Nile, about 1800 miles above Cairo: no living specimen had been seen in Europe since the period when they were exhibited by the third Gordian in the Colosseum at Rome. Monkeys and antelopes are found in great numbers. The camel does not ex-

tend beyond the twelfth degree of latitude to the south. Ostriches roam over the deserts; and among the reptiles, besides the crocodile, a large serpent of the python species, and tortoises. Of the numerous insects, the most remarkable is the scarabaeus of the ancient Egyptians, still found in Sennaar. Of minerals, Nubia possesses gold, silver, copper, iron, salt.

The boundaries of Abyssinia are somewhat uncertain; but, confining it to the provinces actually under the government of Christian or Mohammedan princes, it may be described as extending from about 9° to 16° north Latitude, and from 35° to 41° east Longitude, and as having a superficial area of about 150,000 square miles. The population has been estimated at from 4,000,000 to 5,000,000, which is probably too high.

The Saharan countries extend from the Atlantic in the west, to the Nilotic countries in the east, from the Barbary States in the north, to the basin of the Rivers Senegal and Kawara, and Lake Tsad in the south. The area of this large space amounts to at least 2,000,000 square miles, or upwards of one-half of that of the whole of Europe. It is very scantily populated, but from our present defective knowledge of that region, the number of its inhabitants cannot even be estimated.

The physical configuration of the Sahara has already been indicated in the general introductory remarks of this article. Notwithstanding the proverbial heat, which is almost insupportable by day, there is often great cold at night, owing to the excessive radiation, promoted by the purity of the sky. Rain is nearly, though not entirely absent, in this desolate region. It appears that when nature has poured her bounty over the adjoining regions in the south, and has little more left to bestow, she sends a few smart showers of rain to the desert, parched by the long prevalence of the perpendicular rays of the sun. The prevailing winds blow during three months from the west, and nine months from the east. When the wind increases



into a storm, it frequently raises the loose sand in such quantities that a layer of nearly equal portions of sand and air, and rising about 20 feet above the surface of the ground, divides the purer atmosphere from the solid earth. This sand, when agitated by whirlwinds, sometimes overwhelms caravans with destruction, and, even when not fatal, involves them in the greatest confusion and danger.

The natural products correspond with the physical features of the country. Vegetation and animal life exist only sparingly in the oases or valleys where springs occur, and where the soil is not utterly unfit to nourish certain plants. Amongst the few trees, the most important is the date-palm, which is peculiarly suited to the dryness of the climate. This useful tree flourishes best in the eastern part of the desert, inhabited by the Tibbus. The doum-palm is likewise a native of the same part, and seems entirely absent in the western Sahara: its northernmost limit is on the southern borders of Fezzan and Tegerry, in Lat. 24. 4. N. Acacias are found in the extreme west towards Senegambia, furnishing the so-called gum-arabic. In many parts of the desert, a thorny evergreen plant occurs, about eighteen inches high. It is eagerly eaten by camels, and is almost the only plant which furnishes them with food while thus traversing the desert. The cultivation of grains to a small extent is limited to the western oases of Tuat and others, a little barley, rice, beans, and gussub, being there grown. In the kingdom of Air, there are some fields of maize and other grains; but upon the whole, the population depends for these products on Sudan and other regions. There are but a few specimens of wild animals in these wildernesses; lions and panthers are found only on its borders. Gazelles and antelopes are abundant, hares and foxes but scarce. Ostriches are very numerous, and vultures and ravens are also met with. In approaching Sudan, animal and vegetable life becomes more varied and abundant. Of reptiles only the smaller kinds

are found, mostly harmless lizards and a few species of snakes. Of domestic animals, the most important is the camel, but horses and goats are not wanting, and in the country of the Tuaricks an excellent breed of sheep is found, while in that of the Tibbus a large and fine variety of the ass is valuable to the inhabitants. Of minerals, salt is the chief production, which occurs chiefly near Bilma.

The habitable portions of the Sahara are possessed by three different nations. In the extreme western portion are Moors and Arabs. They live in tents, which they remove from one place to another; and their residences consist of similar encampments, formed of from twenty to a hundred of such tents, where they are governed by a sheik of their own body; each encampment constituting, as it were, a particular tribe. They are a daring set of people, and not restrained by any scruple in plundering, ill-treating, and even killing persons who are not of their own faith; but to such as are, they are hospitable and benevolent. The boldest of these children of the desert are the Tuaricks, who occupy the middle of the wilderness, where it is widest. The form of their bodies, and their language, prove they belong to the aboriginal inhabitants of Northern Africa, who are known by the name of Berbers. They are a fine race of men, tall, straight, and handsome, with an air of independence which is very imposing. They live chiefly upon the tribute they exact from all caravans traversing their country. They render themselves formidable to all their neighbors, with whom they are nearly always in a state of enmity, making predatory incursions into the neighboring countries. The third division of Saharan people are the Tibbus, who inhabit the eastern portion, comprising one of the best parts of the desert. In some of their features they resemble the Negro. They are an agricultural and pastoral nation, live mostly in fixed abodes, and are in this respect greatly different from their western neighbors. Their country is as yet little explored by Europeans. The Tibbus are in part Pagans,

while the other inhabitants of the Sahara are Mohammedans.

The commerce of the Sahara consists chiefly of gold, slaves, ivory, iron, and salt.

Western Africa comprehends the west coast of Africa, from the border of the Sahara, in about Lat. 17. north to Nourse River, in about the same latitude south, with a considerable space of inland territory, varying in its extent from the shores, and in fact, completely undefined in its interior limits.

Senegambia, the country of the Senegal and Gambia, extends from the Sahara in the north to Lat. 10. in the south, and may be considered as extending inland to the sources of the waters which flow through it to the Atlantic.

The western portion is very flat, and its contiguity to the great desert is frequently evidenced by dry hot winds, an atmosphere loaded with fine sand, and clouds of locusts. The eastern portion is occupied with hills and elevated land. Under the 10th parallel the hills approach quite close to the coast. There the Sangari Mountains attain an elevation of from 4000 to 5000 feet. The country possesses a great number of rivers, among which the Senegal, Gambia, and Rio Grande are the most important. Senegambia ranges, in point of heat, with the Sahara and Nubia. The atmosphere is most oppressive in the rainy season, which lasts from June to November, when an enormous amount of rain drenches the country. The prevailing winds in that period are south-west, whereas in the dry season they are from the east. The climate is, upon the whole, most unhealthy, and too generally proves fatal to Europeans.

The vegetation is most luxuriant and vigorous. The baobab (monkey bread-tree), the most enormous tree on the face of the globe, is eminently characteristic of Senegambia. It attains to no great height, but the circumference of the trunk is frequently 60 to 75 feet, it has been found to measure 112 feet; its fruit, the monkey bread, is a principal article of food with the natives. Bombaceae (cotton-trees) are likewise numerous, and

they are among the loftiest in the world. *Acacias*, which furnish the gum-arabic, are most abundant, while the shores are lined with mangrove trees. The vegetation is similar to that of Nubia, as also the animal world. Gold and iron are the chief metals.

The inhabitants consist of various Negro nations, the chief of which are the Wolof.

The gum trade is the most important traffic on the Senegal; bees-wax, ivory, bark, and hides, forming the chief exports from the Gambia.

Of European settlements are: The French possessions on the Senegal; the capital of which is St. Louis, built about the year 1626, on an island at the mouth of the river. The total population of the settlement amounted, in 1846, to 17,976 colored people, and 1170 Europeans.

The British settlement is on the Gambia, and has 4851 inhabitants. Bathurst is the chief town.

The Portuguese settlement consists of small factories south of the Gambia, at Bisao, Cacheo, and some other points.

The west coast of Africa, from Senegambia to the Nourse River, is commonly comprised by the general denomination Guinea Coast, a term of Portuguese origin.

The coast is mostly so very low, as to be visible to navigators only within a very short distance, the trees being their only sailing marks. North of the equator, in the Bight of Benin, the coast forms an exception, being high and bold, with the Cameroon Mountains behind; as also at Sierra Leone, which has received its name (Lion Mountain) in consequence. The coast presents a dead level often for thirty to fifty miles inland. It has numerous rivers, some of which extend to the furthest recesses of Inner Africa.

The climate, notoriously fatal to European life, is rendered pestilential by the muddy creeks and inlets, the putrid swamps, and the mangrove jungles that cover the banks of the rivers. There are two seasons in the year, the rainy and the dry season. The former commences in the southern portion



in March, but at Sierra Leone and other northern parts, a month later.

Vegetation is exceedingly luxuriant and varied. One of the most important trees is the *Elaeis guineensis*, a species of palm, from the covering of whose seed or nut is extracted the palm-oil, so well known to English commerce and manufacture: several thousand tons are annually brought into the ports of Liverpool, London, and Bristol. The palm-oil tree is indigenous and abundant from the river Gambia to the Congo; but the oil is manufactured in large quantities chiefly in the country of the Gold and Slave Coasts. The former comprises nearly all the more remarkable of African animals: particularly abundant are elephants, hippopotami, monkeys, lions, leopards, crocodiles, serpents, parrots. The domestic animals are mostly of an inferior quality. The principal minerals are gold and iron. The population consists, besides a few European colonists, of a vast variety of Negro nations, similar in their physical qualities and prevailing customs, but differing considerably in their dispositions and morals.

The chief articles of commerce are palm-oil, ivory, gold, wax, various kinds of timber, spices, gums, and rice.

The divisions of Northern or Upper Guinea, are mostly founded on the productions characteristic of the different parts, and are still popularly retained.

The British colony of Sierra Leone extends from Rokelle River in the north, to Kater River in the south, and about twenty miles inland. The population, consisting chiefly of liberated slaves, amounted in 1847 to 41,735. Freetown, the capital, has 10,580 inhabitants, and is, after St. Louis, the most considerable European town on the western coast of Africa.

The Malaghetta or Grain Coast extends from Sierra Leone to Cape Palmas. Malaghetta is a species of pepper yielded by a parasitical plant of this region. It is sometimes styled the Windy or Windward Coast, from the frequency of short but furious tor-

nadoes, throughout the year. The republic of Liberia, a settlement of the American Colonization Society, founded in 1822, for the purpose of removing free-people of color from the United States, occupies a considerable extent of the coast, and has for its capital Monrovia, a town named after the president, Mr. Monroe. The population amounts to from 10,000 to 15,000 native inhabitants, and 3200 liberated Negroes from America.

The Ivory Coast extends from Cape Palmas to Cape Three Points, and obtained its name from the quantity of the article supplied by its numerous elephants.

The Gold Coast stretches from Cape Three Points to the River Volta, and has been long frequented for gold-dust and other products. The Dutch have several trading ports, of which Elmina, a town of 12,000 inhabitants, is the principal and oldest of the European stations, founded by the Portuguese in 1482. The British possess Cape Coast Castle, a spacious fortress, and James' Fort, near Accra. The Danish settlements of Christiansburg and Friedensburg were ceded to the English in 1849.

The Slave Coast extends from the River Volta to the Calabar River, and is, as its name implies, the chief scene of the most disgraceful traffic that blots the history of mankind. Eko, or Lagos, one of the chief towns of the coast, was destroyed in 1852.

The kingdoms of Ashanti, Dahomey, Yoruba, and others, occupy the interior country of the Guinea coast.

The coast from the Old Calabar River to the Portuguese possessions is inhabited by various tribes. Duke's Town, on the former river, is a large town of 30,000 to 40,000 inhabitants, with considerable trade in palm-oil, ivory, and timber.

On the Gabun river, close to the equator, are a French settlement and American missionary stations. At the equator, Southern or Lower Guinea begins, where the only European settlements are those of the Portuguese.

Loango is reckoned from the equator to the

Zaire or Congo river. Its chief town is Boaly, called Loango by the Europeans.

Congo extends south of the Zaire, comprising a very fertile region, with veins of copper and iron. Banza Congo or St. Salvador is the capital.

Angola comprises the two districts of Angola proper and Benguela. In these regions the Portuguese settlements extend farther inland than in the two preceding districts, namely, about 200 miles. The population of the settlements is about 400,000, comprising only 1830 Europeans. The capital St. Paulo de Loando, contains 1600 Europeans and 4000 native inhabitants, and has a fine harbor. St. Felipe de Benguela is situated in a picturesque but very marshy and most unhealthy spot.

The coast from Benguela to the Cape Colony may, in a general arrangement like this, be included either within West Africa or South Africa. The whole coast is little visited or known, being of a most barren and desolate description, and possessing few harbors. From Wallich Bay, as has been already stated, Mr. Galton recently penetrated nearly 400 miles into the interior towards Lake Ngami, and explored the country inhabited by the Ovaherero or Damaras, and other tribes.

Under South Africa the Cape Colony only is generally comprised. It takes its name from the Cape of Good Hope, and extends from thence to the Orange River in the north, and to the Tugela River in the east. A large proportion of the territory included within these limits, especially in the north, is either unoccupied, or, excepting missionary stations, entirely in the hands of the aborigines.

Apart from the shores, the country consists of high lands, forming parallel mountainous ridges, with elevated plains or terraces of varying extent between. The loftiest range, styled in different parts of its course Sneuw-bergen, Winter-bergen, Nieuveld-bergen, and Roggenveld-bergen, names originated by the Dutch, is the third and last encoun-

tered on proceeding into the interior from the south coast. The most elevated summit, Spitzkop or Compass-berg, in the district of Graa-freynet, attains the height of 10,250 feet. This and the other chains are deeply cut by the transverse valleys called kloofs, which serve as passes across them, and appear as if produced by some sudden convulsion of nature, subsequently widened by the action of the atmosphere and running water.

The high plains or terraces are remarkable for their extraordinary change of aspect in the succession of the seasons. During the summer heats they are perfect deserts, answering to the term applied to them, karroos, signifying, in the Hottentot language, "dry" or "arid." But the sandy soil being prevaded with the roots and fibres of various plants, is spontaneously clothed with the richest verdure after the rains, and becomes transformed for a time into a vast garden of gorgeous flowers, yielding the most fragrant odors. Adapted thus to the support of graminivorous animals, the karroos are the resort of antelopes, zebras, quaggas, and gnus in countless herds, and of the carnivorous beasts that prey upon them, the lion, hyæna, leopard, and panther. These quadrupeds, however, with the elephant, rhinoceros, hippopotamus, giraffe, buffalo, and ostrich, have been largely banished from their old haunts by the advanced footsteps of civilized man, and are only found in the more secluded parts of the interior. The country has a singular and superb flora, but it comprises few native plants useful to man: many such have been now introduced. Heaths of varied species and great beauty abound; and geraniums are treated as common weeds. Many highly productive districts occur; corn, wines, and fruit being the chief objects of cultivation in the neighborhood of the Cape, while the more inland settlements are grazing farms. Some fine natural forests clothe the sides of the mountains; but in general the colony is deficient in timber-trees, as well as in navigable streams, perennial springs, and regular rain. A great deposit of rich copper ore oc-



curs near the mouth of the Gariep; and salt is obtained for consumption and sale from salt lakes.

The climate is exceedingly fine and salubrious. There are two seasons, characterised by the prevalence of certain winds. During the summer, which lasts from September to April, the winds blow from southeast, cold and dry; during the winter, namely from May to September, northwest winds prevail. In the most elevated regions the winters are occasionally severe, and snow and ice occur.

The population of Cape Colony amounted in 1847 to 178,300 souls. The chief native tribes within the British territory are the Kaffres, Hottentots, and Bechuanas. No manufacture is conducted at the Cape except the making of wine, of which 8000 pipes are annually exported to England. Various articles of provision are supplied to ships sailing between Europe and the East Indies.

Cape Town is the capital of the colony, and contains 22,600 inhabitants. Its commerce is considerable, and the port is frequented by 500 to 600 vessels every year.

The Orange River sovereignty, added to the British territories in 1849, extends north of the Orange River as far as the Ky Gariep or Vaal River.

Natal, or Victoria, a district on the east coast and separated from the Cape Colony by Kaffraria, is a recently formed British settlement, containing an area of about 18,000 square miles. It is highly favored in those respects in which the Cape is most deficient, having abundance of wood and water, with coal and various metallic ores, a fine alluvial soil, and a climate adapted to the cultivation of the products for which the home demand is large and constant—cotton, silk, and indigo. Pietermaritzburg, the capital of the settlement, lies 50 miles from the coast. Port Natal, now D'Urban, seated on a fine lake-like bay, is the only harbor.

East Africa extends from Natal northwards to the Red Sea, comprising Sofala, Mozambique, Zanzibar, and the Somali

country. But little is known of that region beyond the shores. The Sofala coast extending from Delagoa Bay to the Zambezi River, is flat, sandy, and marshy, gradually ascending towards the interior. It abounds with rivers, which cause yearly inundations. The soil is very fertile, and produces chiefly rice. In the interior, gold and other metals, as well as precious stones, are found. The Portuguese have settlements at Sofala, in an unhealthy spot, abounding with salt-marshes; it consists of only eighteen huts, a church, and a fort in ruins. Inhambane, near the Tropic of Capricorn, has an excellent harbor.

Mozambique extends from the Zambezi to Cape Delgado, and is similar, in its natural features, to the Sofala coast. The country is inhabited by the large and powerful tribe of the Macuas. The principal river is Zambezi. The principal settlement of the Portuguese is at Quillimane, which is situated in a very unhealthy position, surrounded with mangrove trees. It has 130 free inhabitants, comprising only 12 Portuguese, and 5000 or 6000 slaves.

The Zanzibar or Sawahili coast extends from Cape Delgado to the River Jub, near the equator. The coast is generally low, and has but few bays or harbors: its northern portion is rendered dangerous by a line of coral reefs extending along it. The region possesses a great number of rivers, but none of them attain a first-rate magnitude. The principal are the Livuma, Lufigi, Ruvu, Pangani, and Dana; the two latter rising in the snowy mountains of Kilimanjaro and Kenia. The climate is similar to that of other tropical coasts of Africa, hot and unhealthy in general: in some portions, however, the elevated ground, and with it a more temperate and healthy climate, approaches the shores to within a short distance. The vegetation is luxuriant, and cocoa-nut, palms, maize, rice, and olives, are the chief articles of cultivation. The fauna comprises all the more characteristic African species.

The chief inhabitants are the Sawahili, but the coasts are under the Arab dominion of

the Imaum of Muscat, by whose efforts commerce with the nations of the interior has greatly increased.

The island of Zan̄zibar (Unguja of the Sawahili) is the residence of the Imaum of Muscat, and the seat of extensive commerce. Mombas, on a small island close to the main shore, possesses the finest harbor on that coast, and has recently become famous as the seat of an important missionary station.

The Somali country comprises the eastern horn of Africa, from the equator northward to the Bay of Tadjurra, near the entrance into the Red Sea. The coast is generally bold and rocky, in some places covered with sand; and the extensive region it encloses, presents a slightly ascending plain, traversed by large valleys of great fertility, among which the Wady Nogal is prominent. Along the Arabian Gulf the coast is very abrupt, and girded with a range of mountains, the highest summit of which, Jebel Ahl, reaches an elevation of 6500 feet. This country is not so well watered as the regions to the south, and some of its rivers are periodical.

The Somali country is famous for its aromatic productions and gums of various kinds; and it is supposed that the spices and incense consumed in such large quantities by the ancient people of Egypt, Greece, Syria, and Rome, were derived from this part of Africa, and not from Arabia.

The Somali, the inhabitants of this region, belong to the Galla tribe. The commerce is considerable, and is partly in the hands of the Arabs. Zeila and Berbera, on the northern coast, are the chief trading ports: the permanent population of the former is about 750, while the latter may be said to exist only during the winter, when no less than 20,000 strangers, at an average, arrive to pitch their tents, and thus create a great market place. Hurrur is the chief place in the interior, with 17,000 inhabitants, who are Mohammedans.

Central Africa comprises the regions which extend from the southern borders of the Sahara in the north to Cape Colony in

the south, and from Senegambia in the west to the territory of the Egyptian pashalic in the east. It comprehends the central basins of Lake Tsad, Nyassa, and others, and the greater part of the basins of the Kawara, Zaire, Nile, and Zambezi. Even the Sahara may well be included in this general denomination. So little is yet known of this vast region that the general features of some portions only can be indicated. The greater portion seems to be densely peopled with numerous tribes, and to possess inexhaustible natural resources. The portion north of the equator, under the name Sudan or Nigritia, comprises a great number of states, among which the principal are Bambarra, Timbuktu, and Houssa in the west; Bornu, Baghermi, and Waday, around Lake Tsad; Darfur, in the east; and Adamaua in the south. The inhabitants are Negro races, with many Arabs, Moors, and Berbers.

Bambarra occupies part of the basin of the Joliba, or upper source of the Kawara. The dominant inhabitants are the Mandingoes and Foulahs, who have embraced Islamism, and are much more advanced in civilization than the other negro tribes. The country comprises extensive and excellent pastures, with abundance of domestic animals, as horned cattle, sheep, goats, and horses of a fine breed. Among the vegetable products the most remarkable is the butter-tree, which furnishes an important article of agricultural industry and trade.

Sego, the capital, is situated on the Joliba, and contains 30,000 inhabitants. It was here that Mungo Park first caught sight of the long-sought river.

Timbuktu, or Jennie, comprises the basin of the Joliba below Bambarra, and lies partly within the Great Sahara. Timbuktu, a few miles from the banks of the Joliba, and situated amid sands and deserts, is the celebrated centre of the North African caravan trade. It contains from 12,000 to 15,000 inhabitants.

Houssa is an extensive country extending to the Sahara in the north, to the Joliba or



Kawara on the west, to Bornu on the east, and to about 10. north Lat. on the south. The dominant races are the Foulahs, but the mass of the population are Negroes. It is a very fertile and beautiful country, but the climate is insalubrious, and in many parts fatal to Europeans. The inhabitants are engaged in pastoral, as well as in agricultural and commercial pursuits.

The capital, Sakatu, is one of the largest cities in Negroland; it is situated in a fertile but marshy plain. Kano, another large town, containing 30,000 to 40,000 inhabitants, is the great emporium of trade in Houssa: there the English merchandise coming from the north through the Sahara, meets with American goods coming from the Bight of Benin. The manufactures of Kano consist chiefly of cloth, for the dyeing of which that town is famed all over Central Africa.

Bornu is one of the most powerful states of Negroland; extending on the west to the 10th degree of Long., on the east to Lake Tsad and the kingdom of Baghermi, and on the south as far as Mandara and Adamaua, in about 11. north Lat. Kanem, on the northern side of Lake Tsad, has recently been conquered and brought under Bornuese sovereignty.

The general character of Bornu is that of a plain, subject to inundations, particularly near Lake Tsad. It is very fertile, and cotton and indigo attain a high degree of excellence. The original Bornuese are an agricultural people.

Kuka, the capital and residence of the Sheik of Bornu, has only 8000 inhabitants, while Angornu, south of it, has 30,000.

Baghermi, another powerful kingdom, is situated east of Cornu. The boundaries, according to Dr. Barth, who first visited this country and penetrated as far as Maseña, the capital, are on the west the river Loggame, a tributary of the Shary or Asu, by which it is divided from Bornu and Adamaua; on the north its limits are in about 12½° north Lat., and on the east in 19½° east Long.,

both lines dividing it from Waday: the southern boundary is in about 8½° north Lat. Berghermi is an extensive plain or valley formed by the river Shary or Asu and its tributaries. The inhabitants are very warlike, and frequently engage in slave marauding expeditions into the neighboring states to the south.

Maseña, the capital, lies in 11.40. north Lat., and 17.20. east Long.

Waday, or Dar Saley, lies east of Baghermi, and reaches as Darfur. It comprises an extensive region, stretching as far as the basin of the Nile. Lake Fittri, situated in the western portion, forms a basin, unconnected with that of Lake Tsad, and by which the country as far as Darfur is drained. It has never been explored by Europeans. The population comprises a great variety of tribes and different languages.

Wara, the capital, is placed by Dr. Barth in 14° north Lat., and 22° east Long.

Darfur, east of Waday, extends as far as Kordofan. The country rises towards the west into a range of hills called Jebel Marrah. It is drained into the Nile. A great portion of the country is Saharan in its character, while others are fertile and diversified. Browne, in 1793, estimated the whole population at 200,000. It has an extensive trade with Egypt.

Cobbeih, the capital, is a merchant town and contains about 6000 inhabitants.

Fumbina or Adamaua is an extensive country south of Houssa and Bornu, under Foulah dominion. It consists of a large, fertile, and highly-cultivated valley, formed by the River Benue, which is the upper course of the Tchadda. Near Yola, the capital, the Benue receives the Faro, a large tributary coming from the south-west in the direction of the Cameroon Mountains. The waters in the rainy season, namely, from June to September, rise forty to fifty feet. This country was first visited by Dr. Barth in 1851.

Yola, the capital, lies in 8.50. north Lat., and 13.30. east Longitude.

To Africa belong a considerable number of islands. The Madeiras, belonging to Portugal, lie off the north-west coast of Africa, at a distance of about 360 miles. Madeira, the chief island, is about 100 miles in circuit, and has long been famed for its picturesque beauty, rich fruits, and fine climate, which renders it a favorite resort of invalids. Wine is the staple produce. Funchal, the chief town, with nearly 30,000 inhabitants, is a regular station for the West India mail steam-packets from Southampton, and the Brazilian sailing-packets from Falmouth.

The Canaries, belonging to Spain, the supposed Fortunate Islands of the ancients, are situated about 300 miles south of Madeira. They are thirteen in number, all of volcanic origin, Teneriffe being the largest. The latter is remarkable for its peak, which rises as a vast pyramidal mass to the height of 12,172 feet.

The Cape Verde Islands, subject to Portugal, are a numerous group about eighty miles from Cape Verde. They obtained their name from the profusion of sea-weed found by the discoverers in the neighboring ocean, giving it the appearance of a green meadow. They are also of volcanic origin.

Fernando Po, a very mountainous island, is in the Bight of Biafra. Formerly a British settlement, it was abandoned owing to its unhealthiness, and is now only inhabited by a few negroes and mulattoes.

St. Thomas, immediately under the equator, is a Portuguese settlement; as also Prince's Island, 2° north of the line.

Annobon, in 2. south Lat., belongs to the Spaniards.

Ascension, a small, arid, volcanic islet, was made a British port on the arrival of Napoleon Bonaparte at St. Helena, and since retained as a station, at which ships may touch for stores. Green Hill, the summit of the island, rises to the height of 2840 feet.

St. Helena is a huge dark mass of rock, rising abruptly from the ocean to the height of 2692 feet. James' Town is the only town and port, containing 5300 inhabitants.

Madagascar, the largest island of Africa, and one of the largest in the world, is separated from the Mozambique coast by a channel of that name, about 250 miles wide. The area exceeds that of France, comprising 225,000 square miles, and the population is estimated at 4,000,000.

It has an atmosphere so pestilential, in particular localities, that to breathe it for a short duration is generally, and very quickly fatal. But other parts are not insalubrious. The lemurs, an interesting tribe of animals, are peculiar to Madagascar and the Comoro Archipelago.

The inhabitants are diverse races of Negro, Arab, and Malay origin. The Ovaha, a people of the central provinces, are now dominant. The principal town, Tananarivy, has 8000 inhabitants.

The Comoro isles, four in number, are in the north part of the Mozambique Channel, and inhabited by Arab tribes.

Bourbon, 400 miles east of Madagascar, is a colony of France, producing for export, coffee, sugar, cocoa, spices, and timber.

Mauritius, ceded to the British by the French in 1814, is ninety miles north-east of Bourbon. The sugar-cane is chiefly cultivated. Port Louis, the capital, beautifully situated, has 26,000 inhabitants. Within the jurisdiction of the governor of the Mauritius, are the islands of Rodriguez, the Seychelles, and the Amirante islands.

Socotra, a large island, east of Cape Jeddah, with an Arab population, has been known from early times; it is now a British possession. This island was long celebrated as producing the finest aloetic drug: a few years ago this was denied; but now it is found still to produce a fine kind of aloe, though much of what passed as Socotrine aloes really came from India.



## E G Y P T.

WITH Menes, about B.C. 2717, Egyptian history commences. His dynasty is stated to have been one of Thinite kings, of the city of This, situated near Abydos in Upper Egypt. Respecting Menes, Manetho, according to Eusebius, relates that he made a foreign expedition and acquired renown; and, moreover, that he was killed by a hippopotamus, as Africanus also mentions. Diodorus Siculus, who calls him Menas, states that he first instructed the Egyptians in religion, and so changed their simple manners that Trephachthus, the father of Bocchoris the Wise, finding from experience the happiness of a frugal life, and the evils of luxury, inscribed a curse against him in the temple of Jupiter (or Amen-ra), at Thebes. Herodotus says that Menes founded the city of Memphis, after he had diverted the course of the river by raising the dyke. The same historian mentions that he built the temple of Hephæstus (or Ptah) in Memphis. His name, written Menee, has been found in hieroglyphic characters in a sort of list, or procession of small statues of kings, in the Rameseum of El-Kurneh, and in hieratic characters in the Royal Turin Papyrus.

Menes was succeeded, after a long reign, by Athothis his son, respecting whom Manetho tells us that he built the palace at Memphis, and that he was a physician, and left the anatomical books. This, as well as what Herodotus relates of his father having changed the course of the river, however that be understood, shows that the Egyptians were at

this remote period a highly civilized people; and the circumstances that, after an interval of less than four centuries from the accession of the first king, we find magnificent pyramids as royal sepulchres, and the tombs of the subjects sculptured and having hieroglyphic inscriptions, confirms this opinion. The Third Dynasty commenced, and Memphis became independent, during, or soon after, the reign of Athothis; but as the exact time of this change is not determined, it will be best to notice the later Thinite kings before speaking of the Memphite line of Sovereigns. Unephes, the fourth Thinite king, is said by Manetho to have built the pyramids near Kochome, a place which has not been identified; and it is added that Egypt was afflicted by a famine in his reign. In the time of Semempses, the seventh king, there was a very great plague. With his successor the dynasty terminated, having ruled, in all probability, about two centuries and a half.

The few particulars that we know of the history of the Second Dynasty, in which the Thinite line was continued, are related by Manetho alone. He says that in the reign of the first king Boethos, a chasm of the earth opened at Bubastis, and many perished; that under the second king Kaiecho, the bulls Apis in Memphis, and Menevis in Heliopolis, and the Mendesian goat, were called gods; and that under the next king Binothis, it was adjudged that women could hold the sovereign power. During the reign of the seventh king Nephhercheres, Manetho

tells us that it was fabled that the Nile flowed mixed with honey for the space of eleven days. His successor, according to the Egyptian historian, was Sesochris, a man of gigantic stature. Nothing further is related by Manetho of the occurrences of this dynasty, to which he assigns a duration of about 300 years. From the monuments, however, it appears most probable that it lasted little less than four centuries, and that the Thinite kingdom came to a close with it at the time of the Shepherd invasion.

The Memphite kingdom, as already noticed, commenced not long after the Thinite, with the Third Dynasty. Manetho relates that during the reign of the first king Necherophes or Necherochis, the Libyans revolted from the Egyptians, but returned to their allegiance, being terrified by a sudden increase of the moon. The second Memphite sovereign Tosorthos, or Sesorthos, is said by the same author to have been called by the Egyptians *Æsculapius*, on account of his medical knowledge, and to have invented the art of building with hewn stones, and to have patronized literature. After having lasted about two centuries, this dynasty was succeeded by the Fourth, one of the most famous of the lines which ruled in Egypt, while the Fifth Dynasty of Elephantinite kings arose at the same time.

Of Sosis, the head of the Fourth Dynasty, nothing is known; his name, written Shura, occurs in the hieroglyphic inscriptions of tombs near the Pyramids of El-Geezeh, and was found by Mr. Perring in the quarry-marks of the Northern Pyramid of Abou-Seer, which was therefore his tomb. In Manetho's list, according to Africanus, he was followed by two kings bearing the name of Suphis, who may be called Suphis I. and II. These correspond to the Shufu, or Khufu, and Num-Shufu, or Num-Khufu of the monuments. Since these names are found together, particularly in the quarry-marks of the Great Pyramid which has two chambers, and which are all agreed in assigning to the reign of one king, it is most reasonable to

suppose that they ruled together for the greater part of their reigns. Manetho makes Suphis I. to have ruled for 63 years, and Suphis II. 66. The latter, therefore, probably reigned for some years after the former. Shufu must be the first of these kings, since he is the Cheops (Kufu) to whom Herodotus ascribes the building of the Great Pyramid, which, according to Manetho, was the work of Suphis I. This is the period at which we first find undoubted cotemporary monuments of which we know the date, the earliest whereof is most probably the Northern Pyramid of Abou-Seer before mentioned. Under the rule of the Suphises such monuments are extremely numerous and afford us far better knowledge of the state of Egypt at that time than do the scanty remains of Manetho and the traditional tales of Herodotus and Diodorus. The names of both the Suphises occur among the rock inscriptions of Wadde-el-Magharah in the peninsula of Sinai, where the second of them, or Num-Shufu, is represented slaying a foreigner. The military expeditions of the Egyptians, however, at this period were probably of little importance, and designed to repress the nomad tribes which have at all times infested the eastern and other borders of Egypt, and to maintain the possessions beyond these borders. The Memphite Pharaohs were rather celebrated for the arts of peace and for the care with which they promoted the interests of literature and science. Of Suphis I. Manetho writes that he was arrogant towards the gods, but, repenting, wrote the Sacred Book. The power of the king or kings is evidenced by the magnitude of the Great Pyramid, and the costly manner of its construction; the safety of the kingdom by no soldiers being represented in the sculptures, and the general custom of going unarmed common to the great and the small; the wealth of the subjects, by the scenes portrayed upon the walls of their tombs; and the state of science and art, by the construction of monuments, gigantic in size, of materials many of which were transported



from a great distance, and fitted together with an accuracy that has never been excelled, as well as by the astronomical and other knowledge, of which evidence is found in the cotemporary inscriptions. After the Suphis-es ruled Mencheres. By him the Third Pyramid was raised, in which the late General Howard Vyse found part of his mummy case, bearing his name, now in the British Museum. According to Manetho, Queen Nitokris, the last sovereign of the Sixth Dynasty, built this pyramid; but it should be observed that Eusebius's version of the lists seems to state this merely on the authority of tradition. It is most probable, from its plan, that the building was enlarged and a new passage and chamber excavated in the rock beneath it after its first completion, whence it seems that the later sovereign, by this additional work, made the tomb of Mencheres her own sepulchre also. Of the subsequent kings of the Fourth Dynasty, who were, according to Africanus's version of the lists of Manetho, four in number, nothing is known. The duration of the dynasty probably somewhat exceeded two hundred years, and it was succeeded by that called the Sixth, in like manner of Memphite sovereigns.

The Fifth Dynasty, of Elephantinites, commenced about the same time as the Fourth. The names of several of its earlier kings occur in the necropolis of Memphis, and sometimes with those of the cotemporary sovereigns of the Fourth Dynasty. The most important of these is Sephres, the Shaf-ra or Khaf-ra of the monuments, the builder of the Second Pyramid. The Elephantinite Dynasty lasted not much less than six hundred years, and appears to have consisted of thirty-one kings, the last of whom, called by Manetho Onnos, and in hieroglyphics Unas, was contemporary, as is shown by an ancient inscription, with Assa the fifth king of the Fifteenth Dynasty of Shepherds, ruling at Memphis.

The Sixth Dynasty, by which the Memphite kingdom was ruled after the Fourth, lasted about a century and a half. The most

famous sovereign was the second of the line Papa or Phiops, who is related to have ruled a hundred years, a statement which the monuments seem to corroborate, although not directly. His sculptured records are numerous throughout Egypt, showing him to have been a powerful king, but not giving us any account of remarkable events during his reign. The second sovereign after him was Queen Nitokris. With her the Dynasty closed, Memphis being taken by the foreign invaders called Shepherds, whose first king made it his capital.

Another royal line, that of the Heracleopolites, arose while the Sixth Dynasty ruled at Memphis. The time of the commencement of the first Heracleopolite Dynasty, the Ninth, is not certain, but it was probably not long after that of the Memphite Dynasty above mentioned. The names of six kings of the Ninth Dynasty have been found in hieroglyphics, and their order is shown by the list of the Chamber of Kings: all these bear the name of Nantef, excepting the fifth, who is called Munt-hotp. The king last mentioned seems to have been the most powerful of the six; his successor in the list of the Chamber of Kings receives a title equivalent to that of "chief," and his name appears not to have been inclosed in a royal ring. Munt-hotp was contemporary with the last king of the Eleventh Dynasty, and it is therefore probable that his successor was deprived of all but titular power by the potent head of the Twelfth Dynasty. After this time the monuments have not been found to afford us any information respecting the Heracleopolite kingdom. Probably the Ninth Dynasty lasted about four hundred years, and the Tenth nearly two hundred, terminating at the time of the great Shepherd war of expulsion, which resulted in the overthrow of all the royal lines except the Diospolite.

With the Eleventh Dynasty commenced the Diospolite or Theban kingdom, which afterwards attained to greater power than any other, and had a longer uninterrupted

duration. Its first dynasty was that called the Eleventh, the kings of which excepting the last, seem to have been of little power, and are probably mentioned in subsequent inscriptions rather because they were the founders of the Diospolite line than as illustrious rulers. The duration of this dynasty is doubtful, and the time of its commencement has not been determined; it may be supposed that it began not long after the Ninth Dynasty. Amenemha I., its last sovereign, was a potent king who succeeded in a time of great disorder in establishing his kingdom as supreme in Upper Egypt. During part of his reign he was co-regent of Sesertesen I., head of the Twelfth Dynasty.

The commencement of the Twelfth Dynasty forms an epoch in Egyptian history. Until then the country seems to have enjoyed a long period of prosperity, and then to have been suddenly surprised and subdued by a foreign force, which succeeded in gaining possession of Lower Egypt, and maintained itself for upwards of five centuries, being at length expelled, after a protracted struggle, which did not probably finally terminate until upwards of a century or even more after its power was broken. This period—that of the Shepherd-rule—lasting from the invasion of Egypt until the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty, under which the foreigners are generally held to have been ultimately forced to leave the country, was one for the most part of great suffering to the inhabitants; yet it comprehends the rule of many sovereigns, both native and foreign, of strength and wisdom; and there can be no doubt that it brought out those martial qualities which afterwards so greatly distinguished the Egyptian race.

The manner in which Egypt was subdued by the foreigners is not certainly known. Manetho states that they easily gained possession of the country without a battle. This success may have been partly owing to the undisturbed good fortune which preceded the invasion, but must have been also attributable to other causes; and it is not improb-

able that some one of the Egyptian kings had called in the foreigners as allies, or hired them as mercenaries, both dangerous expedients, more especially the latter, which is generally regarded as a symptom of a decaying state or tyrannical government. Manetho relates that the Shepherds having subdued the country, burnt the cities, demolished the temples, and treated the people with great barbarity. It is probable that this account of their conduct is somewhat exaggerated, having been colored by the hatred which the Egyptians bore to the foreigners, and a recollection of the troubles of the great struggle which ended in their expulsion. At all events it is evident that they soon accommodated themselves to the manners of the Egyptians, adopted their religion, and endeavored in every way to promote the welfare of the subjugated country. The race of the foreigners has been much disputed; the Egyptian historian says that some said they were Arabs, and in his lists the kings of the first Shepherd Dynasty, the Fifteenth, are called Phœnicians. There is reason to suppose the latter statement to be true, and there is also evidence that some of the foreign race were Arabs, and certain of their kings, most probably of the Sixteenth Dynasty, appear to have been Assyrians. Having said thus much respecting the establishment of the Shepherds in Egypt, we must return to the Diospolite kingdom.

The first king of the Twelfth Dynasty was Sesertesen I., of whose long reign many records, but those chiefly of subjects, yet remain. The most interesting of the national monuments is a tablet found by Dr. Ricci at Wadde Halfeh, in Nubia, near the Second Cataract, recording the king's triumph over foreign tribes, probably Ethiopians, and showing that at this early period the Egyptian rule had stretched thus far into Nubia. For part of his reign Sesertesen I. was co-regent with Amenemha I., the last sovereign of the Eleventh Dynasty, and with Amenemha II. towards the close of his reign. Under the latter king the first Tropical Cycle



commenced B.C. 2005. Late in his reign he took as his colleague Sesertesen II. The next king, who probably was for part of his reign co-regent with Sesertesen II., was Sesertesen III., the Sesostris of Manetho. This name of Sesostris is applied by ancient historians to several kings. It is probably derived from Sesertesen: other derivations have indeed been proposed, but none of these is equally satisfactory. We can recognize an early Sesostris, that is, Sesertesen III., and a later one, Rameses II., of the Nineteenth Dynasty, and it is not unlikely that Sesertesen I. is also spoken of under this name. If this supposition be correct, we may distinguish the two very ancient kings as Sesostris the conqueror, or Sesertesen I., or Sesostris the lawgiver, or Sesertesen III. After the reigns of two other sovereigns, Amenemha IV. and Ra-sebak-nufret, who was, according to Manetho, as preserved by Africanus, a queen, the sister of her predecessor, the dynasty came to a close. It is probable that these two ruled with Amenemha II., as successive co-regents, perhaps towards the close of the reign. This dynasty lasted about 160 years: Africanus assigns to it, in his version of Manetho's list, exactly that duration, and the monuments and Royal Turin Papyrus afford confirmation of this sum. At its termination the power of the Diospolites became greatly diminished, and did not recover until the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty.

The Fourteenth Dynasty, or Xoite kingdom, seems to have arisen with, or during, the Twelfth Dynasty. It had its seat of government at Xoïs, a town of Lower Egypt in the northern part of the ancient Delta. Seventy-six kings are assigned to this line, and a duration of either 184 or 484 years. The latter sum is the more probable if the number of kings be correct. Supposing, then, that the Fourteenth Dynasty lasted for nearly five centuries, it probably terminated during the great Shepherd war, and perhaps some years before the beginning of the Eighteenth.

The Shepherd kings of the Fifteenth Dynasty were the greatest of the foreign rulers. The first of these, Salatis or Saitês, was made king, according to Manetho, after the conquest of the country (*cir.* B. C. 2080). "He lived at Memphis, making the Upper and Lower Country to pay tribute, and placing garrisons in the most fit situations." Of these the greatest was Avaris, an old city, to the east of the Pelusiac Branch, which he rebuilt and fortified strongly with placing in it an enormous garrison. His object was to defend the frontier against the Assyrians, who Manetho tells us, he foresaw would have a desire to invade his kingdom. Salatis died after an active reign of nineteen years. In the lists he and his successors are called Phœnicians, and it is very probable that they were of that race. His nomen is not found in the hieroglyphic inscriptions, but his pre-nomen occurs both on a contemporary monument and in the Royal Turin Papyrus.

The successor of Salatis was Bêôn, in the hieroglyphics Pi-ankhee, and he was followed by Apachnas, whose nomen is found only in the Royal Turin Papyrus, and is of doubtful reading. The next king was Iannas, called on the monuments A-an, to whom succeeded Assis, whose hieroglyphic name is Assa. There are several tombs of the time of this king in the necropolis of Memphis, from the sculptures and inscriptions of which we obtain great insight into the state of the Shepherd kingdom under his rule. In the sculptures we see the same evidences of the prosperity and wealth of the subjects as in those of the period of the Fourth Dynasty. The foreigners appear to have adopted the Egyptian dress and manners so completely that we do not find a single foreign name. In one tomb the inscriptions show that the Shepherd kings of this dynasty held Leontopolis or the Leontopolite nome in the eastern part of the ancient Delta, which shows that their dominion must have been extensive. Most probably Assa was the Pharaoh of whom Joseph was the prime minister, the patriarch receiving that ap-

pointment towards the close of his reign, and continuing to hold it in the next reign. Of the last king of the Fifteenth Dynasty, the successor of Assa, the monuments tell us nothing, and it is not even certain that his name has been found in hieroglyphics or hieratic. In Manetho's lists he is called Aphobis or Apobhis. With him the greatest Shepherd Dynasty came to a close, and Memphis was again the seat of native kings.

After the end of the Twelfth Dynasty, about B. C. 1920, the Diospolite kingdom was ruled by the Thirteenth, which lasted about 400 years, until the commencement of the Eighteenth Dynasty. The kings seem to have been of little power, for the most part, and probably tributary to the Shepherds. They possessed, however, a considerable tract south of Egypt; and this may be supposed to have been an asylum for them during the troublous period of their rule. All the names of these kings have not been found. The Fourteenth Dynasty, or Xoite Kingdom, has been already noticed.

The Eighth Dynasty, of Memphites, succeeded the Fifteenth, and ruled, according to Africanus's version of Manetho's list, nearly a century and a half. It is not certain whether the Seventh Dynasty, likewise of Memphites, to which the same version assigns a duration of only seventy days, intervened between the Sixth and Fifteenth Dynasties, or the Fifteenth and Eighth. The native successors of the Shepherds at Memphis seem to have been princes of little power and contracted dominions. The Shepherds of the Sixteenth Dynasty appear to have succeeded to the political position of those of the Fifteenth. It is very remarkable that in the Royal Turin Papyrus among kings who must be assigned to this dynasty or the Seventeenth are certain who appear to be Assyrians, and one of these is probably a Pharaoh who oppressed Israel, the predecessor of him who was drowned in the Red Sea. Indeed there are strong grounds for supposing that this dynasty was composed of kings of a different race or races to those

of the Fifteenth, and bitterly opposed to them; and that when the rule of the latter came to a close they seized their possessions in the eastern part of the Delta, and persecuted the Israelites who had been favored by the earlier sovereigns. Of the Seventeenth Dynasty nothing is known, except that its kings were Shepherds. Africanus's version indeed makes them to have been coregent Diosopolites and Shepherds, but this is generally held to be a mistake.

From the time of Assa to the commencement of the Eighteenth Dynasty a period of about three centuries and a half, scarcely any monuments have been discovered, and this indicates that Egypt was then in a weak and distracted condition, and agrees with the statement of Manetho, that after the Shepherds had ruled Egypt for 511 years, the kings of the Thebais and of the rest of Egypt made an insurrection against them, and a great and long war raged between them. The kings here meant must have been a Diospolite of the Thirteenth Dynasty, probably with a Heracleopolite of the Tenth, and a Xoite of the Fourteenth. The great war thus commenced had resulted at the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty in the restoration to Egyptian rule of nearly all Lower Egypt; and the other lines having then come to an end, the whole power was centred in the Theban monarchy. It was, however, probably more than a century before the foreigners were finally expelled.

With the Eighteenth Dynasty, about B. C. 1525, a new period of Egyptian history commences, new in the abundance of materials for its reconstruction, and in the greatness of the monarchy whose fortunes it relates. The sources of information are no one connected history, but numerous inscriptions, sculptures, and papyri, whence we can gather many of the remarkable events by which this and the succeeding dynasty were distinguished.

The first king of the Eighteenth Dynasty was Aah-mes, whom Manetho called Amos or Amosis. No great monuments of his



reign remain, but from various inscriptions we must infer that he was a powerful king, and that in his time the Shepherds had quitted the greater part of Egypt. Two records of especial interest may be particularized. One is a long inscription in the tomb at Eilethyas of one Aah-mes, chief of the mariners, who served several of the early kings of the Eighteenth Dynasty, having commenced his career under King Aah-mes. The inscription speaks of war at sea, or on the river, mentions the famous Shepherd-city Avaris, and relates that the king made in his sixth year an expedition by water to Ethiopia to impose tribute. The other record is a tablet at the quarries of El-Ma'sarah, a little above Cairo, on the east bank of the river, opposite Memphis, which relates that in the twenty-second year of his reign Aah-mes cut stone for the temple of Ptah, most probably at Memphis, and for that of Amen at Thebes. Amenoph I., the successor of Aah-mes, was at least as potent a king, and the memorials of his reign are more numerous. They are chiefly found in the representations or paintings of the tombs of his subjects; but chambers in the more ancient portion of the great temple of Amen-ra, now called that of El-Karnak, at Thebes, show that he did not neglect public edifices. He was evidently successful in wars against the Ethiopians as well as against Asiatics. To him succeeded Thothmes I., in whose reign the arms of Egypt were carried into Mesopotamia, for one of his officers has left an inscription recording that he brought booty thence. The same king warred in Ethiopia also. In the great temple at Thebes he made additions, and in particular, set up there two obelisks of red granite, of which one yet stands. Under the next sovereign, Thothmes II., the prosperity of Egypt continued, and the extent of his kingdom is proved by his name being found as far south as Napata (Gebel Berkel), in Ethiopia. With him was associated in the government a Queen Amen-numt, who appears to have possessed much greater power than he, if not

to have ruled solely while he was but nominally a king. For at least sixteen years, that is, for the whole of the reign of Thothmes II. and the first three or four years of that of Thothmes III., this queen continued to govern, and left many beautiful monuments to attest her magnificence and power, chiefest of which are the lofty obelisks of the temple of Amen-ra at Thebes, one of which is still standing, while the other is fallen and broken in pieces. Thothmes III. appears soon to have emancipated himself from the control of Queen Amen-numt. His reign was marked by many successful expeditions conducted by him in person, in one of which he penetrated as far as Nineveh, though it is not said whether he besieged that city or not. If Manetho be accurate, the most important military event must, however, have been his successful war with the Shepherds, who according to that historian, were driven by him out of all Egypt excepting the stronghold of Avaris on the frontier. Many monuments especially at Thebes, remain to prove the greatness of this king and the wealth of his subjects. The tombs of private persons are not the least interesting of these memorials, and afford, in the representations which adorn their walls, very beautiful specimens of ancient Egyptian painting. Indeed, the reign of Thothmes III., with that of Thothmes II. preceding it, and those of Amenoph II., Thothmes IV., and Amenoph III. following it, may be considered as comprising the best period of art, all the earlier time showing a gradual improvement, and all the later a gradual declension. We do not, however, trace a very marked falling away until the power of Egypt had begun to decline, full two centuries later than the end of Thothmes III.'s reign. Of Amenoph II., the son and successor of Thothmes III., little is known, and we can scarcely err in supposing his reign to have been short and unmarked by very important events. In the reign of Amenoph's son Thothmes IV., occurred according to Manetho, the departure of the Shepherds from their last possession

in Egypt. The Egyptian historian relates that having unsuccessfully beleaguered Avaris, the stronghold of the foreigners, Thothmes agreed to terms, and the Shepherds were permitted to leave the country unmolested with their families and effects. The monuments have not been found to allude to this event, and they tell us little of this reign, but that little shows that, short as it evidently was, it was marked by prosperity and success.

Thothmes IV. was succeeded by his son Amenoph III., one of the most illustrious kings of the best period of Egyptian history. In his time we find a distinct record of the kingdom, which is stated to have had Nereena (Mesopotamia) as its northern boundary, and Keruee or Keluee (probably Coloe) as its southern. Although it does not distinctly appear whether these are to be understood as the outermost provinces or as the lands bounding those provinces, and although the southern boundary cannot be positively ascertained, yet we can gain some idea of the power of Egypt from the inscription. Syria, west of Euphrates, obeyed Amenoph III., and a very great part of Ethiopia; and that the latter was the case is proved by monuments and their inscriptions in that country, and records of his successes in the inscriptions of Egypt. It is remarkable that he seems from his physiognomy to have been partly of Ethiopian origin. His long reign of nearly forty years, at the least, was marked by the construction of magnificent temples. Of these the greatest were two at Thebes; one on the west bank, of which scarce anything remains but the two great colossi which stood on each side of the approach to it, and one of which is famous as the Vocal Memnon. On the opposite bank he likewise built the great temple now called that of El-Uksur, which Rameses II. afterwards greatly increased in size. It is almost needless to remark that the identification of this king with Memnon by the Greeks, apart from the circumstance that other Pharaohs were so called by them, is of no historical value. The tomb of Amenoph

III. yet remains at Thebes in the Western Valley near that of the tombs of the kings.

After the reign of Amenoph III., the tranquillity of Egypt was disturbed by the rule of the chiefs of stranger settlers, foreign princes, who were allied to the Egyptian royal family. Whatever may have been their title, it is evident that the Egyptians regarded them as usurpers, and they were unable to maintain themselves but by a rigorous military despotism. Their monuments have been found in all parts of Egypt, but much defaced or entirely ruined by the enmity of the Egyptians. We learn, however, that they abandoned the Egyptian religion, and set up in its place sun-worship; that they built a city in Middle Egypt, near the modern village of Tel-el-'Amarineh; and raised temples at Thebes and elsewhere. Manetho appears to have noticed their rule, for Eusebius, in the second part of his chronicle, mentions that during the reign of Amenophis (Amenoph III.) "the Ethiopians, migrating from the river Indus, came and dwelt near to Egypt;" and in the catalogue of kings of Egypt by an anonymous author, given by Syncellus, we find the following passage immediately before the mention of Oros, Amenoph's son and legitimate successor:—"The Ethiopians, coming from the river Indus, settled near to Egypt." Several kings of this race ruled after Amenoph III., of whom the most important was Amenoph IV., or Berk-en-atenra. The duration of their power probably did not much exceed thirty years. The religion of these foreigners is a matter of great interest, as it presents us with a very ancient example of pure sun-worship. The sun is represented as adored by them under the form of a disk whence issue numerous rays, each terminating in a human hand, one of which presents to the worshipper the symbol of life. It appears that they adored one god, whom they supposed to be resident in the sun, and operating through its rays; and that they worshipped this god through the medium of the sun and its rays.



Precisely how and when the sun-worshippers were expelled from Egypt or destroyed, does not appear; though it can scarcely be doubted that Oros, the Har-em-heb of the monuments, who succeeded them, was the prince by whom they were overthrown. Har-em-heb was a son of Amenoph III., and with him was continued the legitimate line of Diospolite sovereigns. The records of his reign are comparatively unimportant. The sculptures of a rock temple at Silsilis, Gebel-silsileh, commemorate a successful expedition against the negroes.

Oros was succeeded by Rameses I., of whose very short reign no important details have reached us. After him his son, Sethee I., one of the greatest of the Pharaohs, ascended the throne. The exact duration of his reign, which must have been long, is uncertain, and probably for part of it he ruled jointly with his son Rameses II. His accession may be placed about B.C. 1340, which is therefore the approximative date of the commencement of the Nineteenth Dynasty; for Manetho makes him head of that line, a position which should rather, one would think, have been assigned to his father Rameses I. The most important architectural work of his reign yet remaining is the magnificent hypostyle hall in the great temple of El-Karnak, on the outside of the north wall of which is a highly interesting series of sculptures representing the great achievements of his arms. His tomb, which is generally known as "Belzoni's," from its discoverer, is the most beautiful of those in the valley of the tombs of the kings; and its size shows that his reign must have been a long one, for it is well known that the sepulchre of an Egyptian king was usually commenced at or not long after his accession, and thus indicated the duration of his reign. The most important of the military exploits of Sethee I. appears to have been the conquest of the Kheta or Hittites, and the capture of their great stronghold Ketesh, or Ashteroth-Karnaim.

Rameses II., who succeeded his father,

Sethee I., probably after having ruled jointly with him for some time, was the most illustrious of the ancient kings of Egypt. It is he who is generally intended by the Sesostris of the Greek and Roman writers. His reign lasted, according to Manetho, if we follow what seems the best readings, a little above sixty-six years, and was marked by great success in war and by the construction of magnificent edifices. Among the latter may be mentioned at Thebes the great temple, commonly called the Memnonium, but more appropriately the Rameseum of El-Kurneh, on the western bank, one of the most beautiful of Egyptian monuments, and a great part of the temple of El-Uksur on the opposite bank, as well as additions to that of El-Karnak. Throughout Egypt and Nubia are similar memorials of the power of Rameses II., one of the most remarkable of which is the great rock temple of Abou Simbel, not far north of the Second Cataract. The temple of Ptah at Memphis was also adorned and enlarged by this Pharaoh, and its site is chiefly marked by a very beautiful colossal statue of him, fallen on its face, and partly mutilated. The numerous monuments of Rameses II. and a hieratic papyrus commemorate the successful wars in which he was engaged. The most important of these was waged against the Hittites, called by the Egyptians the Kheta, and their allies, and was decided late in the fifth year of the king's reign. A powerful confederacy had been formed by the Hittites, the Khilibu, or people of Aleppo, the people of Karkamish, and other tribes, some of which had been tributary to the crown of Egypt, and a great army collected to support their avowal of independence. The strongest of the confederates were the Kheta led by several chiefs. The king of Egypt marched against them, and the contending armies met in the plain of Ketesh, or Ashteroth-Karnaim, a strong city which formed the basis of the confederates' operations. The generals of the latter had made a skillful disposition of their forces. Having drawn up their infan-

try in a large and deep phalanx before Asheroth-Karnaim, and behind the moat which surrounded that city, they posted their chariots on the other side of the moat. The chariot force had an open plain in which to manœuvre, while the infantry, placed on rising and wooded country, and protected by the moat, was ready to support the retreat of the rest of the army, or follow up its advance. The Egyptian chariots, led by the king and four of his sons, met and broke the charge of the Hittites; and notwithstanding that their infantry, having crossed the fosse by a bridge, endeavored to maintain the day, they were put to the rout, and many of those who escaped the arrows of the chariot force and the swords of the infantry were drowned in attempting to recross the moat. Negotiations were in consequence commenced, which resulted in a treaty favorable to the king of Egypt. The war appears to have broken out again some years afterwards, for we find in an inscription of the temple of El-Karnak the record of peace having been concluded with certain chiefs of the Kheta, in the twenty-first year of the reign of Rameses II. The foreigners were compelled to pay tribute by this treaty, whence they must be supposed to have been previously worsted. Many other nations were subdued by Rameses II., but his chief exploit was the overthrow of the confederacy. His great expeditions seem almost all to have been conducted in the earlier part of his reign, and its latter portion appears to have been chiefly spent in advancing the welfare of the country by a promotion of the arts of peace.

Menptah, the thirteenth legitimate son of Rameses II., reigned in his father's stead. Of his rule the records are few and of little importance; and a story is told by Manetho, who does not vouch for its accuracy, that then great troubles befel Egypt. He relates that, according to this account, the foreigners and unclean people who were in the country, having been sent to work in the quarries by order of the king, revolted, and, in alliance

with a force of Shepherds of the race of those who had been previously expelled, called in by them from Palestine, effected the subjugation of Egypt, which they held for thirteen years, while the king was a fugitive in Ethiopia; and that at the end of that time he returned with Sethos his son and drove them out with great slaughter. The leader of the rebels is said to have been Moses, and the people the Jews, but neither the time nor the circumstances are favorable to this view, which, nevertheless, is that of some eminent modern scholars. The monuments cannot be denied to afford corroboration to the story, by indicating that about this time there was intestine trouble in Egypt, and that at least one king ruled who was not afterwards regarded as legitimate by the Egyptians. The usurper was Siptah, who married Queen Ta-seser, a daughter of Rameses II.; and Amenmeses, whose place is not certainly known, probably succeeded him, being in that case likewise a usurper.

The head of the Twentieth Dynasty was Sethee II., who was probably the son of Menptah. His accession, and therefore the commencement of the dynasty, may be placed about B.C.1220.

The monuments tell us nothing important respecting the reigns of Sethee II., and of his successor Merer-ra: of the latter it can only be said that he evidently ruled but a short time, leaving the kingdom to his son Rameses III. With that sovereign the glories of the Theban line revived, and a series of great victories by land and sea raised Egypt to the place which it held under Rameses II., to whom alone he may be considered second as a warlike prince. In a state-ly temple, now called that of Medeenet-Haboo, which he raised on the western bank at Thebes, are sculptures and inscriptions commemorating the exploits of his reign, which are not, for the most part, elsewhere recorded. A small edifice, which was evidently a royal residence, and has been called his pavilion, and an extensive tomb in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings, are the only other



striking monuments of a reign which seems to have been much occupied in the prosecution of foreign wars. Of these, one of the most important, if not perhaps the most important, was that which he waged against "the Khairtana of the Sea," and the "Tokkaree," whom his fleet defeated in a sea-fight, which he beheld from the shore like Xerxes at Salamis. This sea-fight is the subject of one of the most remarkable battle-scenes which adorn the great temple of Medeenet-Haboo.

Among the other nations whom Rameses III. conquered, were the Pelesatu, or Philistines, who have the same physiognomy and costume as the Tokkaree, thus indicating a common origin, the Rebu, a powerful people, and other uncertain races. Nine kings, all bearing the name of Rameses, succeeded Rameses III., but their rule was not (as far as we know) marked by great events, and scarcely any monuments but their tombs remain to commemorate it. Rameses IV., V., VI., and VII. were all sons of Rameses III.; and it is most probable that they supplanted one another, and thus weakened the country by their dissensions. At the close of the reign of Rameses XII., the supreme power fell into the hands of a ruler of the Twenty-first Dynasty, three kings of which have left records at Thebes. The first of these was Amense Pahor, whom Manetho calls Osochor, and makes the fifth king of the dynasty; the second, Piankh, who is, according to Manetho, Psinaches, the sixth king of the same line; and the third Pisham, Psusennes, the seventh and last. Pahor and Pisham are represented as priests, though receiving the titles of kings, a custom which was continued, but not so exclusively, under the next dynasty.

Manetho calls the Twenty-second Dynasty, which next occupied the Egyptian throne, of Bubastite kings; and this statement receives some support from the circumstance, that the name of one of them has been found among the sculptured remains of the temples of Bubastis. These sovereigns cannot, how-

ever, have been of unmixed Egyptian origin, for Mr. Birch has shown, from their names and those of princes of their family, that they must have been partly at least of Assyrian or Babylonian race. Their policy, also, was rather that of those peoples than of the Egyptians, if we may judge from Sheshonk's war with Rehoboam; for Sheshonk I. is the Shishak mentioned in the Bible. His accession of Sheshonk I. may therefore be placed in the year B. C. 1008 or 1009, and his march against Jerusalem in that B. C. 988, his 21st or 22d year. Among the sculptures of the great temple El-Karnak is a list of nations and towns conquered by Sheshonk I., among which Champollion discovered the name of the kingdom of Judah, and of various cities, of which some appear to have been in the territories of Jeroboam I., to whom the king of Egypt seems therefore to have acted faithlessly. Osorkon I., the next king, is supposed to have been the Zerah whom Asa king of Judah defeated in the year B. C. 962, or somewhat later; but if Manetho's numbers have been rightly preserved, this king could not have been Zerah, though by that name might be intended a later Osorkon. Of the other kings of this dynasty, the monuments tell us scarcely more than the names. After having ruled 120 years, according to Africanus's version of Manetho's lists, it was succeeded by the Twenty-third Dynasty of Tanite kings, about B. C. 889. From this period until the accession of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, the chronology and history is obscure. Of the Twenty-third Dynasty we know nothing of importance, and we cannot determine its duration. It is probably that the hieroglyphic names of some of its sovereigns occur on the monuments, but this is not certain. With the end of the Twenty-second Dynasty, the fortune of the brightest period of Egyptian history deserted the Pharaohs; and except under the vigorous rule of the Ethiopians, and then of certain of the kings of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, never returned. When Egypt had been united under a single head at the com-

mencement of the Eighteenth Dynasty, those great expeditions soon began which made the Egyptian name famous in after ages. The countries lying to the east of Egypt, as far as the Euphrates, were overrun by the forces of the Pharaohs, and their inhabitants compelled to render allegiance, and make tributary presents to those sovereigns. But no attempt seems to have been made to bring the strangers under Egyptian government, although alliances were entered into with some, in order to bind them in friendship with the conquering power. Notwithstanding their aversion to foreigners, there is abundant evidence that the Egyptians treated such allies with respect, unlike the Assyrians and Babylonians, who enslaved and transplanted the nations which they subdued. Constantly, however, the tributaries rose in revolt against the Egyptians, and caused many long and fierce struggles before they were reduced to their former condition; and they seem to have been supported in these contests by some great power seated on the Tigris or Euphrates. Ethiopia was, at least nearly as far as the junction of the White and Blue Niles, a province of Egypt, having the same religion and laws, and governed by a prince, called "the Prince of Kush." From the accession of Aah-mes, the head of the Eighteenth Dynasty, until the time of Rameses II., the power of Egypt gradually increased: under the latter king it attained its greatest height, and having apparently waned somewhat after his reign, it rose again through the vigour of Rameses III. Under the kings that followed him, the kingdom of Egypt fell into an insignificant condition; and in Solomon's time seems scarcely to have possessed anything in Syria. Sheshonk I., however, taking advantage of the divisions which followed the reign of Solomon, rendered the kingdom of Judah, and doubtless that of Israel also, tributary to him. But not long after his time, probably in consequence of the power of the Assyrian empire, Egypt again declined, and did not rise until the rule of the Ethiopians.

The Twenty-fourth Dynasty consisted of a single king, Bocchoris the Wise, a Saite, the period of whose rule was six years. He was celebrated as a lawgiver. His reign was brought to a disastrous termination by Sabaco the Ethiopian, who, having taken him captive burned him alive. Thus was established the Twenty-fifth Dynasty of Ethiopian kings, which can scarcely be considered a foreign line, since Ethiopia was so thoroughly Egyptian at that time; and the transfer of supreme power cannot, therefore, though effected by armed force, be regarded as very different from the earlier changes of one native dynasty for another.

The accession of Sabaco may be assigned to about the year B.C. 749. His hieroglyphic name, Shebek (I.), is found on some monuments of his reign, to which we may assign a duration of twelve years. Sebichus, his son, succeeded him, and ruled fourteen years. He likewise bears the name of Shebek (II.) on the monuments. The most important event that we know of his reign is the treaty which he concluded with Hoshea, the last king of Israel; who, nevertheless, was overpowered by Shalmaneser, the potent king of Assyria, soon afterwards. In the Bible he is called So or Sewa, after the manner in which Egyptian names are often abbreviated in Hebrew. The last king of this dynasty—called by Manetho Tareus or Taracus, in the Bible Tirhakah, was one of the greatest sovereigns who ruled Egypt, insomuch that Megasthenes mentions him with Sesostris as having carried his arms as far as Europe. Monuments in Egypt and Ethiopia, particularly at Gebel-Berkel, the ancient Napata, commemorate his piety and his success in war. He came to the throne *cir.* B.C. 723, and ruled twenty years. In the year *cir.* B.C. 710 he advanced against Sennacherib to support Hezekiah, king of Judah. It does not appear whether he met the Assyrian army, but it seems probable that its miraculous destruction occurred before any engagement had been fought between the rival forces. Perhaps we may conclude that Tir-



hakah availed himself of this opportunity to restore the supremacy of Egypt west of the Euphrates. With the reign of Tirhakah the Twenty-fifth Dynasty closed; but, according to Eusebius, an Ethiopian, Ammeres, commenced the next line, the Twenty-sixth Dynasty of Saïte kings. The earlier part of that dynasty presents many difficulties, and it is not until the reign of Psammitichus, or Psametik I., that the history and chronology become clear. This king was, according to Manetho, either the fourth or fifth king of the dynasty, having succeeded Necho I. Herodotus tells us that before his reign the country was ruled by a dodecarchy of which he was a member; and that, by the help of Ionian, Carian, and Phœnician mercenaries, he overthrew his colleagues, and rendered himself sole king of Egypt. Psammitichus came to the throne in this manner, B.C. 664, and reigned for fifty-four years. He was generally successful, and under him the arts began to show a marked revival. The sculptures of his time, and that of his successors in the same dynasty, are often not much inferior to those of the Nineteenth Dynasty, and far superior to those of the Twenty-second and Twenty-fifth. He did not forget the services of his mercenaries, especially the Greeks, and in addition encouraged their fellow-countrymen to trade with Egypt, and caused his subjects to be instructed in their language. In this manner, and by showing a preference to the Greek troops above the native Egyptian soldiers, he offended the latter, of whom a great force rebelled, and, notwithstanding the king's remonstrances, left their country, and established themselves in Ethiopia, far south of Egypt. Even if the number stated by Herodotus be much exaggerated, this defection must have contributed to weaken Egypt, no less than the establishment of a mercenary force, which alienated the affections of the Egyptians, particularly the soldiery. Psammitichus carried on a successful war in Palestine, and took Ashdod or Azotus, after a twenty-nine years' siege. Towards the close of his reign Psammitichus

averted an invasion of Egypt by the Scythians, who had gained possession of the kingdom of the Medes and the dominion of Asia. They advanced to Palestine on their way to Egypt, but Psammitichus, having met them, stayed their progress with presents and prayers. His son—called in the inscriptions Neko, by Manetho Necho II., and in the Bible Pharaoh-Nechoh—succeeded him in the year B.C. 610. His reign was marked by great events. In his first year he advanced into Palestine, marching along the sea-coast on his way to Carchemish on the Euphrates, and was met by Josiah, king of Judah, who, although he remonstrated, opposed his passage. Their armies joined battle at Megiddo, called by Herodotus Magdolus, and Josiah was slain and his forces put to rout. It is probable that Neko was successful in the object of his enterprise, and that he speedily returned to Egypt in triumph, having on his way back deposed Jehoahaz, Josiah's son, and set up Jehoiakim, his elder brother, in his stead. The expedition was apparently intended to strike a blow at the failing power of the Assyrians, whose capital soon after fell a prey to the combined forces of the Babylonians and Medes. The army, however, which was stationed on the Euphrates by Neko, met with a signal disaster three years subsequently, being routed by Nebuchadnezzar at Carchemish. The warlike king of Babylon pushed his success, and we read in the Bible, after a mention of Jehoiakim's death, that "the king of Egypt came not again any more out of his land; for the king of Babylon had taken from the river of Egypt unto the river Euphrates all that pertained to the king of Egypt." But although warlike affairs occupied so much of his reign, Neko was not inattentive to the welfare of commerce, for he either commenced the canal from the Nile to the Red Sea, or attempted to clear the course of one previously dug; but in either case, the work was not completed. He likewise maintained a fleet both in the Mediterranean and in the Red Sea; and Phœnicians, by his command,

attempted and accomplished the circumnavigation of Africa. He was an enlightened and wise prince, who encouraged foreigners without incurring the jealousy of the Egyptians, and whose dealings with neighboring nations evince both moderation and policy.

Psametik II., called by Herodotus Psammis, who succeeded his father B.C. 595, does not seem in his short reign of six years to have done anything worthy of record. Egypt, however, prospered under his rule, for the splendid tombs of his subjects, and those of his successors, show the wealth of the country from this time to its subjugation by Cambyses. The next sovereign was Uahphrah, called Pharaoh-Hophra in the Bible, and by Herodotus Apries. He began to reign B.C. 589, and at first was eminently successful, for he entered Palestine and Phœnicia, taking Gaza and Sidon, and defeated the king of Tyre in a sea-fight. He also worsted the Cyprians. Having thus restored the influence of Egypt, he succored Zedekiah, the king of Judah, in his rebellion against Nebuchadnezzar, and when Jerusalem was besieged by the Chaldeans the advance of his army compelled them to raise the siege. The city nevertheless fell, and the power of Egypt in Palestine was crushed by the campaigns of Nebuchadnezzar. The fugitive Jews were kindly received by Pharaoh-Hophra, and seem henceforward to have formed an important part of the population. At the fall of the kingdom of Israel many Hebrews had taken refuge in Egypt, and this was not the only occasion on which their numbers were increased by other emigrants. Greater calamities than the loss of his influence to the east of Egypt befel Apries at a later time, for an army which he sent against the Greeks of Cyrene was cut to pieces, and a consequent military revolt placed the crown on the head of Amasis. Apries was deserted by all except the Ionian and Carian troops, and a few Egyptians, but nevertheless he marched to meet the rebel. At Momemphis, near the lake Mareotis, a decisive battle was fought, and Apries was

made prisoner by Amasis. At first the new king treated his captive with consideration, but afterwards yielding to the importunities of the people, who hated him, he gave him up to them, by whom he was strangled. Nevertheless he buried him royally. Thus was fulfilled the prophecy spoken by Jeremiah: "I will give Pharaoh-Hophra, king of Egypt, into the hand of his enemies, and into the hand of them that seek his life." There seems little doubt that at the time of this rebellion, and perhaps in conjunction with the advance of Amasis, Egypt was invaded and desolated by Nebuchadnezzar. It should be observed, however, that the remarkable prophecies of Ezekiel may refer for the most part to the invasion by Cambyses.

Amasis or Aah-mes came to the throne in the year B.C. 570, and ruled with great credit for nearly half a century. He endeavored rather to consolidate the power of Egypt than to make extensive conquests, and thus he strengthened the country against its dangerous neighbors on the east. He was not regardless of the welfare of commerce, and the efficiency of his navies is shown by his having subjugated Cyprus and made it tributary. The Babylonian kingdom became so weak in his days, that he joined Nabonidus its king, and Crœsus the sovereign of Lydia, in an alliance to oppose Cyrus. Nevertheless Babylon fell, and with it the remains of the great empire founded by Nebuchadnezzar, and the defeat of Crœsus followed the fall of his ally. Xenophon says that Crœsus was aided by a strong force of Egyptians, who in a great battle near Thybarra maintained themselves unbroken until Cyrus granted them honorable terms, and that he settled them in the cities of Larissa and Cyllene, on the coast of Asia Minor. From the manner in which this is narrated, and particularly from the evident appeal to the truth of the narrative on account of the cities being called those of the Egyptians, this seems to be, notwithstanding that it occurs in the *Cyropædia*, a genuine fragment of history. If so,



we could well understand why Egypt was unable to offer a vigorous resistance to the Persian invader a few years later, since it would have thus been deprived of a great part of the army. Monuments were raised by Amasis throughout Egypt, of which some remains are yet to be seen, but his works were probably chiefly in Lower Egypt and at Saïs; and hence there are no very remarkable ruins of his time, since the temples of Upper Egypt are the best preserved. Towards the close of his long reign Amasis found himself obliged to make great preparations to resist the threatened invasion of Cambyses, and at length died a little before that calamity befel his country. His son, Psammenitus, most probably the Psametik III. of the monuments, ascended the throne B.C. 525, and prepared to meet the advancing enemy. The king of Egypt, at the head of a native and Greek army, awaited the invader at Pelusium, which was long regarded as the key of the country, and therefore called in the Bible "Sin, the strength of Egypt." After an obstinate battle the Persians gained the day, and Cambyses advanced against Memphis. Thither he despatched a herald in a Mitylenian vessel; but the Egyptians, exasperated against the unjust invader, destroyed all on board. Cambyses then laid siege to the city, whose ancient fort, the White Wall, offered a protracted resistance, but at length fell into the hands of the invader, with Psammenitus the king. Thereupon Cambyses signalized his victory by characteristic acts of cruelty, rendered more odious by being partly enacted under a show of justice, and insulted the conquered king by the humiliation of his daughter to the rank of a poor slave, and the execution of his son as a low malefactor. Moved by shame rather than pity, he ordered the king's son to be spared when it was too late, but afterwards he was not able to refrain from the meanness of dragging forth and burning the mummy of Amasis and that of his queen. This queen was called Ankh-nes, her sarcophagus is now in the British Museum.

Near it was discovered her burnt mummy. One cannot but regret that a desire to put a historical subject in a new light, which has worked so much mischief of late, should have raised up an apologist for a despot of whom no one good act stands recorded. The unhappy Psammenitus, having been led captive to Susa, was after a time put to death by drinking bull's blood, for having plotted against Cambyses. It is believed that Cambyses did not at first insult the Egyptian religion; indeed, there is evidence that he began by showing reverence, or a pretence of reverence, towards their gods; but having failed in his disastrous expeditions to Ethiopia and the Oasis of Jupiter Ammon, he became exasperated against the unfortunate Egyptians, and destroyed their temples and statues, and even wounded the bull Apis. After four years spent in Egypt, he left the country to quell the rebellion which had placed the Magi at the head of affairs, and shortly after perished from the effects of an accidental hurt.

Darius, the son of Hystaspes, having overthrown Smerdis, the Magus, early applied himself to the improvement of his great empire, and, whether from policy or goodness, strove to conciliate the various nations that composed it. During his visit to Egypt he gained the favor of the inhabitants, and hieroglyphic inscriptions show that he caused the temples to be adorned with additional sculptures. Notwithstanding, the Egyptians, unwilling to continue in servitude to a foreign power, revolted in the last year but one of his reign (B.C. 486), but were reduced by Xerxes, his successor, in his second year (B.C. 484). Xerxes made his brother Achæmenes satrap of Egypt, and the province remained quiet until his death, shortly after which Egypt again rose against the foreign rulers. Inaros, the son of Psammitichus, who was sovereign of some of the Libyans, and Amyrtæus, the Saïte, headed the insurrection. The Persians were driven out; and the insurgent leaders prepared to resist their return, by raising a native and mercenary

force, and securing the assistance of the Athenians. Artaxerxes, as soon as he was firmly established on the throne, took measures towards regaining the lost province. An enormous army, said to have consisted of 400,000 men, and a fleet, were dispatched under the command of Achæmenes, the late satrap. Inaros and Amyrtæus, instead of awaiting the advance of the Persians at the eastern frontier, wisely stationed their army in the western part of the Delta, where, if defeated, they could retire into Libya; and, if successful, they could place their enemies in a most dangerous position. They joined battle near Papremis, the city of the Egyptian Mars, and the Persians were disastrously routed. The Athenians rendered great services, but the fortune of the day was decided by the valor of Inaros, who mortally wounded Achæmenes in single combat. The Athenians pursued the fugitive Persians by water, and blockaded them in the castle of Memphis. Artaxerxes then despatched a second expedition, under Megabyzus, the son of Zopyrus and Artabazus, which, with the remains of the army of Achæmenes, appears to have exceeded in magnitude that unfortunate force. The Egyptians and Greeks advanced from Memphis, where they were still engaged in the siege of the castle, and were routed by the Persians in a battle, in which Inaros was wounded by Megabyzus. Having retreated to the island Prosopitis, the defeated forces maintained themselves for more than a year, until the Persians, having, partly at least, cut off the water which formed their best defense, forced them to capitulate. Inaros surrendered, on condition that his life should be spared—an engagement that was broken after he had been five years a captive, and he was crucified to gratify the revenge of Amytis, the mother of Achæmenes. Amyrtæus, more fortunate than his colleague, escaped to the fens, where, in the island of Elbo, he defied all attempts of the Persians to reduce him. The warlike inhabitants of that part of Egypt warmly supported his cause, and their maritime position ensured

them the succor of the Athenians. Artaxerxes Longimanus granted some privileges to the conquered; and, in particular, made Thannyris, the son of Inaros, and Pausiris, the son of Amyrtæus, governors; thus in a manner causing them to succeed their fathers. Early in the reign of Darius Nothus, after a long interval of rest, Egypt became again disturbed, and in his tenth year (B.C. 414) successfully asserted its independence. The details of the struggle are not known to us; all that can be said with certainty is that Amyrtæus, the Saïte, was proclaimed king, and was the first of a short series of Egyptian monarchs.

The rule of Amyrtæus, the sole king of the Twenty-eighth Dynasty, does not seem to have been marked by events of importance. After having governed six years, he was succeeded by the first king of the Twenty-ninth Dynasty. From this period until the final extinction of the Egyptian kingdom considerable difficulties beset our inquiries from the conflicting statements of historians. The first of the Mendesians (B.C. 408), Neferites or Nephreus, ruled tranquilly for six years, unmolested by the Persians, whom he opposed by aiding their enemies the Greeks. Achoris or Ackoris, the Hakori of the monuments (B.C. 402), governed for thirteen years or more prosperously. He made great efforts to repel the advance of the Persians, and raised a force of mercenaries, of which he gave the command to the Athenian general, Chabrias. Many sculptures attest the happiness of Egypt during this time of peace. Two kings, of whom nothing is known, followed Achoris, ruling for a year and four months; and with the second of them the dynasty came to a close, unless Eusebius be right in adding a third king, with a rule of one year.

A new line, the Thirtieth Dynasty, of Sebennyte kings, succeeded to the supreme power. The first of this dynasty was Nectanebes I., called in the hieroglyphic inscriptions Nekht-nebf. His accession may be probably placed in the year B.C. 380, and he



at once began to take vigorous measures to defend the kingdom against the Persians, who, under the powerful satrap Pharnabazus, were making formidable preparations to reduce it. The Athenians, with characteristic baseness, deserted his cause; and having sent for Chabrias from Egypt, despatched another eminent general, Iphicrates, to command the Greeks who served under the Persians. The King of Egypt, unaided by foreign troops, made the best disposition of his forces, and strengthened all assailable points. In the year B.C. 373, the Persians entered Egypt, led by Pharnabazus and Iphicrates, and finding Pelusium too strong for them, landed a force at the Mendesian mouth of the Nile, and captured the fort which defended it. But this success did not endure. The generals differed as to the plan of the campaign, and Nectanebes worsted the enemy in several skirmishes and also in a battle. The difficulties of their position were increased by the overflow of the Nile. Iphicrates fled secretly thence by sea, and Pharnabazus was compelled to make a disgraceful retreat. This expedition is of no little importance, as it shows that the Egyptians, without foreign aid, on at least one occasion, both outmanœuvred and defeated a powerful Greek force, acting with a great Persian army; and serves to warn us against believing what the Greek historians, with the inordinate vanity of their nation, tell us on so many occasions, that the preservation of the Egyptian kingdom was owing to the bravery of their mercenary troops. During the rest of the reign of Nectanebes Egypt remained unmolested, and the king repaired or beautified the temples.

Tachos, or Teos, succeeded Nectanebes I. in about the year B.C. 361. His first care was to take advantage of the distracted state of the Persian empire, and to raise an army and fleet by which to recover the influence of Egypt in Syria. The command of the fleet he gave to Chabrias, the Athenian, and that of the Greek mercenaries he intrusted to the celebrated Agesilaus, king of Sparta,

while he himself was general-in-chief. Agesilaus was displeased that such a subordinate command was bestowed upon him, and his enmity had no little share in the subsequent misfortunes of Tachos, which were as much owing to the friendly counsels of Chabrias. In order to raise money for the prosecution of the war, it became necessary to tax the inhabitants of Egypt heavily; and this, combined with the obnoxious character of the taxes, and the unfair extortion practiced towards the priests, aroused the national discontent. When the king was already in Phœnicia, his brother Nectanebes, whom he had left to govern Egypt, plotted against him; and persuaded his own son, of the same name as himself, who was at the head of some forces in Syria, to try for the supreme power. Agesilaus was gained over by the usurper, and Chabrias was probably recalled by the Athenians, while the Egyptian forces deserted their king. Tachos could only flee, but his true character is shown by his immediately repairing to Artaxerxes Mnemon. The king of Persia, following the national policy, both received the fugitive well, and projected an expedition against Egypt under his command; but neither lived to see this design carried out, and Tachos is said to have died a victim to the consequences of the luxury of the Persian court.

In the meantime Nectanebes II. (B.C. 359) established himself on the throne by the aid of Agesilaus. A Mendesian leader, whom Tachos had chosen for his successor, had raised a large though unwarlike force and proclaimed himself king; but after a sanguinary contest, the king of Sparta and Nectanebes put him to rout, and Egypt was thus tranquilized. These intestine struggles, however, had greatly contributed to the fall of Egypt, and may be partly, at least, ascribed to the turbulent mercenaries, whose policy must be condemned, even if we judge, as alone we can, from the partial accounts of their countrymen, the Greek historians, and those who drew their information from them. Had it not been for this civil war, although

the expedition into Syria might have been unsuccessful, Egypt would have retained strength enough to withstand the Persians for the few years of weakness that preceded the fall of their empire. The early part of the reign of Nectanebes II. was prosperous, and he resisted with success the efforts which Artaxerxes, or Darius, Ochus, made to reconquer the country, and aided the Sidonians and other Phœnicians in throwing off the Persian yoke. The indolent king of Persia, roused by these disasters, collected a great army and fleet, took Sidon, subdued all Phœnicia, and reduced Cyprus. Mentor, the Rhodian, a leader of Greek mercenaries in the service of Nectanebes, who had been sent by him to aid the Phœnicians in their revolt, deserted to Ochus, and the route to Egypt lay open to the victorious army. Nectanebes prepared to make a vigorous resistance, by strengthening every defensible position and collecting an army of Egyptians, Libyans, and Greeks. Pelusium was successfully defended by a Greek garrison against the Thebans in the service of Ochus, until Nicostratus, the leader of his Argive mercenaries, having learnt by treachery a means of getting to the rear of the main Egyptian force under Nectanebes which was encamped near by, not only executed the manœuvre but maintained himself by defeating the Greek garrison of a fortress which sallied forth to oppose him. Then the king of Egypt, menaced by a superior army, partly in front of his position and partly in its rear, retreated with his whole field force to Memphis. The Greek garrison of Pelusium surrendered on terms to their fellow-countrymen, and the garrisons of the other strong places of Lower Egypt followed their example. Nectanebes, believing that he could not effectually oppose the invader, fled to Ethiopia by the river. Thus Egypt again fell into the power of Persia in about the year B.C. 350, according to the best authorities. From that time until our own days, a period of twenty-two centuries, no native ruler has sat on the throne of Egypt, in striking fulfil-

ment of the prophecy, "there shall be no more a prince of the land of Egypt."

Ochus, having gained possession of Egypt, signalized his success by outrages which it is needless here to relate. He did all in his power to insult the religious feelings of the unhappy Egyptians, and seems to have gone beyond Cambyzes in his furious acts of barbarity. After a few years of Persian rule which are a blank in the history of Egypt, that country passed into the hands of Alexander the Great in the course of his conquest of the empire whereof it was a province.

From the time of Alexander commences a brighter period of Egyptian history, although its annals are those of Greek sovereigns and it witnessed the decay of Egyptian nationality. As the enemy and vanquisher of the Persians, Alexander was received in Egypt (B. C. 332) as a deliverer. The Persian governor had not forces sufficient to oppose him, and the cities opened their gates to him without even a show of resistance. Alexander visited Memphis, founded Alexandria, and went on pilgrimage to the oracle of Jupiter Ammon, manifesting on every occasion the greatest respect for the Egyptian religion. He then organized the government of the country, and departed to complete his subjugation of the Persian empire. For the remainder of his short reign, Egypt continued undisturbed, and though not well governed in his absence, enjoyed greater happiness and security than it had for a long antecedent period.

On the division of Alexander's empire, the government of Egypt fell to the share of Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, afterwards surnamed Soter, one of his favorite generals (B. C. 323). He was content for the present to govern in the name of Arridhæus or Aridæus, the feeble successor of Alexander, but did not neglect to get together an efficient army by which to maintain his position. Not long after he reached Egypt the intestine troubles of Cyrene enabled him to annex it to his government, and about the same time he made another stroke of policy. The



regent Perdiccas having despatched the body of Alexander from Babylon in order that it should be buried in Macedonia, Ptolemy met the important charge in Syria, and having gained to his side the general who escorted it, carried it to Memphis until a tomb should be fit for its reception at Alexandria. Perdiccas, irritated at Ptolemy's having thus gained possession of Alexander's body, which was in this manner a source of war after it had ceased to contain the ambitious soul, marched against Egypt to punish the governor. After an encounter near Pelusium, in which Ptolemy had the advantage, Perdiccas outmanœuvred him by a night march towards Memphis, but was afterwards worsted in endeavoring to cross the Nile near that city. Many of the officers and men of the invading force now deserted to Ptolemy, and Perdiccas was assassinated by his officers. On this the army, with which were not only Philip Arrhidæus, but Alexander Ægus, the heir-presumptive to the throne, submitted to Ptolemy, who allowed it to depart to Macedonia, having appointed two guardians for the king and prince. The governor of Egypt, pursuing his advantage, sent an army which reduced Phœnicia and Coele-Syria; and probably it was at this time that he subdued Palestine. After a period of prosperity which was spent in adorning the new city of Alexandria with magnificent buildings, and settling the details of government with a view to the benefit of the country, Ptolemy was called upon to defend Egypt against the threatened invasion of Antigonus. Syria and Phœnicia were subjugated by the King of Asia (B.C. 315—314), but in the next year Ptolemy quelled an insurrection in Cyrene, and reduced Cyprus, in which he had before established a footing. Having sailed from Cyprus, he made a hasty inroad in which he inflicted some loss on Antigonus by taking cities on the coasts of northern Syria and Cilicia, and returned by sea to Alexandria. In the following year (B.C. 312) he advanced into Palestine and routed the forces of Demetrius, the son of Antigonus, at Gaza. Ptolemy

thus regained Phœnicia; and Seleucus, who had been forced to flee to him, was restored to his government of Babylonia. Antigonus now marched against Ptolemy from Asia Minor, but the latter retired into Egypt, leaving his opponent the dangerous task of invading that country. After having failed in two attacks on Petra, Antigonus retreated, and a peace was concluded by which Ptolemy resigned Palestine to him. The death of Alexander Ægus in the same year rendered Ptolemy altogether independent, although he did not assume the title of king, except on the Egyptian monuments, until B.C. 306. All his earlier sculptures bear the names of Philip Arrhidæus and Alexander Ægus, and the rest his own as king, none having been found with an inferior title; and it is therefore reasonable to conclude that he assumed in the hieroglyphic inscriptions the regal style immediately on the death of Alexander Ægus. Ptolemy soon after that event led an army against the territory of Antigonus, from whom he took many places in Syria and Caria, as well as the island of Cos; but he soon met with a signal reverse, for Demetrius engaging his fleet with an inferior force, off Salamis of Cyprus, almost annihilated it, Ptolemy himself escaping, though his son Leontiscus, as well as his brother Menelaus, thus fell into the enemy's hands. By this victory Cyprus came into the possession of Demetrius. Elated by this success, Antigonus marched against Egypt with a large army, but was repulsed, and retired as before without having effected anything. Ptolemy then assumed the offensive, regained Coele-Syria, and having united his forces with those of Lysimachus, Cassander, and Seleucus, joined battle at Ipsus with the forces of Antigonus and Pyrrhus. The latter were routed, and Antigonus, the most formidable opponent of Ptolemy, fell in the battle. Having ruled in comparative peace for several years after this decisive victory, Ptolemy abdicated in favor of his son Philadelphus. His character was that of a prudent prince, generally merciful, of moderate

ambition, and rarely guilty of political injustice. He warmly patronized literature, the sciences, and the fine arts, and showed an enlightened disposition by granting the Jews privileges which induced them to settle in great numbers at Alexandria.

Ptolemy, surnamed Philadelphus (B.C. 285), inherited a kingdom that comprised not Egypt alone, but the south coast of Asia Minor, much of Syria, Palestine, and Cyprus, which had been recovered in B.C. 295. But after his father's death, which occurred B.C. 283, the first of those internecine struggles that disgrace the history of the Ptolemies broke out. The king's half-brother Magas, governor of Cyrene, revolted, and a war commenced, which after some years' continuance, was concluded by a treaty by which the daughter of Magas was to marry the son of Philadelphus, and to receive as a dowry the reversion of the possessions of her father, to whom she was the sole heir. The death of Magas soon followed, and Cyrene was after a time restored to Egypt. Two other brothers of Philadelphus were subsequently put to death on different occasions by him on the ground of treason, of which one of them was certainly guilty. In the eleventh year of Philadelphus he sent an embassy to Rome to congratulate the republic on having repelled Pyrrhus, and to make a treaty; and an embassy from the People visited Egypt in return. Except the struggle with Magas, the rule of Philadelphus was almost unmarked by war. A contest with Antiochus II., king of Syria, ended in a treaty by which he took to wife Berenice the daughter of Philadelphus, who acquired no military renown. His long reign was rather distinguished by the erection or completion of magnificent buildings, and the advance of trade by the formation or repair of ports and stations, and the completion of the celebrated Pharos of Alexandria. He followed his father's example in patronizing men of letters, painters, sculptors, and the professors of science, and continued to favor the Jews. Nevertheless his private character cannot

claim our admiration. Without being warlike, he was cruel, as towards his unfortunate brothers, and in the destruction of his Gaulish mercenaries, which, however politic, was most barbarous. He was luxurious and licentious in his manners, and seems to have owed his reputation of a great king rather to circumstances than to character. In no sense did he ever show himself heroic, and had his dominions been seriously endangered he would probably have left us little cause to respect him as a warrior or a statesman. Having ruled thirty-eight years he left his kingdom to his eldest son Ptolemy, surnamed Euergetes.

Ptolemy Euergetes was at the beginning of his reign (B.C. 247) called to take an active part by the trouble that befell his sister Berenice, the wife of Antiochus II., king of Syria. That sovereign having repudiated her, and taken back his first wife Laodice, was murdered by the latter, whose eldest son, Seleucus II., assumed the reins of power. By his, or rather his mother's orders, Berenice and her son were slain, before Euergetes could afford them succour. Euergetes, however, avenged his sister in a brilliant expedition, by which he secured much of Syria and Asia Minor. Afterwards Seleucus attacked Ptolemy, but was routed by his forces and those of his rebellious brother Antiochus Hierax. The latter, however, when fortune deserted him sought refuge with Ptolemy, by whom he was kept in custody until he made his escape and perished in his flight. The king of Egypt next conducted an expedition into Ethiopia, where he made extensive conquests. But notwithstanding these warlike actions, Ptolemy continued the generous patronage his predecessors had extended to literature and science, and was specially attentive in improving the great temples of Egypt, or adding others to them. These, like all the edifices of the country, excepting those of Alexandria, were in the native style of architecture, which, although it had undergone some changes was still that of the time of the Pharaohs



His temples and those of the other Ptolemies and Cæsars, excel many of the more ancient in size, though far inferior to them both in architectural beauty and in the execution of their sculptures. But they were not wholly raised by royal munificence, for large contributions from various cities, and even from foreign countries, aided in their construction. This circumstance, however, affords a strong evidence of the wealth of the subjects, and the freedom which they enjoyed.

The reign of Ptolemy Philopator, the eldest son and successor to Euergetes, commenced with an act of infamy, in the murder of his mother Berenice, his brother Magas, and his uncle Lysimachus. Antiochus (III) the Great soon attempted to break the power of Egypt in Syria, and reduced, by treachery and by force, the chief possessions of Ptolemy in that country, Phœnicia, and Palestine. Philopator having collected his forces, marched with 75,000 men against the enemy, who now threatened Egypt. A battle, before which the soldiers of Ptolemy had been encouraged by the exhortations of Arsinoe the queen, was fought at Raphia, on the boundary, and the army of Antiochus was signally defeated. A treaty was soon concluded, by which the king of Syria resigned his newly acquired territories. At Jerusalem, and after his return to Egypt, Ptolemy treated the Jews in a cruel manner, but afterwards stayed the persecution. Towards the close of his reign he murdered Arsinoe, his sister and queen, and died, worn out by his vices, and unregretted by his subjects. With no good quality but a respect for letters and science, Philopator's character was marked by cruelty of the basest description, and by the greatest debauchery, and with him began the decline of the Greek kingdom of Egypt.

Ptolemy Epiphanes, the son of Philopator, was yet a child when he succeeded his father (B. C. 205). His reign was ushered in by a serious riot, in which the guilty minister and favorites of the late king fell victims to the

vengeance of the people. This disturbance was followed by a graver danger, for Antiochus the Great, king of Syria, and Philip IV., of Macedonia, formed an alliance in order to strip the young king of his possessions. Antiochus defeated the forces of Ptolemy, and speedily acquired Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia, as well as Judea, being supported by the Jews, who had hitherto been governed by the kings of Egypt. In this juncture those who ruled Egypt for the young king requested the Roman people to become his guardians, now that the very existence of the kingdom was threatened by such formidable enemies. The senate of Rome did not hesitate to accept a trust which promised so greatly to forward their ambitious views, and having recently overthrown Hannibal and crushed the power of Carthage, they felt able to support their client against the kings of Syria and Macedonia. Accordingly, they despatched messages to those sovereigns commanding them to abstain from attacking Ptolemy's dominions, and Marcus Lepidus, one of their ambassadors, became Ptolemy's guardian. Antiochus did not, however, desist from his enterprise; but being at length intimidated by a second warning of the displeasure of Rome, he entered into a treaty with Egypt, promising his daughter to the young king, with the conquered territory for a marriage portion. Before Epiphanes had attained his majority, the native Egyptians revolted, and were not reduced without a severe contest. They stood a siege in the town of Lycopolis, in the Delta, but the place was at length captured and the rebels subdued. In the year B. C. 196, the king was declared to be of age, and was crowned at Memphis. To commemorate this event, as well as the privileges which had been granted by the king to the people, and particularly to the priesthood, the priests issued a decree, of which copies carved on stone, were placed in the temples. One of these copies was fortunately discovered during the French occupation; and, bearing an inscription in Greek as well as in

hieroglyphic and enchorial, it furnished European scholars with the means of interpreting the ancient characters of Egypt. This tablet, which is now in the British Museum, bears the name of the "Rosetta Stone." Three years after his coronation, Cleopatra, the daughter of Antiochus, was married to Ptolemy, in fulfilment of the treaty previously concluded; but her promised marriage-portion of Judea, Cœle-Syria, and Phœnicia, was never given up by the king of Syria, who appears to have warred against Ptolemy as soon as he became his son-in-law. The king of Egypt made scarcely an exertion to recover his provinces, and at length fell a victim to poison, having reigned twenty-four years with indolence, incapacity, and cruelty.

Ptolemy Philometor came to the throne of his father while yet a child (B. C. 181), and Egypt had again a minor for its sovereign. His mother Cleopatra, who was worthy of her father Antiochus the Great, governed the country for the young king, and maintained peace with her brothers Seleucus IV. and Antiochus IV. Epiphanes, kings of Syria. Ptolemy, after a few years, had the misfortune to lose his mother, and then, through the headstrong poney of his ministers, to become involved in a war with the king of Syria. Antiochus soon marched against Egypt, routed the army of Ptolemy near Pelusium, took Memphis and gained possession of the person of the king. His younger brother assumed the sovereignty at Alexandria, taking the name of Euergetes II., although he was usually known afterwards as Physcon, an appellation which he received on account of the bloated appearance which his intemperate habits had given him. Antiochus besieged the new king in Alexandria, but ambassadors from Rome having arrived during the siege compelled him to withdraw, retaining nothing but Pelusium, which he garrisoned with a strong force. He took away great spoil, so that the expedition cannot be regarded as having been wholly fruitless. On the departure of the invader, Philometor and Euergetes made peace with one another,

determining to rule jointly, and Cleopatra their sister, who had taken part with Euergetes, became the queen of Philometor. In the following year (B. C. 168) the restless Antiochus again invaded the kingdom of his nephews, while his fleet subjugated Cyprus, but after penetrating into the heart of Egypt, was forced to retreat as before by the Roman ambassadors. Not long after this, strife again arose between the brothers, and Physcon having expelled Philometor, the latter carried his case before the Roman senate. That council decided to restore Philometor to all his dominions excepting Cyrene, which they assigned to Physcon. In the ensuing year, however, Physcon went to Rome to request the senate to reconsider their decision, and grant him Cyprus which was now in his brother's hands, and to this petition they assented. Philometor, however, would not obey this order, and the Romans ultimately renounced their alliance with him, and commanded his ambassadors to leave the city in five days. In the meantime Cyrene had risen against Physcon, and when he had subdued the people with difficulty, he again visited Rome to prosecute his cause. Strengthened by a fresh decision of the senate, and otherwise aided by that body, Physcon, having raised an army, attempted to subdue Cyprus. His brother opposed him in person, leading the Egyptian forces, and having defeated him, forced him to surrender. Philometor most generously restored Cyrene to Physcon, and granted him other territories in the place of Cyprus; thus showing extraordinary clemency to which the history of the time scarcely affords a parallel, not less remarkable than the courage with which he refused to obey an unjust decision of the Roman senate. Philometor was next involved in war with Demetrius Soter, king of Syria, and lent his support to Alexander Balas, who slew his adversary in battle. Having, however, discovered that Alexander was engaged in plotting against him, Philometor aided Demetrius Nicator in overthrowing his father's enemy. In a decisive battle



Ptolemy fell, having been carried by his horse into the midst of the enemy's forces, and thus terminated his long and chequered reign. If not a great king, he was certainly a good one, brave without cruelty, and merciful without weakness. Literature and science flourished under his protection, and magnificent temples were raised, or partly built, during his rule. Not the least remarkable proof of his enlightenment was the favor he showed the Jews, one event in whose history must not be passed by without notice. When Judea passed from the hands of the Ptolemies into those of the Seleucidæ, certain of the Jews continued to hold with the former, not forgetting the favors they had received from some of the kings of Egypt. Onias, the high priest, and many others having been expelled Jerusalem for this partiality, took refuge with the king of Egypt, who granted them land near Heliopolis, and permitted them to raise there a temple for their own worship. This contributed greatly to strengthen the Egyptian Jews as a party, and their importance did not cease until the temple was closed, not long after the destruction of that of Jerusalem.

The reign of Physcon (B.C. 146) presents a dark contrast to that of his predecessor. He immediately took the crown from his brother's son and rightful successor, who had been proclaimed king by his mother Cleopatra. Having married her, Physcon put her son to death on the very day of the nuptials; and the greatest barbarity was shown towards his subjects. He next repudiated his wife to marry his niece and step-daughter, her younger daughter Cleopatra Cocce. At length, the people, indignant at his cruelty and oppression, rose and forced the tyrant to take refuge in Cyprus. His repudiated queen, Cleopatra was set up in his stead, and he revenged himself by murdering the son he had by her. The queen and the Egyptians sent an army to oppose one which Physcon had dispatched against them, but their force was defeated on the eastern border of Egypt. Cleopatra sought aid of De-

metrius II., king of Syria, who had married her eldest daughter; but that prince was unable effectually to assist her, being recalled, after he had marched to Egypt, by a revolt at Antioch. The queen had no resource but to flee to Syria, and Physcon recovered his throne. He soon found occasion to punish Demetrius, by setting up an impostor, Alexander Zebina, who defeated and put to death the king of Syria. Ptolemy then made peace with Cleopatra, who came again to Egypt, and was honorably treated as the sovereign's sister and former queen. He then supported Antiochus Grypus in regaining his father's kingdom by the overthrow of Alexander. At last his long reign came to a close, to the great joy of his subjects; and Egypt was relieved from one who was perhaps the worst sovereign who ever ruled that unhappy country. He was ambitious, extremely cruel, intemperate, and debauched; and, though not an enemy to literature, could not pardon the political offences of its professors.

Ptolemy Lathyrus succeeded his father (B.C. 117), ruling jointly with his mother, the ambitious and cruel Cleopatra Cocce. The kingdom of Cyrene had been already given by Physcon, at his death, to his natural son Ptolemy Apion; and the island of Cyprus was given to Ptolemy Alexander, the younger brother of Lathyrus, who afterwards made it a monarchy. Cleopatra next expelled Lathyrus, because he would not be governed by her, and he took possession of the kingdom of Cyprus, while Alexander gained the throne of Egypt (B.C. 107). Lathyrus was soon invited to support cities on the coast of Palestine against Alexander Jannæus, the king of Judea, and he conducted a successful campaign, in which he defeated the army of Jannæus in a sanguinary conflict. His mother Cleopatra, however, having taken vigorous measures, and accompanied one of her armies into Palestine, checked the successes of Lathyrus, and ultimately both sovereigns retired to their own dominions. The armies of Cleopatra

were led by two Jewish generals, Chelcias and Ananias. Ptolemy Alexander, finding that he possessed nothing but the shadow of sovereignty, fled from Egypt. Cleopatra endeavored to persuade him to return, while she laid a plot for his life, which he met with a counter-plot, and, as he arrived in Egypt, his mother was murdered. After a brief rule the parricide was driven out by the Alexandrians, and at length slain in a combat with the fleet of Chæreas, an admiral of Lathyrus. Little need be said of the character of Cleopatra Cocce, and that of her younger son Alexander I., but that the former was as strong in character as the latter was weak, while both excelled in wickedness. The history, indeed, of the later Ptolemies and Selucidæ presents an appalling picture of cruelty and vice, to which we can scarcely find a parallel.

Ptolemy Lathyrus was recalled from Cyprus to fill the throne left vacant at his brother's flight (B.C. 89.) The most memorable event of this part of his reign was the revolt of Upper Egypt. The misrule of the preceding sovereigns had aroused the natives to make a fresh effort for their independence. Ptolemy marched against them, defeated them in battle, and laid siege to the ancient city of Thebes, their stronghold. The insurgents offered a desperate resistance, and for three years was the city beleaguered in vain. At last it was taken, and the bravery of its defenders punished by its being sacked and destroyed. Even the temples were not spared; and while we deplore the damages that they sustained during the siege and at the razing of the town, we are not displeased to find such records of a noble resistance in structures commemorating the ancient glories of the race. Nothing else worthy of notice marked the later years of Lathyrus, who left the reputation of an able and warlike, but cruel king.

The daughter of Lathyrus and widow of his brother Alexander, Cleopatra or Berenice, succeeded her father (B.C. 82); but her rule was of very short duration, for her step-son,

Ptolemy Alexander II., was sent from Rome by Sylla to assume the crown and marry Cleopatra. On the day of the nuptials he murdered the unhappy queen, after she had governed about half a year. This crime aroused the indignation of the king's guards, who deservedly punished it with death. It is most probable that this was the Ptolemy who left his kingdom to the Roman people, whose patronage he had enjoyed, by his will; but motives of policy prevented their grasping at once at the prize. Ptolemy Neus Dionysius, commonly known by the surname which was given him of Auletes, or the Flute-player, next ascended the throne (B.C. 81). The first part of his rule was passed in tranquillity, but he earned the dislike of his subjects by a vicious and disorderly life, until, in the twenty-fourth year of his reign, he found himself obliged to flee from Egypt (B.C. 58). The immediate cause was perhaps the seizure of Cyprus by the Romans, who dispossessed his brother Ptolemy, king of that island, and made his dominions a Roman province. The Egyptians, incensed at this exercise of grasping ambition, pressed Auletes to demand the island, which had been ruled by the preceding kings of Egypt, or a prince of the family, and, in the event of a denial, to declare war against the Romans. On the king's refusal to adopt this line of policy, a revolt was excited, and he fled to Rome from Alexandria. Immediately after the king had left, his wife and daughter, Cleopatra Tryphæna and Berenice, were chosen to succeed him as joint sovereigns.

After having ruled for a year, Cleopatra died, and Berenice married Seleucus, surnamed Cybiosactes, or the Scullion, the son of Antiochus Grypus. He was soon murdered, by his wife's orders; and she took a second husband, Archelaus, who pretended to be a son of Mithradates the Great, king of Pontus. Having reigned two years more, she lost her power and her life on her father's restoration, which thus happened: Auletes had previously learned by experience that the great Roman aristocrats were not insensi-









ble to the effects of bribery, and on reaching Rome he occupied himself in securing by this means the interest of the chief senators. Although he was thus far successful, various difficulties arose which prevented his gaining the assistance of a Roman army until his exile had lasted for three years, which he spent at Rome and Ephesus. He then went to Syria, being strongly recommended by Pompey to the proconsul Gabinius, and supported his proposals with an enormous bribe of ten thousand talents. Gabinius, taking the king with him, marched against Egypt, defeated the army which opposed his passage, subjugated the country, and restored Auletes, who at once put his daughter to death. In this expedition, Mark Antony served as an officer of Gabinius, and thus visited the country which was to witness his future greatness and fall. From this time Ptolemy Auletes ruled without opposition until his death, which occurred in the year B.C. 51. He left his kingdom to the joint government of his eldest children, Cleopatra and Ptolemy, whose rights he trusted to the protection of the Roman people. Pothinus, the governor of Egypt, did not, however, scruple to set aside Cleopatra, and make Ptolemy sole sovereign under his tutelage. Cleopatra, although but about twenty years of age, acted at once with a vigor that was worthy of the better times of the Ptolemies; and having fled into Syria, succeeded in bringing together an army, with which she advanced to Egypt in the second or third year after her father's death. Ptolemy's army was sent to Pelusium to oppose her entrance, and, at this important juncture, Pompey, fleeing from the fatal field of Pharsalia, landed on the Egyptian shore, and put himself in the hands of Ptolemy's ministers. Forgetful of the benefits which Auletes had received from the great Roman in his exile, and in defiance of their plighted words, they murdered the guest—affording by this crime one of the many instances of the utterly corrupt state of the ruling class at that period. Cæsar had lost no time in pursuing his van-

quished rival; and not long after, disembarked with a small but efficient force of four thousand men at Alexandria. Being now rid of his fears of Pompey, he set himself to arrange the affairs of Egypt. The army led by Achilles, which he had sent against Cleopatra, returned to Alexandria, and closely invested that part of the city which was held by Cæsar's force. A sanguinary contest ensued, in the course of which the famous Library perished by fire, and thus the learning which had formed the chief ornament of the capital received a fatal blow. Notwithstanding the smallness of his army, Cæsar was able to maintain his position, and was strengthened by the arrival of Cleopatra, who reached Alexandria in disguise, having left her army near Pelusium. The attractions of the young queen had at once engaged Cæsar in her favor, and he had determined to make her sole ruler, to the prejudice of her brother. Ptolemy, feeling himself to be unjustly used, determined to regain the throne by arms; and a war ensued, which lasted for several months, until, on the arrival of reinforcements to Cæsar's army, the young king was vanquished, and perished by drowning in an engagement, probably near the sea-coast. Not long after this, Cæsar left Egypt, having established the power of Cleopatra, with whom he associated in the government her young brother Ptolemy, who was then betrothed to her at a tender age. Egypt was so thoroughly reduced to order by these measures that Cleopatra did not fear to leave the country, and reside for a time at Rome with Cæsar, whence she returned subsequently to his murder. Shortly afterwards, it is believed—but this is not certain—she put young Ptolemy, her brother and nominal husband, to death, fearing that he would become too powerful for her. Cleopatra did not take any decided part in the struggle for her power which followed the murder of Cæsar, and on the fall of Brutus and Cassius, Antony summoned her to Tarsus, to explain this ambiguous course. Mark Antony was

as easily vanquished as Cæsar had been by the captivating queen of Egypt. Thenceforward Antony and Cleopatra ruled together, and the events of this period belong rather to Roman history than to Egyptian. The chief part of this time, in which a great empire might have been consolidated, was spent by Antony in pleasure and vice; and by degrees he lost his influence over his fellow-countrymen, which passed into the hands of the politic Octavianus. Defeated in the one naval fight at Actium (B.C. 31), Antony was forsaken by his former courage, and fled with Cleopatra to Egypt. When Octavianus invaded the country, they offered no adequate resistance; and both, in despair, perished by their own hands—Antony, partly because Cleopatra had given out that she was dead, Cleopatra, partly because Antony had perished; but both, also, to escape that treatment which they knew they would receive at the hands of their heartless conqueror. So ended the great Dynasty of the Lagidæ, after having endured for nearly three hundred years. Cleopatra was not unworthy to be the last of that great line, whose virtues and faults she combined in a high degree. In person she does not seem to have been very beautiful, but rather excelling in grace of manner and every winning art. Busts and coins would lead us to the former supposition, and the latter would naturally follow. Her knowledge was extensive, she was acquainted with many languages. Literature and science met with her encouragement; and she endeavored to restore the Library of Alexandria, by having transported thither the rival collection of the kings of Pergamus. Ambition was her ruling passion, and to it she sacrificed her maidenly honor and the ties of relationship. Although she was famous for the luxury of her court, it is most probable that she maintained that manner of life rather to govern those who governed the world, and to display her magnificence, than for pleasure's sake. The princess who ruled, not alone the affections, but the fierce wills of Julius Cæsar and Mark Antony;

who upheld a tottering monarchy, and made those who subdued it raise it to an empire; who fell at last through the strange weakness of Antony, and the treachery of his followers, and feared not to die by her own hand, must take rank among the greatest of historical characters. The Romans, who are ever ungenerous to their enemies, paint her character in dark colors, hating her because she governed their fairest provinces and their most renowned generals. But if we remember in what court she was trained, and consider the manners of that time and country; if we extend to her faults that indulgence that many have granted to those of Cæsar and Antony; if we recollect her love of learning, and have paced the stately temples which she raised, we shall acknowledge her one of the greatest sovereigns of the ancient world, not inferior to Catherine of Russia, who, in a Christian country and an enlightened age, committed the same crimes, but met not with the same condemnation. Her death itself, praiseworthy according to the religion of those days, was

——“well done, and fitting for a princess  
Descended of so many royal kings.”

When Egypt thus fell into the power of Augustus its condition may be likened to what it was when Alexander acquired possession of the country. The internecine wars and misrule of the latter Ptolemies had gradually lessened the good which their predecessors of the same line had effected. Taxation had increased, commerce had dwindled, and in one particular the future of Egypt was yet darker, for the three centuries of Greek rule had tended to weaken Egyptian nationality, by making the natives either Greeks or slaves. If Greeks, they scarcely looked to Egypt as their country; if slaves, they had no higher hopes than for a mild ruler. The system of government which Augustus introduced was not one tending to better the province and its inhabitants. It seems to have been framed so as to crush national feeling among either the Egyptians or the Greeks settled in Egypt, and to pre-



vent the Roman prefect who governed the country from making use of its resources to render himself independent; and, at the same time, so as to carry out these objects without, as far as possible, diminishing the productiveness of the province. The prefecture and the most important of the inferior offices were given to Romans alone, the rest were held by Greeks and Egyptians. The country was garrisoned and protected by two legions, part of which was stationed beyond the frontiers, and by a small force of German horse. The new rulers at first imitated their predecessors, in causing temples to be built, or in adding to those which were already raised; but after the second century of Roman government, these and other public edifices were comparatively neglected.

Ælius Gallus, a prefect of Egypt under Augustus, made an unfruitful expedition against Arabia Felix, but was afterwards more fortunate in punishing an inroad of the Ethiopians. Gallus not only defeated the invaders, but in his pursuit penetrated to Napata, the capital of Candace, their queen, and captured that city. From this time no events of interest mark the history of the province until the reign of Vespasian. Under him the Jews of Egypt met with several persecutions. They had previously been embroiled with the Greeks at Alexandria, and had been on one occasion cruelly treated for refusing to worship the statue of Caligula. But in the reign of Vespasian their temple, which Onias had founded, was closed, and they did not escape some share of the treatment which their fellow-countrymen in Judea received at the hands of the Romans. In Trajan's reign they revolted (A.D. 115-117), and were not subdued until much blood had been shed. Hitherto they had held equal privileges with the Greek inhabitants, but at this period they forfeited these advantages, and were afterwards considered to be no better than the native Egyptians. In the next reign the Emperor Hadrian, during his inspection of the provinces, visited Egypt, as well as on a subse-

quent occasion. He endeavored to benefit the people by (as he himself says) renewing their old privileges and granting new ones.

After various troubles, principally occasioned by the turbulence of the Alexandrians and the inroads of barbarous tribes, a serious rebellion distinguished the reign of Marcus Aurelius. The prefect of Egypt, Avidius Cassius, having suppressed a serious revolt, assumed the purple (A.D. 175), and was acknowledged as emperor by the armies of Syria and Egypt. On the approach of Marcus Aurelius, the usurper was slain by his adherents, and his party at once gave way, and were treated by the emperor with the utmost clemency. Not many years afterwards, Pescennius Niger, who commanded the forces in Egypt, was proclaimed emperor in the place of the murdered Pertinax; but, after a short rule, was overthrown by his rival Severus. The new emperor, perhaps because Niger was chosen by the Roman army rather than by the Egyptian people, did not use severity towards the province; on the contrary, when he visited it he bestowed great privileges upon the Alexandrians. Nevertheless, his reign was marked by the first persecution of the Christians of Egypt, the prelude to many others. Although we cannot be sure when Christianity was introduced into Egypt, it early obtained a numerous body of followers there, and by this period included among their number many of the learned and the powerful. The schools of Alexandria had gradually declined from the days of the earlier Ptolemies, until they had become the homes of sophistry and magic arts; but now the doctrines of the new religion raised a fresh class of learned men, and the very pagans gained knowledge by endeavoring to oppose them. In the next reign a great calamity befel the Alexandrians, for Caracalla, in revenge for an affront which they had offered him, signalized his visit by a wholesale massacre of the unfortunate citizens, and by other acts of tyranny. Another persecution of the Christians occurred in the reign of Trajanus

Decius (A.D. 250); and about the same period commenced those theological disputes which henceforward form the most remarkable subjects of the history of Egypt until the Muslim conquest. During the troublous reign of Gallienus, *Æmilianus* was proclaimed emperor by the troops at Alexandria; but after governing a short time with decision and activity, he was defeated and taken prisoner by the general of the forces of Gallienus. At the close of his reign, *Zenobia*, the ambitious queen of *Palmyra*, attempted to wrest Egypt from the Romans; but, although successful in a battle with the emperor's forces, her army was unable to gain possession of the country. Two years subsequently, *Zenobia* reduced Egypt to her rule, a little before her overthrow by *Aurelian*. Not long afterwards Egypt rose against *Aurelian*, and *Firmus*, who seems to have been elevated to the dangerous dignity by the native population, was proclaimed emperor. In order to subdue this powerful rival, *Aurelian* led an army against him; and succeeded in accomplishing his overthrow. *Probus*, who had governed Egypt for *Aurelian* and *Tacitus*, was chosen by the troops in Egypt, at the death of the latter sovereign, as his successor, and speedily acquired the rest of the empire.

The reign of *Diocletian* ushers in a more prosperous period of Roman history, when stern military despots knew how to curb the turbulent soldiery, who had been so long used to make and unmake kings; but to Egypt the time of his rule was one of great misfortunes, marked by a serious rebellion and a terrible persecution. Early in his reign (A.D. 288) Egypt revolted, and *Achilles* was raised to the purple. A long struggle ensued, which was only terminated by the arrival of *Diocletian*, who took the strongholds of the rebels, and reduced the country or at least the greater part of it to obedience. The chief of the insurgents, however was not taken, and having again raised his standard after the emperor's departure, he gained possession of *Alexandria*. The revolt was of so

important a character, that *Diocletian* returned to Egypt to quell it. *Achilles* having shut himself up in *Alexandria*, made a determined resistance; but at length the city was taken, and with his life he paid the penalty of his daring. Several years after this, the cruel emperor published that famous edict against the Christians (A.D. 303), which caused one of the hottest of the persecutions which tried the faith and awakened the zeal of the early church. The events of that time of suffering belong to ecclesiastical history, but it should be mentioned here that from the commencement of this reign (A.D. 284), which they call the *Æra of Martyrs*, the *Coptics* reckon their chronology, looking back to this as the heroic period of the church in Egypt. Their traditions and history alike are full of narratives of the constancy of the holy men and women, of the monks and virgins, who suffered at this time, and of whom the world was not worthy. Would that the *Coptic church*—which has seldom fallen short of the early days of Christianity in steadfast adherence to its profession amidst many persecutions—had not lost the spiritual character of the primitive church. With the accession of the politic *Constantine* the persecution, which had continued until then with greater or less virulence, came to a close, and the Christians recovered their liberty, and were able even to hold themselves above the pagans. Then commenced the great *Arian controversy*, which was the means of bringing forward the zeal and abilities of *St. Athanasius*, the greatest archbishop of *Alexandria*. *Arius*, who was a presbyter of the church of *Alexandria*, having first broached those doctrines which have since been known by his name, a controversy arose which was referred to *Constantine*. The emperor wrote such a letter as one would write who adopted Christianity as a matter of expediency, and desired to use the church as a political weapon. He desired the disputants to cease from those questions, as though men of strong will or firm belief could thus keep their con-



victions to themselves, and refrain from propagating their opinions or defending their faith. The contest continued, and it became necessary to call a general council at Nicæa (A.D. 325), where Arius and his party were condemned. Subsequently, however, Arius appealed to Constantine, who commanded St. Athanasius (now archbishop of Alexandria) to re-admit him into the church. St. Athanasius refused, and after some years was, by the emperor's influence, driven from his see and from Egypt. He returned after the death of Constantine, being supported by Constantine II., but was afterwards again deposed by a council held by Constantius II. The feelings of the orthodox and the remonstrances of Constantius induced Constantius to restore St. Athanasius to the archiepiscopate; but when that emperor had become monarch of all his father's dominions he determined to remove the obnoxious churchman, and forced him, after a manly resistance, to escape from a post where he could no longer continue without a prospect of being dragged thence by the soldiery. An Arian, George, was after a while forcibly installed in the vacant chair, and the orthodox experienced a cruel persecution. On the accession of Julian the Apostate, George fell a victim to the fury of a pagan mob, and St. Athanasius returned to his see; but by an order of the emperor he was again banished. During the reign of Julian, the Christians of Egypt, although not actually persecuted, were treated with contempt, and all was done that could tend to weaken them and strengthen the pagan party. By Jovian St. Athanasius was again recalled, but in the following reign (that of Valens) he was once more deposed; but the emperor, probably yielding to the strong feeling of the people, who would have taken up arms to restore him, soon recalled him. At length he died in peace among his flock, and his memory is yet revered throughout Christendom, as that of one of the stoutest upholders of the faith in a time of great troubles. His firmness in refusing to obey the emperors against his conscience, his

moderation in abstaining from maintaining himself by raising the people, his care for his flock whether among them or absent, and his patience when persecuted, all claim our admiration, and show us how it was that the Egyptians supported him with such an entire devotion. The emperor Valens appointed an Arian, Lucius, in his stead, and the orthodox again suffered a persecution at the hands of their opponents, supported by the authority of the state.

By Theodosius I. orthodoxy was not only restored, but paganism was abolished. The enforcement of the latter part of his celebrated edict caused disturbances at Alexandria, and the Christians seem to have exercised their power with somewhat of cruelty; but before we condemn them, we should remember what abominations had been practiced under the name of religion by the Greco-Egyptians. At this time, however, it is very clear that much had already been done to corrupt the simplicity of the church in Egypt, and in particular monasticism had been carried to an extraordinary extreme. This is not the place in which to combat that institution, but it may be asserted without fear of controversy, that when a large proportion of the population of a country take the monastic vows, and fleeing from active life, establish themselves not as solitaries, but in settlements whether in the desert or in tracts otherwise uninhabited, we may fairly question the healthy condition of the church, and apprehend the injury to the state which has arisen from such practices in Tartary and China as well as other countries. During the weak reign of Arcadius, Egypt was agitated by religious strife, between those who held anthropomorphite doctrines, and the smaller party which maintained the opinions of Origen. In the next reign, that of Theodosius II., the archbishop Cyril and his adherents disgraced themselves by persecutions of the Jews and pagans. The former were expelled from Alexandria, and the latter maltreated, especially Hypatia the daughter of Theon, distinguished for her

beauty as well as for her learning, whom the clergy inhumanly murdered, with, it is said, Cyril's connivance or approval. To such lengths was intolerance carried by ascetic zeal.

Under the emperor Marcian, the serious religious dispute which caused the separation of the Coptic church attained its height. Dioscurus, the archbishop of Alexandria, supported a priest of the name of Eutyches, who had been excommunicated for asserting the Monophysite doctrine of the Egyptians. Indignant at this interference, the Greek bishops called an œcumenical council at Chalcedon, and not only condemned the Monophysites, but put Dioscurus and those who held the same opinions beyond the pale of the church (A.D. 451). A new archbishop of Alexandria, Proterius, was installed by force of arms, and not without a vigorous resistance, but after the emperor's death he was murdered by the people of Alexandria. The Monophysites were, however, again put down, and for a time the orthodox party remained in undisturbed possession of the supreme authority. The Emperor Basiliscus, himself a Monophysite, restored the Egyptian party to power; but on his death, two years afterwards, troubles recommenced; after a time, however, the Alexandrians triumphed, and Zeno granted them the right of choosing their own patriarch.

The commencement of the Byzantine empire, which is rather a chronological epoch than a turning point in history, caused no changes in the condition of Egypt. The first sovereign, Anastasius, did not disturb the ecclesiastical system which he found in force, and the Egyptian or Jacobite party were unmolested during his reign. Although thus exempt from ecclesiastical troubles of any magnitude, Egypt was a prey to the forces of an invader. The Persians (A.D. 501) ravaged the country and menaced Alexandria, but being manfully opposed, retired at length, leaving cruel traces of their pillage. In the reign of Justin I., troubles in the church again arose, the emperor desiring to establish

an orthodox archbishop, and the strife thus kindled continued through his reign. Justinian I., although he showed himself in many respects an able sovereign, had not the wisdom to see that a tyrannical policy in religious matters, could only tend to estrange his Egyptian subjects. Accordingly he appointed an orthodox or Melchite bishop, who was followed by another; but the latter was expelled by the Alexandrians. Upon this the emperor sent Apollinarius as patriarch and prefect, with an armed force by which to establish himself. By opposing violence to violence he succeeded in putting down his opponents, but his conduct would not have been justifiable in a governor and was atrocious in a churchman. The reign of Justinian I. is further marked by the final closing of the philosophic schools throughout the empire, and the departure of the last of that long line of learned men to whose industry we owe so much.

The first event of great importance after this was the invasion and subjugation of Egypt by the forces of Chosroes, or Khusrro Parvez, in the reign of Heraclius. In the course of those brilliant campaigns by which the king of Persia stripped Heraclius of all his eastern provinces as far as the Bosphorus itself, one of his armies entered Egypt and reduced the country without opposition (A.D. 616). This success was owing no less to the enmity of the Jacobites for the Melchites than to the weakness of the empire, as was the subsequent Muslim conquest. The Persians had the good sense to perceive that their rule would be strengthened by favoring the native party, and accordingly they raised a Jacobite, Benjamin, to the patriarchate from the office of bishop of the Alexandrian Monophysites. After a few years of peaceful government, reverses overtook the Persians, and Egypt again fell under the dominion of Heraclius, who restored the Orthodox party, but before the close of his reign the country was conquered by the Arabs, and was never again a province of the Byzantine empire.

A review of the history of Egypt under



the Romans presents a melancholy prospect of rapid decline, with scarcely a single time of prosperity to enlighten its dreariness. The main cause of this must have been the national character of the Romans, who, although they conquered bravely, held firmly, and governed wisely, cared alone for the outward welfare of the provinces. They sought not to inquire into the early history and former greatness of a state they ruled, except to draw out its physical resources and increase its commercial activity. Thus they did nothing to raise the character of the native Egyptians, whose affections were still occupied with the story of their former power and the remains of their ancient religion. While the Romans thus neglected the Egyptians, policy made them treat the Greeks but little better, except that they allowed them somewhat greater privileges, probably to make their influence balance that of the far more numerous Egyptians, and thus aid in maintaining a divided interest in the country. In addition to this, Egypt was weakened by the exactions of the governors and other officials. Internal causes, moreover, had no little share in producing the decline of the country. The people of Alexandria, uniting the discontent of the inhabitants of a degraded capital, with the ambition of men of letters, and the restlessness of an active commercial population, were constantly involved in dissensions among themselves and with their rulers, which became graver with the decline of the empire; while the native Egyptians, more and more oppressed and subject to the incursions of nomad tribes, relapsed into barbarism, but regained somewhat of their ancient courage. Hence arose revolts which were quelled with difficulty, and which had they been directed by military genius and supported by an undivided people, would have restored the independence of Egypt. When Christianity acquired the ascendancy, religious contests took the place of political strife, until they became intimately connected with politics in the resistance of the Egyptians to the doctrines of the

orthodox. Then national spirit was aroused, and the Greek and Roman parties, now formed into one, had to oppose the feeling of the whole country. The emperors generally acted with a short-sighted policy, and supported the foreign minority by employing force. It was found necessary to entrust the protection of the country to Greek or Roman soldiers alone, and thus when first the army of Khusroo and then that of 'Omar invaded Egypt, hatred for the Greeks, and the inability to defend themselves, rendered its subjugation comparatively easy.

In the year 639 of our era, the eighteenth of the Flight, Egypt was invaded by the Muslims under the celebrated 'Amr Ibn-El-'As. Entering the country from Syria, at the head of only 4000 men, he besieged Pelusium, and took it after thirty days. This town was still considered the key of Egypt on the Syrian frontier, and its capture was therefore an important advantage which opened the country southwards to the Arab general. He marched thence to 'Eyn-Shems, the ancient Heliopolis, where he found the Greeks collected in force, and commanded by John Mukowkis, the governor of Memphis, a native Egyptian. They offered a vigorous defence, but were put to the route, and 'Amr advanced to the banks of the Nile and laid siege to Egyptian Babylon, a fortress of great strength, and garrisoned by a Roman legion. Here he received a reinforcement of 4000 Muslims, and after a protracted siege of seven months, he took the place by assault. In an enemy's country, and far from all supplies, the small army of the Arabs was still in a critical position, and unable to push on against the capital, Alexandria, when the enmity of rival Christians and the perfidy of Mukowkis decided the balance in their favor. The persecutions which the Copts had suffered had greatly embittered them against the Greeks; and, as Gibbon observes, had "converted a sect into a nation, and alienated Egypt from their religion and government." Mukowkis, who governed Memphis, was in heart a Monophysite, and had also withheld

the tribute due at Constantinople; and both he and his Coptic brethren, after the first resistance, hailed the new invaders as their deliverers from the Greek yoke. On the fall of Babylon they entered into a treaty with the Arabs, engaging to pay to them a poll-tax of two deenars on every adult male, and agreeing to furnish them with supplies and assistance while completing the subjugation of the country. Having concluded this treaty, and founded the city of El-Fustat, on the site of his first encampment on the banks of the Nile, with the mosque known by his name, 'Amr marched against Alexandria; and after overcoming many obstacles, and disputing the whole way with the Greeks, who conducted their retreat, in the face of a victorious army, with great ability, in twenty-two days he appeared before it. Fresh warriors continued to arrive from Syria to strengthen the besieging force; but the defence was as obstinate as the attacks of the Muslims were brilliant, and was protracted for fourteen months. At length, on the 22d December, 640, the metropolis of Egypt, the first city of the East, capitulated; but it is said that this conquest was only achieved with the sacrifice of 23,000 Muslims. Abu-l-Farag relates that 'Amr, wishing, at the earnest request of John the Grammarian, to spare the famous Library, wrote to the Khaleefeh 'Omar, asking his instructions respecting it; and that he answered: "As to the books you have mentioned, if they contain what is agreeable with the book of God, then the book of God is sufficient without them; and if they contain what is contrary to the book of God, there is no need of them; so give orders for their destruction." The historian adds that they were burned in the public baths of the city, and in the space of six months were consumed. The conquest of the rest of Egypt was soon effected and the various strongholds successively fell into the hands of the conquerors.

'Amr governed the country with much wisdom for four years, but was dismissed by 'Othman, who appointed in his place Abd-

Allah Ibn-Abee-Sarh. The latter reduced Alexandria, which had been retaken by the Emperor Constans II., and pushed his conquests beyond Africa Propria. He died at Ascalon, in the year 35, having governed eleven years. His successor's rule was short, and the next viceroy, Mohammed, son of the Khaleefeh Abou-Bekr, on assuming the reins of government, acted with such tyranny towards the followers of 'Othman, that Mu'awiyeh was compelled to dispatch 'Amr to Egypt with a force from Syria, and a great battle was fought between the two armies of Muslims, in which 'Amr was again victorious. As a reward for this service, he was a second time appointed governor of Egypt, and he died there in the year 42.

From this time to A.D. 868, or for rather more than two centuries, Egypt was governed by a succession of viceroys, appointed by the Khaleefehs of Damascus and Baghdad. Their period was distinguished by intestine troubles, and a constant change of rulers, resulting from the caprice of the Khaleefehs, or the vicissitudes of their fortunes. Here we may mention, that shortly after the overthrow of the Umawee Dynasty of Damascus, and the accession of the House of Abbas, which ruled at Baghdad, the city of El-Askar, immediately to the north-east of El-Fustat, was founded, and the seat of government removed thither. The site is without the walls of modern Cairo, and is marked by extensive mounds of rubbish.

In A.D. 868 (A.H. 254) Ahmad, the son of Toqloon, a Turkish slave who held a high office at Baghdad, was appointed governor of the province of Misr by the Khaleefeh El-Moatezz, and not long after of that of Alexandria also, by his successor El-Muhtedee. After a rule of about a year as viceroy, in self-defence he threw off his temporal allegiance to the Khaleefeh and proclaimed himself sovereign of Egypt; but at the same time he endeavored to avoid a complete rupture by continuing the prayer for the Prince of the Faithful in the mosques, and the mention of his name on the coins which he



struck. Later in his reign, however, he forbade the mention of the Khaleefeh's brother and colleague, El-Muwaffik, in the prayers and state-documents of Egypt, and El-Muhtadee, who was a weak prince, was prevailed on to denounce him publicly as a traitor from the pulpits throughout his dominions. Yet that he secretly favored him is proved by his vain attempt to escape to Egypt from the tyranny of his warlike brother. Ahmad founded the Dynasty of the Bence-Tooloon, which lasted for a period of thirty-seven years, and consisted of princes of his own family. He built the royal city of El-Kata', between El-Askar and Mount Mukattam, enriched it with splendid buildings and constituted it the seat of his government. Its site is now covered with ruins, only his great mosque remaining, a proud example of his wealth and magnificence, still the largest mosque of Cairo, and curious as presenting the earliest specimens of the pointed arch. The reign of this vigorous and wise prince was remarkable for prosperity at home and conquests abroad. He took El-Barkah, and in Syria, captured Hims, Hamah, and Aleppo; after which he proceeded to Antioch, and the governor refusing to surrender, he took that city by storm. He then advanced towards Tarsus, but his supplies failing, he was compelled to retire. About five years later Bedr-ed-Deen Lulu, his deputy, and governor of Aleppo, Kinnasreen, and Hims in Syria, and of Diyar Mudar in Mesopotamia, revolted and entered into a league with El-Muwaffik. It was apparently in an expedition against this rebel that Ahmad died, at Antioch.

Khumaraweyh, on the death of his father, was appointed his successor by the army, he being then twenty years old, in the days of El-Moatemid bi-illah, and he inherited a kingdom extending from the Euphrates to Nubia. He fought a battle with the forces of the Khaleefeh, commanded by a son of El-Muwaffik (afterwards the Khaleefeh El-Moatedid), between Damascus and Ramleh; in which his army gained the victory, although,

he himself fled the scene of action in a panic, and his troops continued the fight without him. Some years afterwards he made an incursion into the Greek territory, and died in the following year. It is said that he was fearful of assassination; to avoid which he had trained a lion to guard him when asleep. His fears were justified; for he was put to death by his women, or, according to some, by his eunuchs, at Damascus.

His son, Geysh Abu-l-Asakir, succeeded him. This prince was killed in about eight months; his youth, which rendered him unfit to govern, occasioned his fall; for he had discarded from his society those who were in favor with his father, and associated with none but worthless men. He was succeeded by his brother, Haroon, the principal events of the period of whose rule were a great tempest and earthquake in Egypt, and a treaty which he concluded with the Khaleefeh, by which the provinces of Awasim and Kinnasreen were ceded to him. He reigned upwards of eight years, but gave himself up to pleasure, and was put to death by his uncles Sheyban and 'Adee, sons of the founder of the dynasty, the former of whom usurped the government. In the meantime, at the instigation of the generals of Haroon, Mohammed Ibn-Suleyman, a scribe of Lulu, advanced against him with a numerous and heavily-equipped army. Sheyban went forth to meet him with all the forces he could muster, but numbers of his troops deserted to the invader, and he was soon overthrown. Mohammed Ibn-Suleyman burned El-Kata' and sacked El-Fustat, reducing the women to slavery, committing many atrocities, and exiling the family of Ahman Ibn-Tooloon, with all their adherents.

Having thus completed his conquest, and restored the province of Egypt to the House of Abbas, Ibn-Suleyman yielded the government to 'Eesa Ibn-En-Nosharee, appointed by El-Muktefee. He died in 292, and was followed by Tekeen El-Gezeree, under whose rule Egypt was invaded by the forces of Abd-Allah El-Mahdee, first prince of the

Dynasty of the Fatimees (or Fawatim, that being the plural of Fatimee), which had succeeded the Benee-Aghlab in the dominion of Northern Africa. His general, Hubasheh, having taken El-Barkah, advanced with an army of 100,000 men to Alexandria, where Tekeen, re-enforced with troops from El-Irak, gave him battle, and defeated him in a sanguinary conflict. In the following year he was succeeded by Abu-l-Hasan-Zekkee El-Aawar Er-Roomee, in whose time El-Mahdee again attempted the conquest of Egypt with an army under the command of his son, Abu-l-Kasim Mohammed; Alexandria fell into his hands in 307; its inhabitants fled to Misr, and the governor entrenched himself in El-Geezeh, on the opposite or western bank of the Nile, and shortly afterwards died. In this emergency Tekeen was reinstated in his office. He immediately strengthened El-Geezeh with a second moat, and intercepted the forces of El-Mahdee by the river; and being re-enforced by 3000 men from Baghdad, under Moonas the Eunuch, he gave battle to Abu-l-Kasim in the Feiyoom and at Alexandria, and drove him back to El-Barkah. After rendering this important service, Tekeen was again recalled, and Hilal'Ibn-Bedr appointed governor; but the troops revolting, and much sedition and rapine ensuing, he was once more despatched to Egypt, where he remained until his death in the year 321.

He was followed by Mohammed El-Ikhsheed Ibn-Taghag Aboo-Bekr El-Farghane, afterwards the founder of the Dynasty of the Ikhsheedees, who was almost immediately superseded by another governor; and for one year more Egypt continued to be a province of the Khaleefehs of Baghdad. In the year 323 El-Ikhsheed again succeeded to the government. About this time little remained to the Khaleefeh of his once broad empire beyond the province of Baghdad, and even there his power was but nominal, for Er-Raik there, as well as in Wasit and El-Basrah, held the entire authority. Khoozistan, Persia, Kerman, Rei, Ispahan, El-Mosil, and the provinces of Mesopotamia, were

either in a state of revolt, or nearly or wholly lost to him. Spain was governed by the Dynasty of Umeiyeh, and Africa by that of El-Mahdee; and we have seen the distracted state of Egypt since the fall of the Benee-Tooloon. El-Ikhsheed availed himself of these circumstances to throw off his allegiance, and possessed himself of Egypt and Syria; continuing, however, to acknowledge the spiritual supremacy of the Khaleefeh. Shortly after he defeated the forces of El-Mahdee, who had again made an inroad into the country: and in 327 he was confirmed in his government by Er-Radee. In the following year Er-Raik subdued a great part of Syria, and, having taken Damascus, advanced to the frontier of Egypt, where, after a very severe engagement, he was utterly routed, and pursued by the troops of El-Ikhsheed as far as Damascus. There, however, the fortune of war turned against El-Ikhsheed, and for a time he was deprived of the province of Syria, though he subsequently regained possession of it. During his reign, the Khaleefehs of Baghdad were daily losing power, and, in the year 333, El-Muktefee wrote to him lamenting his miserable state; whereupon El-Ikhsheed immediately repaired to him at Rakkah with valuable presents, and offered him assistance, and an asylum in Egypt. About this time, also, he conducted a war with various success against Seyf-ed-Dowleh of Hamadan, who had attacked Syria. He died at Damascus in 334, in the 66th year of his age, and was buried, as were all the princes of his dynasty after him, in the mosque of 'Omar at Jerusalem.

Of El-Ikhsheed's two sons and successors, Abu-l-Kasim and Abu-l-Hasan' Ale, little is known; their weezeer Kafoor, a black eunuch, being the actual ruler. In the reign of the former, in the year 343, a great fire occurred in El-Fustat, which destroyed 1700 houses and much merchandise. Kafoor succeeded to the throne in 355, and was acknowledged throughout Egypt, Syria, and the Higaz. He ruled with great ability, and



was a patron of literature; his name is celebrated by the poet El-Mutanebbe, who was his boon companion, and whom, as well as other learned men, he rewarded with magnificent presents. On his death internal dissensions respecting the succession of Abu-l-Fowaris, a son of 'Alee, presented a favorable opportunity to the Fatimee Khaleefeh to renew the oft-repeated invasions of Egypt.

Hitherto, with few exceptions, the most notable of which are the reigns of Ibn-Too-loon, Khumaraweyh, El-Ikhsheed, and Kafoor, the Muslim rulers of Egypt had not much benefited the country, or rescued it from the anarchy and troubles in which it had become involved under the Lower Empire. But the incidents of the time are so little known as to have been deemed worthy of more mention in this article than perhaps their importance would otherwise warrant. From the period at which we have now arrived, however, the annals of Egypt contain much important matter, and are so closely interwoven with the events of the Crusades as to render them deeply interesting to the student of European history. \* The rise of the schismatic Khaleefehs of Africa is a remarkable episode in the early days of El-Islam, and most of the princes of that dynasty were not unworthy of their successors, the renowned Salah-ed-Deen and his family, or of the Memlook Sultans.

In the year 358 El-Mo'izz li-deeni-llah, the fourth Fatimee Khaleefeh, equipped a large and well-armed force, with a formidable body of cavalry, the whole under the command of Abu-l-Hoseyn Gohar el-Kaid, a native of Greece, and a slave of his father El-Mansoor. This general, on his arrival near Alexandria, received a deputation from the inhabitants of El-Fustat, charged to negotiate a treaty. The overtures were favorably entertained, and the conquest of the country seemed probable without bloodshed. But, while the conditions were being ratified, the Ikhsheedees prevailed on the people to revoke their offer, and the ambassadors on their return were themselves compelled to

seek safety in flight. Gohar lost no time in pushing forward. Before El-Geezeh a partial combat took place: several days were passed in skirmishes, and at length he forced the passage of the Nile a few miles south of that town, at the head of his troops. Here the Ikhsheedees offered a brave resistance; the greater part were left dead on the field, and the remainder, taking what valuables they could carry off, fled from El-Fustat. The former mediators were now brought to intercede for the inhabitants and the women of the fallen dynasty, and, to the honor of the African general, it is related that they were pardoned, and the city was peaceably occupied. The submission of the rest of Egypt was secured by this victory; and all the Higaz, including the holy cities, and El-Yemen, speedily acknowledged the authority and supremacy of the Fatimee El-Mo'izz. In the year 359 Syria was also added to his dominions, but shortly after was overrun by the Karmatees; the troops of El-Mo'izz met with several reverses, Damascus was taken, and those lawless freebooters, joined by the Ikhsheedees, advanced to 'Eyn-Shems. In the meanwhile Gohar had fortified El-Kahireh (the new capital which he had founded immediately north of El-Fustat), and taken every precaution to repel the invaders: a bloody battle was fought on Friday, the 1st of Rabeeah el-Owwal, in the year 361, before the city walls, without any decisive result. On the following Sunday, however, Gohar obtained a great victory over the enemy, who experienced a reverse more complete than any he had before suffered, and the camp and baggage fell into the hands of the conqueror.

At the earnest solicitations of his lieutenant, who had ruled Egypt both ably and justly, with almost absolute authority, El-Mo'izz at length determined to remove his court to his new kingdom. In Ramadan 362, he entered El-Kahireh, bringing with him the bodies of his three predecessors, and vast treasure. El-Mo'izz reigned about two years in Egypt, dying in the year 365. He

is described as a warlike and ambitious prince, but, notwithstanding, he was especially distinguished for justice, and was fond of learning. He showed great favor to the Christians, especially to Severus, Bishop of El-Ashmoneyn, and the Patriarch Ephrem; and under his orders, and with his assistance, the church of the Mu'allakah, in Old Misr, was rebuilt. He executed many useful works (among others rendering navigable the Tanitic branch of the Nile, which is still called the canal of El-Mo'izz), and occupied himself in embellishing El-Kahireh. Gohar, when he founded that city, built the great mosque named El-Azhar, the university of Egypt, which to this day is crowded by students from all parts of the Muslim world. The principal event of his reign in Egypt was the second irruption of Hasan the Karmatee. The enemy, as on the former occasion, reached 'Eyn-Shems; but now he gained more advantage over the African troops. Although twice defeated in different parts of Egypt, and constantly harassed in his advance, the capital was closely besieged by him, and its defenders were driven across the fosse. Thus straitened, El-Mo'izz had recourse to stratagem, and succeeded in bribing Hasan Ibn-El-Garrah (who with the body of the tribe of Tei, fought with the Karmatees) to desert them in the heat of the next battle. The result of this plan was successful, and again Hasan was defeated and compelled to flee. This event, which occurred in the year 363, relieved Egypt of another invader, an ally of Hasan, by name Abd-Allah Ibn-'Obeyd-Allah (formerly governor of Syria under Kafoor), and obtained for the arms of El-Mo'izz various successes in Syria.

El-'Azeez Aboo-Mansoor Nizar, on his coming to the throne of his father, immediately despatched an expedition against the Turkish chief El-Eftekeen, who had taken Damascus a short time previously. Gohar again commanded the army, and pressed the siege of that city so vigorously that the enemy called to their aid the Karmatees.

Before this united army he retired by little and little to Ascalon, where he prepared to stand a siege; but, being reduced to great straits, he purchased his liberty with a large sum of money. On his return from this disastrous campaign, El-'Azeez took the command in person, and, meeting the enemy at Ramleh, was victorious after a bloody battle, while El-Eftekeen, being betrayed into his hands, was with Arab magnanimity received with honor and confidence, and ended his days in Egypt in affluence. El-'Azeez followed his father's example of liberality. It is even said that he appointed a Jew his wezeer in Syria, and a Christian to the same post in Egypt. These acts, however, nearly cost him his life, and popular tumult obliged him to disgrace both these officers. After a reign of twenty-one years, of great internal prosperity, he died (A.H. 386) in a bath at Bilbeys, while preparing an expedition against the Greeks, who were ravaging his possessions in Syria.

Though El-'Azeez was distinguished for moderation and mildness, his son and successor rendered himself notorious by very opposite qualities. El-Hakim bi-amri-llah Aboo-'Alee Mansoor began his reign, according to Muslim historians, with much wisdom, but afterwards acquired a character for impiety, cruelty, and unreasoning extravagance, by which he has been rendered odious to posterity. He is described as possessing at once "courage and boldness, and cowardice and timorousness, a love for learning and vindictiveness towards the learned, an inclination to righteousness, and a disposition to slay the righteous;" and this character is fully borne out by his many extravagances. Of his cruelty numerous anecdotes are told us, especially in the discharge of his functions as Mohtesib, or "regulator of the markets and of the weights and measures," an office which he assumed, and in which he became the terror of the inhabitants. But his cruelty was surpassed by his impiety. He arrogated to himself divinity, commanded his subjects to rise at the mention of his name



in the congregational prayers (an edict which was obeyed even in the holy cities Mekkeh and El-Medeeneh), and altered his name, which signifies "governing by the command of God," to El-Hakim bi-amru, or "governing by his own command." He is most famous in connection with the Druses, a sect which he founded, and which still holds him in veneration, and believes in his future return to the earth. He had thus made himself obnoxious to all classes of his subjects, when, in the year 397, he nearly lost his throne by foreign invasion. Hisham, surnamed Abou-Rakwak, a descendant of the house of Umeiyeh in Spain, took the province of El-Barkah, with a considerable force, and subdued Upper Egypt. The Khaleefeh, aware of his danger, immediately collected his troops from every quarter of the kingdom, and marched against the invader, whom, after severe fighting, he defeated and put to flight. Hisham himself was taken prisoner, paraded in El-Kahireh, with every aggravation of cruelty, and put to death. El-Hakim having by vigorous measures thus averted this danger, Egypt continued to groan under his tyranny until the year 411, when he fell by domestic treachery. His sister, Seyyidet-el-Mulook, had, in common with the rest of his subjects, incurred his displeasure; and, being fearful for her life, she secretly and by night concerted measures with the Emeer Seyf-ed-Dowleh, chief of the guard, who very readily agreed to her plans. Ten slaves, bribed by 500 deenars each, having received their instructions, went forth on the appointed day to the desert tract south-east of El-Kahireh, where El-Hakim, unattended, was in the habit of riding, and waylaid him near the village of Hulwan, where they put him to death.

He was succeeded by his son, Edh-Dhahir bi-llah Abu-l-Hasan 'Alee, who ruled with justice and moderation for nearly sixteen years. In 414 Aleppo was taken by Salih son of Mardas; and although he was defeated and slain by an Egyptian force sent against him, a son, Shibl-ed-Dowleh Abou-Kamil

Nasr, yet retained possession of that city. At this time also Hasan, of the tribe of Tei before mentioned, had made himself master of Ramleh; and indeed from this Khaleefeh's reign we may date the decline of the Fatimee power, especially in Syria.

In the year 427, El-Mustansir .bi-llah Abou-Temeem Ma'add came to the throne at the age of seven years. His reign occupied a long period, rendered memorable by the unparalleled troubles which befel Egypt. It commenced prosperously with the defeat and death of Shibl-ed-Dowleh. Aleppo was taken, the submission of the rest of Syria followed; and the general who had conducted the expedition against that province assumed its government. On his death, Mo'izz-ed-Dowleh, a brother of Shibl-ed-Dowleh, retook Aleppo; but the various fortunes of this prince and his nephew Mahmood, from this time, and during the calamities of Egypt, are too complicated and subordinate to claim a place here. In the western provinces, the rebel El-Mo'izz (the third successor of Yoosuf Ibn-Zeyree, who was appointed governor on the conquest of Egypt), was punished by an irruption of wild Arab tribes in the pay of El-Mustansir.

In the year 450, the Fatimee Kaleefeh was publicly prayed for in Baghdad; a remarkable event, of which the immediate cause was briefly as follows: Abul-Harith Arslan El-Besaseeree, a powerful Turkish chief exercising unbounded authority in that city, had fallen into disgrace, and received supplies of men and money from the Khaleefeh of Egypt; and while Togrul-Beg espoused the cause of the Abbasee Khaleefeh, his brother Ibraheem Eynal revolted, joined El-Besaseeree, and defeated Togrul-Beg. El-Besaseeree entered Baghdad, in which the combat continued to rage; and the unfortunate city was devastated by massacre and pillage. El-Mustansir was solemnly declared Prince of the Faithful, and the insignia of the legitimate Khaleefeh were sent to Cairo. The success of El-Besaseeree, however, was but transient: Togrul-Beg had, in the mean

time, defeated and killed his brother Ibraheem; he then entered Baghdad in Dhu-l-Kaadah 451; and having despatched a force against El-Besaseeree, the latter fell in a battle near El-Koofeh.

A persecution of the Christians of Alexandria occurred about this time; and in 454 commenced a desolating struggle between the Blacks and the Turks, both of whom had become numerous in Egypt. The former were succoured by the mother of El-Mustansir, herself a negress, while the command of the latter was taken by Nasir-ed-Dowleh Ibn-Hamdan, a general of El-Mustansir, more than once governor of Damascus, and at this period governor of Lower Egypt. To this man's unscrupulous ambition was due much of the trouble which ensued. After many battles the Turks succeeded in destroying the power of their adversaries, and their leader assumed almost absolute authority, while they not only extorted from the Khaleefeh immense sums of money and treasure, but even rifled the tombs of his predecessors for the valuables which they contained. At the same time the bulk of the valuable library of the Fatimees was dispersed by these brigands. But the very power of Nasir-ed-Dowleh threatened his overthrow. His sense of security in his position rendered him regardless of the support of the Turks; and when at length his schemes for the deposition of El-Mustansir brought matters to a crisis, a large portion of the army declared against him. Defeated and driven from the metropolis, he succeeded in possessing himself of Lower Egypt, and a terrible civil war raged between the contending parties. But an even heavier calamity afflicted Egypt. For seven successive years the inundation of the Nile failed, and with it almost the entire subsistence of the country, while the rebels intercepted supplies of grain from the north. El-Makreezee informs us that El-Askar and El-Katae were depopulated, and that half the inhabitants of El-Fustat perished, while in El-Kahireh itself the people were reduced to the direst

straits. Bread was sold for 14 dirhems the lb. loaf; and all provision being exhausted, the worst horrors of famine followed. The wretched people resorted to cannibalism, and organised bands kidnapped the unwary passenger in the desolate streets, principally by means of ropes furnished with hooks, and let down from the latticed windows. In the year 462, the famine reached its height. It was followed by a pestilence; and in the midst of these horrors, Nasir-ed-Dowleh advanced on Cairo at the head of an enormous army: he was induced to withdraw by the promise of large concessions, only to repeat the attack, and finally to make himself master of the city, after having inflicted a signal defeat on the Khaleefeh, who became only the nominal ruler of Egypt; a condition which lasted until the assassination of this powerful rebel in the year 465.

While these events were occurring in Egypt, Syria was in a continual state of anarchy and war. A distinguished general, the Emeer el-Guyoosh Bedr-ed-Deen El-Gemalee, held the government of Damascus during these time; and now El-Mustansir wrote, recalling him to assume the office of Wezeer of Egypt. On the condition of being allowed to bring with him a veteran force, he, happily for the country, obeyed the summons, and to his talents was owing the restoration of order, and even prosperity which followed. By a massacre of Emeers at a grand banquet shortly after his arrival, and by numerous executions, he subdued all opposition in the capital; and in a series of brilliant victories annihilated the savage hordes who infested the country throughout its whole extent, having either been called to the aid of the contending parties, or voluntarily taken advantage of the universal anarchy to commit their lawless ravages.

In concluding this necessarily extended notice of the reign of El-Mustansir, the invasion of Atseez with an army of Turkumans, Kurds, and Arabs, in the year 469, must be just mentioned. Spreading devastation around them, they encamped near Cairo;



and in the first engagement defeated the forces of El-Gemalee; but fortune favoring him in a second battle, the enemy was totally routed with immense carnage.

El Mustansir reigned 60 years, and died in the year 487. He was a weak prince, solely given up to pleasure. El-Gemalee had governed with almost absolute authority and great ability, for a period of 20 years, dying only a few days before the Khaleefeh. While admiring El-Gemalee's talents, we cannot but condemn his severity. He built the mosque which gives its name to the mountain immediately S. E. of the citadel of Cairo (Gebel-El-Guyoshee), and the second wall of El-Kahireh, with its three principal gates, Bab-Zuweyleh, Bab-en-Nasr, and Bab-el-Futooh. These gates, which are very fine specimens of architecture, are said to be the work of three Greek brothers.

El-Mustaalee bi-llah Abu-l-Kasim Ahmad succeeded his father; but a son of El-Gemalee, El-Afdal, had the principal management of the affairs of the kingdom. This Khaleefeh's reign is memorable for the First Crusade. El-Afdal had taken Jerusalem from the Turks in the year 1098; and a few months later it yielded to the Crusaders, after a siege of 40 days. El-Afdal arrived shortly after its fall with a re-enforcement of 20,000 men, but he was defeated in the battle of Ascalon. Later, an Egyptian army, commanded by Saad-ed-Dowleh, was worsted by Baldwin, Count of Edessa, and the general was killed in the action. From this period, with the exception of some efforts made in the next reign, in the time of Salah-ed-Deen (the Saladin of the Crusades), Egypt was too much occupied with intestine troubles to equip expeditions against the various parties who now struggled for the possession of Syria. El-Mustaalee died in the year 495. He is stated to have been a Sunnee—a strange anomaly in a dynasty of Shiya'ees.

His son El-A'mir bi-ahkami-llah Aboo'-Alee Mansoor, came to the throne at the age of five years, and until his arrival at manhood, the government was conducted by El-

Afdal. The first act of the Khaleefeh, however, on taking it into his own hands, was to put his minister to death, and appoint in his stead a man whose wickedness obliged him to imprison him and afterwards condemn him to death. The rule of El'Amir was chiefly remarkable for his impiety and tyranny, and for the successes of the Crusaders, who, having reduced many of the principal coast-towns in Syria, meditated the conquest of Egypt, and crossed the frontier, but were deterred from the prosecution of their enterprise by the illness of Baldwin, whose death took place at El-Areesh, on his way back to Jerusalem. El-A'mir was put to death in 524, at the town of El-Geezeh, it is said by partisans of El-Afdal, whose son then usurped the entire government, setting up, as Khaleefeh, El-Hafidh li-deeni-llah Abd-El-Megeed, a grandson of El-Mustansir (El-A'mir having left no male issue), but without the usual ceremonies of installation. This wezeer, Aboo'-Alee Ahmad, even forbade the mention of El-Hafidh in the public prayer, and inserted his own name in his stead. He perished in a popular tumult, roused by his extortions and arbitrary rule, and El-Hafidh was duly declared Khaleefeh, and received the oath of allegiance. After the death of Ahmad, he successively appointed three other Wezeers; but these proving equally refractory, he at length dispensed with that office altogether. He reigned nearly 20 years. The licentiousness of his son and successor, Edh-Dhafir bi-aadai-llah Aboo-Mansoor Isma'eel, occasioned his death in four years and seven months at the hand of his Wezeer El-Abbas.

El-Faiz bi-llah Abu-l-Kasim 'Eesa Ibn-'Alee was, on his accession, only five years of age, and the history of his times presents merely the contentions of rival Wezeers, of whom the chief were El-Melik Es-Salih Tatae Ibn-Ruzzeyk, and his competitor El-Abbas, before named. The latter finding his power failing, gathered together the wealth he had amassed, and fled to Syria, where he fell into the hands of the Crusaders,

who stripped him of all that he had, and detained him a prisoner. Eventually he was given up to Tatae, and crucified over the gates of the palace.

El-Faiz died in the year 555, and El-A'did li-deeni-llah Aboo-Mohammed Abd-Allah, a grandson of El-Hafidh, and the last of the Fatimee Khaleefehs, was raised to what was then but the shadow of a throne, the entire power being in the hands of Tatae, who by his oppression and cruelty well-high rendered El-A'did, by nature benevolent and wise, as tyrannical as himself. He was assassinated by the secret orders of the Khaleefeh, and the latter to conceal his agency in this act, installed his son El-A'did in his place. At this time the well-known Shawir was governor of the Sa'eed (or Upper Egypt), a post next in importance to that of prime minister. During the next three reigns the Wezeers had been rapidly increasing in power; and the annals of the period are entirely occupied with the rise and fall of potent grandees, all eager for a post which conferred on its possessor the supreme authority. At length, in the reign of this unfortunate prince, they consummated the ruin of the dynasty, and overwhelmed themselves in its fall. In 555, El-A'did dispossessed Shawir of his government, and the latter had immediate recourse to arms, marched against his enemy, and succeeded in putting him to death. He then constituted himself Wezeer, but in his turn was compelled to flee from a more powerful rival, Ed-Dirgham. Noor-ed-Deen, the sultan of Damascus, received the fugitive with favor; and in the course of the next year (559) despatched an army to Egypt, under the command of Asad-ed-Deen Sheerkooch, to reinstate him. In the meantime Ed-Dirgham had been busy putting to death the great men of the empire; and having thus weakened his power, he offered but a feeble resistance, was overthrown in a battle near the tomb of the sepyideh Nefeeseh, on the S. of Cairo, and Shawir was restored. No sooner, however, was this effected, than he forgot the engagements into which he had entered

with Noor-ed-Deen, and threw off his allegiance to him. Sheerkooch retired to the Sharkeeyeh, and occupied the town of Bilbeys, and thence threatened Shawir. In this position of affairs the latter had recourse to the Crusaders, who willingly responded to his call, and Amaury, king of Jerusalem, arrived with a considerable force. With these allies, Shawir-besieged his former protector in Bilbeys, until hearing of Noor-ed-Deen's successes over the Franks in Syria, they negotiated a peace, and permitted Sheerkooch to withdraw from Egypt. About two years later, Noor-ed-Deen, determined on punishing the treachery of Shawir, again sent Sheerkooch into Egypt with a great army, and accompanied by his nephew, the famous Salah-ed-Deen. Shawir again sought to strengthen himself by an alliance with Amaury, from whom he received the first intelligence of the meditated invasion. Apprised of their knowledge of his movements, Sheerkooch changed his course from Bilbeys, entered the valley of the Nile at some distance above Cairo, and, crossing the river, marched northwards to El-Geezeh. Here he endeavored to raise the people against Shawir and his infidel confederates; and had in some measure succeeded when the superior forces of the enemy compelled him to retreat southwards as far as El-Babeyn, near Ashmooneyn, where he risked an engagement, and gained a complete victory. This success opened to the invaders the greater part of Egypt, and Alexandria itself fell into their hands. Salah-ed-Deen was placed in that city with a numerous garrison, and his uncle departed to subdue the rest of Egypt. The Crusaders, however, at once closely invested Alexandria, and so pressed the siege for three months, as to oblige Sheerkooch to come to its relief. An honorable compromise was affected, by which the Syrians agreed to resign their conquests and evacuate Egypt. But fresh troubles were in store for this unfortunate country. Amaury, irritated at the result of a campaign in which he had only lost, determined on ar



expedition against his recent ally; and, entering Egypt, took Bilbeys, putting its inhabitants to the sword, and laid siege to El-Kahireh, his course being marked by the most dreadful barbarities. On his approach, the ancient city of El-Fustat was set on fire by order of the Wezeer, to prevent it falling into the enemy's hands, and it continued burning somewhat more than fifty days. El-'A'did now earnestly sought the aid of Noor-ed-Deen; and that monarch, actuated by religious zeal against the Franks, who had already felt his power in Syria, and by the desire of conquest, once more despatched Sheerkoooh. In the meantime negotiations had been opened with Amaury to raise the siege of El-Kahireh, on payment of an enormous sum of money; while, however, the conditions were yet unfulfilled, the approach of the Syrian army induced him to retreat in all haste. Sheerkoooh and Salah-ed-Deen entered the capital in great state, were received with honor by the Khaleefeh, and with obsequiousness by the perfidious Shawir, who was contriving a plot which was fortunately discovered, and for which he paid with his head. Sheerkoooh was then appointed Wezeer by El-'A'did, but dying very shortly, he was succeeded in that dignity by Salah-ed-Deen.

Of the short period which elapsed before Salah-ed-Deen's assumption of the title of Sultan, a few words will suffice. One of his first acts was to put to death the chief of the Eunuchs, and a revolt of the Blacks resulted; a combat took place in El-Kahireh, in the street called Beyn-el-Kasreyn; and the malcontents being worsted, the disturbances were quelled. Baha-ed-Deen Karakoosh, a white eunuch, who afterwards played a prominent part in the reign of Salah-ed-Deen, was appointed to the vacant post. This gave the Wezeer great influence in the palace, of which he judiciously availed himself. In 566 we hear of Amaury with Greek allies unsuccessfully besieging Damietta; and in the following year, Salah-ed-Deen conducted an expedition against the Franks to Ascalon

and Ramleh; after which, a year later, he took Eyleh. In 567, by order of Noor-ed-Deen, he suppressed the name of El-'A'did in the congregational prayers, and substituted that of the Abbassée Khaleefeh; a masterly stroke of policy to secure the adhesion of the orthodox Muslims. The last of the Fatimees was lying dangerously ill, and his relations concealed from him his degradation. He died without the knowledge of it, and with him perished an illustrious but unfortunate dynasty.

Salah-ed-Deen was thus relieved of the most serious obstacle on his way to the throne; yet he dared not throw off his allegiance to the Sultan of Damascus, but prudently waited for a favorable opportunity. Noor-ed-Deen's suspicions were already aroused, and he died while secretly preparing to proceed in person to Egypt. Salah-ed-Deen almost immediately proclaimed himself Sultan of Egypt, and inaugurated his reign with a series of brilliant successes. With the conquest of El-Mo'izz, Egypt again took an important place among the nations; and by the wars of Salah-ed-Deen it became the nucleus of a great empire. But military glory was not the sole aim of that prince and his successors; and the patronage they continued to extend to letters and the arts had the most beneficial effect upon the civilization of the country.

Salah-ed-Deen, whose full appellation was El-Melik En-Nasir, Salah-ed-Deen Yoosuf Ibn Eiyoub acquired his greatest renown by his campaigns against the Crusaders in Syria. As these belong, however, more probably to the history of those wars than to that of Egypt, they will be more briefly noticed in this place than would otherwise be necessary. The youth of El-Melik Es-Salih Isma'eel, the son and successor of Noor-ed-Deen, and the consequent confusion which prevailed in his dominions, gave Salah-ed-Deen a fair pretext to occupy Damascus, as the guardian of the young prince, and enable him to wrest from him his kingdom. He thus considerably enlarged his territory,

made himself master of a great portion of Syria, and continued to consolidate his power in those parts until the year 573 (A.D. 1178), when Philip, Count of Flanders, laid siege to Antioch, and Salah-el-Deen entered Palestine. The latter having encamped before Ascalon, his troops ravaged the neighboring country, and set fire to Joppa, until at length Baldwin (surnamed the Leper), king of Jerusalem, issued from Ascalon and gave him battle. The result was disastrous to Salah-ed-Deen; his army was totally routed, and he himself fled alone on a dromedary. After this, however, he gained some partial advantages over the Christians; and a terrible famine induced him, two years later, to conclude a truce with the King of Jerusalem, and retire to Egypt.

In the year 576 he again entered Syria and made war on Kilij Arslan, the Seljuk Sultan of Anatolia, and on Leon, King of Armenia—the Cilicio-Armenian kingdom,—both of whom were forced to make terms of peace. Not long after his return, Salah-ed-Deen departed from Egypt (A.H. 578), to prosecute a war with the Crusaders in which neither side desired peace. Their hostility was aggravated by the following circumstances: a vessel bearing 1500 pilgrims had been wrecked near Damietta, and its passengers captured; and to the remonstrances of the King of Jerusalem, the Sultan replied by complaining of the constant inroads made by Renaud de Chatillon. At this time, the latter turbulent chief undertook an expedition against Eyleh, and for this purpose constructed boats at Karak, and conveyed them on camels to the sea; but his flotilla was repulsed, and the siege raised by a fleet sent thither by El-'A'dil, the brother of Salah-ed-Deen, and then his viceroy; and a second attempt was still more unfortunate—the Christian captives on that occasion were sacrificed in the valley of Mina. Having threatened Karak, Salah-ed-Deen encamped at Tiberias, and ravaged the territory of the Franks: he then besieged Beyroot, but in vain; and thence turned his arms against

Mesopotamia, and subdued that country, but the city of El-Mosil successfully resisted him. In the meanwhile, the Crusaders contented themselves with miserable forays across the enemy's borders, and made no serious preparations for the return of their redoubtable antagonist. The latter having been almost everywhere successful in Mesopotamia, took Tell-Khalid, and 'Eyn-Tab, in Syria, and obtained possession of Aleppo; he again besieged Karak, ravaged the territory of Samaria, and later received the fealty of the lord of El-Mosil, but not the keys of the city.

In the year 1186 of our era, war again broke out between Salah-ed-Deen and the Crusaders. The Sultan had respected a truce into which he had entered with Baldwin the Leper, and Renaud, before named, was the first to break it. The capture, by the latter, of a rich caravan, enraged Salah-ed-Deen, who dispatched orders to all his lieutenants and vassals, summoning them to assist in the "Holy War;" and he marched (A.D. 1187) from Damascus to Karak, and there laid close siege to Renaud; at the same time a large body of cavalry under the command of his son, El-Afdal, advanced on Nazareth; and here a body of 130 knights hospitallers and templars, seconded by a few hundred foot-soldiers, and encouraged by the heroic Jacques de Maille, marshal of the Temple, by their devotion, immortalized their memory. Only the grand master of the Temple and two of his knights escaped from the unequal struggle. Soon after, Salah-ed-Deen approached in person, at the head of an army of 80,000 men; and the Christians with their whole force encountered him on the shore of the lake of Tiberias. The result of the battle which ensued was the heaviest blow which had yet fallen on the Crusaders. Weakened by thirst, shaken by the flight of a part of their troops on the second day of combat, and overwhelmed by numbers, the knights fought with desperate courage, but at length were forced to the hills of Hitteem. A multitude fell in this bloody fight and among the prisoners were Guy de Lusig



nan (the King of Jerusalem and successor of Baldwin), with his brother and Renaud de Chatillon. The number of prisoners is almost incredible; and the massacre of many of them is an indelible stain on the glory of the generally merciful Salah-ed-Deen. Tiberias, Ptolemais (Acre), Nabulus, Jericho, Ramleh, Caesarea, Arsoor, Joppa, Beyroot, and many other places, successively fell into the hands of the conqueror. Tyre resisted his attacks; but Ascalon surrendered on favorable terms, and the fall of Jerusalem crowned these victories. The great clemency of Salah-ed-Deen on this occasion is chronicled by Christian historians, though it is but slightly mentioned by the Muslims, who took offence at the favor shown to the enemies of their faith.

After these events Tyre was again besieged; and when about to capitulate, was fortunately relieved by the arrival of Conrad, son of the Marquis of Montferrat, and the valiant defence of the town wearied Salah-ed-Deen, who turned his arms against Tripoli; but here he met with no better success. Bohemond, Prince of Antioch, and at that time possessor of Tripoli also, was, however, glad to obtain a truce of eight months; and some strongholds (among others Karak) were taken. But now the fortune of war turned against the Sultan. The ever-memorable siege of Acre, maintained with equal constancy by both Christians and Muslims, lasted upwards of two years, and attracted the attention of the whole Western World. At length the immense reinforcements received by the besiegers, and the presence of Richard Cœur de Lion of England, and of Philip II. of France, enabled them to overcome all resistance, and the standards of the Cross floated on the ramparts of the city. A horrible act of barbarity was here perpetrated, 2700 Muslim captives were massacred in cold blood, in consequence of Salah-ed-Deen's having failed to fulfill the terms of the capitulation; and the palliative plea of the heat of an assault cannot be urged in extenuation of this enormity. Richard has

been accused of being its author; but Michaud believes with reason that it was decided on in a council of the chiefs of the Crusade. On another occasion, however, that king was certainly guilty of similar cruelty.

After a period of repose and debauchery, the army of the Crusaders, commanded by Richard, directed its march towards Jerusalem. Salah-ed-Deen harassed his advance on every point, rendered the cities and strongholds defenceless, and ravaged the country. Richard, nevertheless, was ever victorious; his presence struck terror into the Muslims, and he gained a signal victory over the Sultan in the battle of Arsoor. But dissensions among the chiefs of his army, and the uncertain temper of the commander himself, debarred the Crusaders from the attainment of their great object, the deliverance of the holy city; and when all the coast from Joppa to Tyre was in the hands of the Christians, and the army of Salah-ed-Deen was threatened with disorganization, a treaty was concluded, and Richard set sail on his return to England. The glory acquired by Salah-ed-Deen, and the famous campaigns of Cœur de Lion, have rendered the Third Crusade the most memorable in history, and shed a lustre on the arms of both Muslims and Christians greater than they ever attained in these wars, either before or afterwards.

Salah-ed-Deen died about a year after the conclusion of this peace (A.H. 589, or 1193 of our era) at Damascus, at the age of fifty-seven years. Ambition and religious zeal appear to have been his ruling passions; he was courageous, magnanimous, and merciful; possessed of remarkable military talents, and great control over himself. His generosity, on almost every occasion, to the vanquished, combined with his faithful observance of his passed word, are lauded by the historians of the Crusades; the former brought on him much obloquy among his own fierce soldiers, and is a trait in his character which is worthy of note in the annals of a time when this virtue was extremely

rare. While engaged in the conduct of his continual wars, he was not unmindful of the welfare of Egypt, and during his reign many public works were executed. Of these we may mention especially the citadel of Cairo, with the magnificent buildings which, until very recently, it contained; the third wall of the city; and the repair of the great canal called the Bahr Yoosuf, a very important and useful work. From the year 578, until the period of his death, he had not entered Egypt; but his brother El-'Adil, and other princes of his family, successively governed that country, and the Eunuch Kara-kooch, who also defended Acre, held a large share of authority.

On the death of Salah-ed-Deen, his extensive dominions were divided chiefly among his sons, and Egypt fell to the lot of one of them, El-Melik El-Azeez Imad-ed-Deen Abul-Fet-h'Othman. The grandees supported his claim to the throne, and he proved himself worthy of their choice. In conjunction with El-'Adil, we find him warring against the leaders of the Fourth Crusade. He reigned five years and ten days, and was succeeded by his son El-Mansoor Mohammed; his uncle El-Afdal being compelled to relinquish the government of Damascus and assume the regency of Egypt. Disagreement among the sons of Salah-ed-Deen had occurred soon after that monarch's death, and now hastened the rise of El-'Adil, who, by his military talents and other remarkable qualities, had excited the fears of even his brother. With the view of checking his growing ascendancy, El-Afdal formed an alliance against him with Edh-Dhahir, the Lord of Aleppo, and besieged him in Damascus; but coming to strife, they raised the siege early in 596. This attempt proved fatal to the power of El-Afdal. He was pursued to Egypt, in his turn besieged in El-Kahireh, forced to flee, and El-'Adil was proclaimed Sultan. Having dethroned El-Mansoor, he speedily recovered Damascus from the hands of the confederate brothers, and Syria with Egypt acknowledged his su-

premacy. El-'Adil is especially known by his opposition to the Fourth and Sixth Crusades, the former of which took place before his accession to the throne. He repulsed the Christians near Nabulus, captured Joppa, and encountered the enemy between Tyre and Sidon. He was there defeated with heavy loss, and Sidon, Laodicea, Gibleh, and Beyroot were taken. But the Crusaders wasted their strength before the fortress of Thoron. El-'Adil raised the siege of that place, and although afterwards he met with a reverse near Joppa, his adversaries bought a dear victory; and, having come to terms of peace, they returned to Europe. In the year 600 (A.D. 1204) he departed to Syria with the object of securing Jerusalem against threatened attacks, and concluded a truce which he offered to renew when about to expire; and to prove his good faith, strengthened that offer by promising to cede ten castles to the Christians. These overtures were refused, and the Muslim army drove the newly arrived king of Jerusalem, Jean de Brienne, back to Europe. Those who remained then professed their willingness to accede to conditions of peace, and we do not again hear of El-'Adil in Palestine until 614 (A.D. 1218), when he was once more called thither to oppose the Crusades; but a serious invasion of Egypt by these troublesome adventurers hastily recalled its king, and he died of grief, it is said, on hearing of the advantages gained by them.

El-Kamil immediately came to the throne, and took the most energetic measures for the protection of his kingdom. In the meantime, the Franks besieged Damietta both by sea and land; and notwithstanding every effort for the relief of the place, its garrison was forced to capitulate. El-Kamil summoned to his aid the princes of his family, and with every available man watched the enemy's movements. Flushed with success, Jean de Brienne commenced his march on the capital; and with the characteristic carelessness of the Crusaders, he took no measures to secure supplies. His advance was



stopped at the junction of the canal of Ashmoon with the Nile, where he found El-Kamil in a very strong position. Encamped on the opposite shore, the invaders depended for supplies on Damietta and its immediate district; but the inundation of the Nile gradually obstructed land-carriage, and El-Kamil skilfully availed himself of this natural ally, caused boats to be carried overland to the enemy's rear, and, thus cut off by land water, they were compelled to attempt a retreat. At Beyramoon, however, all further progress was found to be impossible—the inundation had covered the level country, and the Sultan's boats blockaded the Nile. They surrendered, and evacuated Damietta, but not before Egypt had suffered severely from the ravages they committed. The city of El-Mansoorah was founded on the site of El-Kamil's camp, and commemorates his energy and sagacity. The Seventh Crusade was invited by the same Sultan who had thus suffered by an invasion of the Franks. In A.D. 1228, El-Kamil invoked the aid of Frederick II. against his brother El-Muadhdam, Lord of Damascus, and, in consequence of this alliance, Jerusalem, with Bethlehem and the places between it and Joppa and Acre, Nazareth and the territory of Thoron and Sidon, with its dependencies, was ceded to Frederick on the 20th of February, 1229. Between these two monarchs existed the most friendly relations, presenting a curious spectacle in the midst of the intrigues and hatred of their subjects for each other, and endangering their popularity and even their lives. After various expeditions against his brother and his successors, El-Kamil gained possession of Damascus, and died there in the year 635 (A.D. 1238). He was distinguished by military talents, and rare moderation, and was also a learned man, a patron of the arts, and a good king.

His son El-Melik El-Adil the Younger, was declared Sultan of Egypt and Syria, with the consent of the nobles, and he speedily banished those ministers whose counsels

he feared, and appointed creatures of his own. Oppressed by his tyranny, and impoverished by his extravagance, the people called his brother Es-Salih Negm-ed-Deen Eiyooob to the throne; and he deposed and imprisoned El-Adil in the year 637, and, to replenish his exhausted treasury, ordered all who had received presents from the late Sultan to restore them to his successor. In the next year serious disturbances broke out in Syria; Salih 'Imad-ed-Deen, who had taken Damascus in the reign of El-Adil, formed an alliance with the Franks, and purposed the conquest of Egypt: the hostile armies met at Acre, and the Muslim soldiers of 'Imad-ed Deen deserting to the banner of Es-Salih Eiyooob, the Franks were routed. Negotiations for peace were then attempted, but these failing, the Franks were again induced to take the field by the cession of Jerusalem and other places. The king of Egypt, on his part, called to his assistance the Kharesmees, who took Jerusalem and overran Syria. In the next campaign they were joined by the army of Es-Salih, under the command of his favorite slave Beybars, who was destined to play a conspicuous part in Egyptian history. The allied army met the Franks, eager to avenge themselves on the Kharesmees for the horrible atrocities of which they had been guilty in the preceding campaign, and willingly joined by the Muslim princes of Damascus, Hims and Karak; on the first day the battle raged with unabated fury from daybreak to sunset, and was continued on the morrow until the prince of Hims, having lost 2000 men, gave way and fled towards Damascus. The Christians maintained the unequal fight with great constancy, and were only vanquished after the greater number had fallen. In these encounters 30,000 men (either Christians or Muslims) were either killed or taken prisoners. Various successes followed this victory, Jerusalem was taken by the Egyptians, and Es-Salih laid siege to Damascus in person. The city having capitulated on favorable conditions, his fierce allies, enraged at the

loss of pillage, quarrelled with him, and soon after joined his rebellious subjects. Damascus was reduced to the direst straits, but again fortune favored Es-Salih. He hastened from Egypt, whither he had returned, and totally defeated the enemy. Other advantages were gained by his commander Fakhr-ed-Deen over the Franks in the ensuing year.

Although attacked by illness, the Sultan was once more called to Syria to quell fresh troubles; but at Damascus news reached him of the threatened invasion of Egypt by the Crusaders under St. Louis, and he traveled back in great suffering from his malady. Damietta, which he rightly judged would be the first point of attack, was strengthened and well stored, and its defence was intrusted to Fakhr-ed-Deen. On Friday, June 4, A.D. 1249, the French anchored before the place, and the next day landed opposite the camp of the Egyptian general, who offered but slight opposition, and in the course of the next night betrayed his trust and retreated southwards. His army was precipitately followed by the entire population of Damietta, and thus this important town with its stores fell into the hands of the invaders without a blow. Fakhr-ed-Deen nearly lost his life for this act of cowardice, and 54 of his principal officers were put to death. In the meantime the Sultan's illness gradually increased, but nevertheless he caused himself to be removed to the town of El-Mansoorah, which he fortified, and there he expired on Nov. 21, at the age of forty-four, and after a reign of ten years. He it was who introduced the Bahree Memlooks, a body of Turkish slaves, who composed his body-guard, and eventually usurped the supreme power. Their name *Bahree* (or "of the river") originated in their being trained and quartered on the island of Er-Rodah, where the Sultan had built a palace.

The French were advancing southwards, and, notwithstanding the precautions of Sheger-ed-Durr (the widow of Es-Salih, who

assumed the regency), were apprised of the death of the Sultan. Many partial actions took place on the march, and on Dec. 19, their army appeared before El-Mansoorah, the scene of the disaster of Jean de Brienne. Skirmishing continued until Shrove Tuesday, when, a traitor having shown the enemy a ford over the canal of Ashmoon, they surprised the camp and town. Very severe fighting ensued, Fakhr-ed-Deen fell early in the struggle, and the place was nearly lost, when the Bahree Memlooks led by Beybars furiously charged the assailants; and completely turned the fortune of the day. The morrow witnessed another battle, also disastrous to the Crusaders, and a succession of misfortunes followed. Tooran Shah, on hearing of the death of his father, traveled in all haste from Mesopotamia to Egypt, and having reached the camp, assumed the command. He had recourse to the stratagem which had proved so successful under the direction of El-Kamil, and cut off the supplies of the enemy. This, coupled with disease, soon reduced St. Louis to great straits, and he sent to propose a truce, but not coming to terms he determined on retreating to Damietta. A memorable conflict took place by land and water, and St. Louis with his troops surrendered themselves prisoners of war.

Tooran Shah now gave himself up to debauchery, offended his nobles by bestowing his favors only on certain creatures whom he had brought with him from Mesopotamia, and alarmed the queen by forcing her to render him an account of his father's wealth. Sheger-ed-Durr appealed to the Memlooks, a conspiracy was formed, and the Sultan was attacked in his palace. He fled to a pleasure tower built on the banks of the Nile, which was set on fire in the presence of his army, the wretched king, from the summit, in vain promising to abdicate. He perished miserably, and his unburied corpse lay for many days on the bank. On his accession he had strangled a brother, and his fate deserves no pity.

Sheger-ed-Durr (vulgarly called Shegeret-



ed-Durr), herself a slave, and the first of the Dynasty of the Bahree, or Turkish Memlooks, succeeded to the throne; and 'Izz-ed-Deen Eybek was appointed commander of the forces. After many delays, St. Louis agreed to pay 400,000 livres as a ransom for himself and army, 200,000 to be paid in Egypt, and the remainder on the fulfillment of certain stipulations at Acre; Damietta was surrendered and Egypt evacuated. Thus ended the last invasion of Egypt by the Crusaders. Sheger-ed-Durr, in order to strengthen herself on the throne, shortly after married the Emeer Eybek, and caused him to be proclaimed Sultan, with the title of El-Melik El-Mo'izz, in the year 648. The followers of Es-Salih, however, obliged him to associate with himself in the sovereignty a young prince of the family of Eiyob, El-Melik El-Ashraf Mudhaffar-ed-Deen Moosa. En-Nasir, Salah-ed-Deen Yoosuf, a son of El-'Azeez, invaded Egypt, and after many combats was driven back to Syria; but the country continued in a very unsettled state. The chief of the adherents of the fallen dynasty was arrested by Eybek; and Beybars, with other leading men, having repaired to the citadel to demand satisfaction, his bloody head was thrown to them from the ramparts, and in terror they fled to Syria. El-Ashraf was then cast into prison, and there he died. But Eybek soon roused the jealousy of his beautiful and ambitious wife; and he was assassinated by her orders. In her turn she was beaten to death, not many days after, by the wooden clogs of the female slaves of another wife of Eybek, and her corpse was exposed for three days in the moat of the citadel.

El-Melik El-Mansoor Noor-ed-Deen 'Alee, son of Eybek, was now raised to the throne, and Beybars being apprised of the death of his rival attempted to regain his power in Egypt; but Kutz, the viceroy of Eybek and also of his son, attacked and routed him; and he soon after deposed El-Mansoor, and declared himself Sultan. El-Melik El-Mudhaffar Kutz began his reign by putting to

death El-Mansoor, and Sharaf-ed Deen, the able minister of the last Eiyoobee kings, and of the first of this dynasty. A reign thus cruelly commenced ended tragically. Kutz was diverted from these severe measures by the advance of Hulagu, grandson of Genghis-Khan, who with a formidable army, overran El-'Irak and Syria. By great efforts Kutz raised a considerable force and marched to meet him. The intelligence of the death of the Mongol emperor had, however, in the meantime recalled Hulagu, who left Ketbugha to encounter the Egyptian Sultan. The battle declared in favor of the latter, and Syria was restored to his rule. Returning in triumph to Egypt, he was assassinated on the frontier by Beybars, in the year 658, and this Memlook (who had but recently fought under his banner against Tatars) was forthwith chosen by the Emeers to be his successor.

The brilliant reign of El-Melik Edh-Dhahir Beybars El-Bundukkaree is so perplexed and full of incident as to render a concise account of it very difficult. It commenced with the reduction of a revolt in Syria. The rebels were supported by a Tatar army under Hulagu, but Beybars was everywhere victorious, and Damascus surrendered at discretion. Having subdued all opposition in this quarter, he endeavored to improve the condition of Egypt, abolished the exorbitant imposts under which the people groaned, and welcomed to his court Ahmad, son of the Khaleefeh Edh-Dhahir, who was declared Prince of the Faithful with the title of El-Mustansir bi-llah, and furnished with a small force, by which he hoped to establish himself in Baghdad. He was, however, repulsed by the Tatars and put to death. The succeeding line of Khaleefehs, possessed of spiritual, but no temporal authority, remained at the court of the Memlook Sultans until the Turkish conquest. From this time, Beybars continued to extend and confirm his rule. His first expedition was to Syria against the Christians, and the Church of the Nativity at Nazareth was destroyed. Thence

he went to the fortified town of Karak, which had more than once resisted the attacks of Salah-ed-Deen, but opened its gates to the Memlook conqueror, and its territory was added to his dominions. A great scarcity afflicted Cairo in 662, and Beybars threw open the government stores, and strove in every way to alleviate the sufferings of his subjects.

In 663, he again entered Syria, and took Casarea and Ursoof; and in the next year he commenced a series of campaigns against the Christians, notwithstanding the earnest remonstrances of the kings of France, of Aragon, and of Armenia. To raise the necessary funds for the expenses of the war, he took occasion of the occurrence of many incendiary fires in Cairo, during his absence on this war, to mulct their co-religionists of the sum of 500,000 deenars, ostensibly to repair the damage caused by these fires. He threatened Acre, and took Safad; and relieved from the apprehensions caused by the advance of the Tatars by the death of Hulagu, and the retreat of his army, Beybars despatched a force which effected the conquest of Armenia, and penetrated to the borders of Anatolia; a transient success which was speedily annulled by the advent of Abaka Khan, the son of Hulagu. In the next war, Beybars again attacked the Christians, burning their churches and enslaving the people. He took Antioch, with horrible carnage, advanced to Hims, and Hamah, and thence returned to Cairo. After a campaign against the Tatars, he ravaged the country around Acre (which place appears to have been the constant object of his attack) and the "Assassins," so long the terror of dynasties, submitted to his power. About this time the Tatars renewed their inroads and besieged Beyrah; and in the year 671 Beybars took the field against them with two armies, one commanded by himself in person, the other by Kala-on El-Elfee. In the battle of Beyrah the Sultan was completely victorious, and the Tatars fled to the mountains of Kurdistan. In consequence of this

victory, Armenia again fell into his hands, and was given up to pillage. Abaka-Khan afterwards was again repulsed at Beyrah. Nubia also about this time acknowledged the authority of Beybars. He died at Damascus in the year 676, after another expedition against Anatolia, attended with various success, in which the Tatars were leagued against him. Great military talents, coupled with the most indefatigable activity, Beybars certainly possessed, but he used his conquests unmercifully; on many occasions he ravaged whole provinces, and sacked many towns, putting great numbers of the inhabitants to the sword. The melancholy annals of the Crusades bear ample testimony to this fact; and while the example of other monarchs, and of the Franks themselves, may be urged as some palliation, nevertheless his barbarity remains an indelible blot on his character. In Egypt he endeavored to reform abuses and suppress vice; and numerous public works were executed by his orders. Damietta was razed and rebuilt farther inland; and the mouth of the Nile was protected by a boom against sudden invasion. He repaired the fortifications of Alexandria, and the Pharos, the mosque El-Azhar in Cairo, and the walls of the citadel, and built the great mosque known by his name to the north of the city.

The son and successor of Beybars, El-Melik Es-Sa'eed Barakeh Khan, was exiled after a short reign, and a younger brother, El'A'dil Selamish, raised to the throne; Kala-on El-Elfee acting as regent. This Memlook had married a daughter of Beybars, and was consequently nearly allied to the Sultan. He, nevertheless, conspired against him, and was soon proclaimed king by the title of El-Melik El-Mansoor. Distinguished in former wars, he achieved many successes during his reign of ten years. On his accession he despatched an army to reduce disturbances in Syria, and took Damascus. Peace was thus established in that province; and in the year 680, he, in person, defeated a very superior force of Tatars, and raised the siege of Rahabeh.



Later in his reign (in the year 688) he besieged Tripoli, which for nearly two centuries had been in the possession of the Christians, and was very rich and flourishing. The town was sacked, and its unfortunate inhabitants put to the sword. His memory is still preserved in Cairo by his hospital and mad-house, adjoining his fine mosque in the principal street of the city. This charitable institution he is said to have founded for expiation of great severity towards the citizens, in enforcing an obnoxious edict. His son, El-Ashraf Khaleel, rendered himself famous by the siege and capture (in the year 690) of Acre, the last stronghold of the Crusaders in Syria. Many thousands of its inhabitants were massacred; and 10,000 who presented themselves before the Sultan and demanded quarters were slaughtered in cold blood. He also took Erzeroom in 691, and two years after was assassinated in Egypt.

El-Melik En-Nasir Mohammed, another son of Kala-oon, succeeded him at the age of nine years. The regent Ketbugha, however, followed the example of Kala-oon, and usurped the sovereignty, with the title of El-Melik El-'A'dil. Pestilence and famine were followed by war with the Tatars, who again ravaged Syria. Ketbugha despatched an army against them, but the valor of his troops was unable to withstand overpowering numbers, and Lageen Kala-oons, governor in Syria, was driven into Egypt with an immense crowd of fugitives. Ketbugha was deposed on the allegation that he had not commanded in person, and El-Melik El-Mansoor Lageen was elevated in his stead. In little more than two years this king fell in a conspiracy. His character was amiable, and he deserved a better return for the equity and kindness he showed to his subjects.

A short period of confusion then ensued, during which an Emeer was proclaimed king. En-Nasir Mohammed, however, was at length recalled from his exile at Karak, and elected Sultan in the year 698. Having firmly established himself in Egypt, he led an army

against Tatars, but met with a severe reverse in the plains of Hims; a second expedition proved more fortunate, and this general, then only nineteen years of age, gained a bloody and decisive victory over the enemy near Damasçus, in the year 702. The battle lasted three days; during the first two, the result was not decisive, although En-Nasir held the field; on the third day the Tatars were utterly routed and pursued for many hours. The Sultan on his entry into Cairo after this achievement, was preceded by 1600 prisoners, each one carrying the head of a comrade slain in the combat, and 1000 other heads were borne on lances in the procession. En-Nasir reigned until the year 708, when he went to Karak and voluntarily abdicated he had long struggled against the control of two powerful Emeers, Beybars and Silar and in despair of throwing off their ascendancy, he then openly yielded the reins of government to those who had long really held them. Since this prince's accession, the Christians and Jews of Egypt suffered the most severe persecution (excepting that of El-Hakim) which had yet befallen them. In the year 700, they were ordered to wear, respectively, blue and yellow turbans, and forbidden to ride on horses or mules, or to receive any government employment. The people took advantage of these measures to destroy many churches and synagogues. The churches continued shut for about a year; but some of those which had been destroyed were afterwards rebuilt at the request of Lascaris and other princes. Another event of this period was a great earthquake which half ruined Cairo, giving it the appearance of a city demolished by a siege; Alexandria and other towns of Egypt, as well as Syria, also suffered from it considerably.

On the abdication of En-Nasir, El-Melik El-Mudhaffar-Rukn-ed-Deen Beybars was saluted Sultan; but ere long En-Nasir recovered his courage, and having collected an army, marched to Damascus, where he was acknowledged, and thence to Egypt, entering Cairo without opposition. El-Mudhaffar had

fled at his approach, and, never a favorite of the people, he was attacked, on his exit from the metropolis, by a crowd of the citizens, who loaded him with abuse, and pelted him with stones. En-Nasir now for the third time ascended the throne of Egypt, and took the entire authority into his own hands. The remainder of his life was a period of profound peace, during which he occupied himself in improving his dominions, and in embellishing Cairo. But another persecution of the Christians occurred in 721, and all the principal churches in Egypt were destroyed by certain fanatical Muslims. The Sultan threatened a general massacre of the inhabitants of El-Kahireh and El-Fustat; the Christians, however, took revenge themselves by setting fire to very many mosques and houses in the metropolis; much tumult ensued, and many Christians and Muslims were executed. The threats of the mob compelled En-Nasir to permit the people to murder and plunder any Christian whom they might meet in the streets; and the oppressive rules before enacted were rigorously enforced, and made even more degrading.

The sons of En-Nasir followed him in succession, but the reigns of most of them were short and troublous. El-Melik El-Mansoor Seyf-ed-Deen Aboo-Bekr, El-Ashraf 'Ala-ed-Deen Koojook, En-Nasir Shihab-ed-Deen Ahmad, Es-Salih 'Imad-ed-Deen Isma'eel, El-Kamil Zeyn-ed-Deen Shaaban, and El-Mudhaffar Zeyn-ed-Deen Haggee, were only raised to the throne to be either exiled or put to death. After these, the Sultan Hasan deserves notice. He was deposed by his brother, Es-Salih Salah-ed-Deen—whose minister was Sheykhoun, a man well known to students of Egyptian subjects; but he soon regained his authority, reigned seven years, and at length fell by the swords of his Memlooks in the splendid mosque which he built in the open space beneath the citadel of Cairo. Four more Memlook kings bring the history to the accession of a new dynasty, that of the Circassians. These were El-Mansoor Nasir-ed-Deen Haggee (son of E.

Mudhaffar), deposed in six months; El-Ashraf Shaaban (son of Hasan), an unfortunate prince, whose reign passed away amid the struggles of the now too powerful Emeers, by whom he was ultimately strangled; his son, El-Mansoor 'Ala-ed-Deen, the victim of similar troubles, and in whose time the celebrated Barkook rose to the regency; and Es-Salih Haggee, a brother of the last king. Exiled by Barkook, who was proclaimed Sultan, he unsuccessfully endeavored to recover his throne in the year 784, and in 790 was restored, but he was soon once more dethroned, and this time with the loss of his life, by Barkook.

The Sultan Edh-Dhahir 'Seyf-ed-Deen Aboo Sa'eed Barkook was now undisputed master of Egypt. He was the first prince of the Dynasty of Burgee or Circassian Memlooks. As the preceding dynasty was founded by the Turkish Memlooks of Es-Salih Eiyoob, so this dynasty was composed of the Circassian slaves whom those kings from time to time bought with the view of strengthening their power. They were originally placed in garrison-towns, and hence their name *Burgee*, signifying "of a tower or castle." It is worthy of remark, that, while many of the Sultans of both these dynasties held an insecure tenure of power, many of the former met with a violent death, but few of the latter. The reign of Barkook is memorable for his war with Teemoor, or Teemoor-lang, commonly called by us Tamerlane, who had extended his conquests towards his dominions, but found him not unprepared, for he had foreseen the threatened danger. In the year 795, Kara Yoosuf, lord of El-Medeeyeh, and Ahmad Ibn-Uweys, Sultan of Baghdad, fled to his court for succour. The inhabitants of Edessa had been put to the sword, and Aleppo was menaced with a similar catastrophe, when Barkook, at the head of his army, came to its relief. Ahmad was reinstated in Baghdad, as a vassal of Barkook, whose name appeared on the coinage; and soon after Bayezeed, commonly called by us Bajazet, conducted a treaty with



the Sultan of Egypt. The conquest of India diverted Teemoor from his projects in Syria, but Barkook continued vigilant, and by every means sought to insure the safety of his kingdom. He died suddenly in 801, much beloved by his subjects, and regarded by less powerful chiefs as their strongest bulwark against the Tatar monarch. He was called "Sheykh" for his wisdom and learning, and combined with these qualities those of a skillful general and a good king. He was active, wary, and provident; and possessed the military talents of Beybars, without his severity. He seems to have been fond of riches and display, and he certainly left his treasury in a very flourishing condition, besides much wealth in stores, slaves, horses and the like.

His son, El-Melik En-Nasir Abu-s-Sa'adat Farag, fell a prey to intestine troubles and the inroads of the invader. He had overcome a revolt of the governor of Syria, when Teemoor again threatened that province. Kara Yoosuf and Ahmad sought refuge with the son of their former protector, and Farag's refusing to betray his guests gave occasion to the enemy to continue the war; a battle was fought, Farag was defeated, Aleppo and Hims fell into the hands of the victor, and the Egyptian forces returned and were concentrated in Egypt. Intimidated, however, by the fall of his ally Bayezeed, Farag sent an embassy to Teemoor with presents and offers of amity, and at length concluded a peace at the sacrifice of territory. Teemoor died in the year 807 (A.D. 1405), and Farag was preparing an expedition to recover his Syrian possessions, when he was surprised in his palace by an insurrection, headed by his brother, 'Abd-el-'Azeez, and compelled to take to flight. The people, believing that he had perished, proclaimed El-Mansoor 'Abd-el-'Azeez his successor. In the space of less than three months, however, he was deposed in favor of Farag, who thenceforth reigned at Damascus, until the Khaleefeh El-Musta'een bi-llah, at the instigation of the Emeer Sheykh El-Mahmoodee, who had

raised an army, boldly declared himself Sultan, by an appeal to religion gained numbers to his side, instituted criminal proceedings against Farag on the plea of the exactions which he had been forced to levy for the conduct of the war against Teemoor, and accomplished his death. He was beheaded in the month of Safar in the year 815, and his corpse was left unburied. Abu-l-Mahasir gives him the character of an extravagant, cruel, and voluptuous king.

El-Musta'een bi-llah, with the title of El-Melik El-'A'dil Abu-l-Fadl, began his reign well; but he had appointed El-Mahmoodee his Wezeer as a reward for his services, and this powerful and vigorous chief soon obliged him to abdicate, and eventually exiled him to Alexandria, where he passed the remainder of his days.

El-Melik El-Mu-eiyad Abu-n-Nasr Sheykh El-Mahmoodee (originally a Memlook of Barkook's) waged three successful wars in Syria, in the first of which he was guilty of a breach of faith in putting to death the governor of Damascus and part of the garrison of that city, after they had surrendered on promise of safety. He reigned peacefully in Egypt, and his name is recorded as that of a king who studied the happiness of his subjects and favored the learned, who counted him among their number. But he was avaricious; although we might judge the contrary from his beautiful mosque, and the elegant minarets over the Bab-Zuweyleh, in Cairo, which are among the chief ornaments of the city.

Three kings followed in rapid succession: El-Mudhaffar Ahmad, a son of El-Mu-eiyad, under two years of age at his accession; Edh-Dhahir Tatar and his infant son, Es-Salih Mohammed, who was deposed by Barsabay Ed-Dukmakee. This Memlook assumed the title of El-Melik El-Ashraf, and worthily continued the prosperous reign of El-Mu-eiyad. In power and virtue he ranks second only to Barkook among all the kings of this dynasty. He is known in European history by his expedition in 827 against John III., king of Cyprus, who became his vassal;

and by the part he took, about seven years later, in the dissensions of the court of Savoy and the government of Cyprus. He ruled for seventeen years, with great clemency, and died in 841. El-'Azeez Yoosuf, his son, was deposed by El-Mansoor Aboo-Sa'eed Jakmak El-'Ala-ee, a good prince, and a patron of the learned. After a peaceful reign he abdicated at the age of about eighty years in favor of his son, El-Mansoor Abu-s-Sa'adat 'Othman, who was overthrown by the intrigues of the Khaleefeh El-Kaim bi-amri-llah, and was succeeded by an aged Memlook, El-Ashraf-Abu-n-Nasr Eynal El-'Ala-ee En-Nasiree, followed by his son, El-Mu-eiyad Shihab-ed-Deen Abu-l-Fet-h Ahmad. Edh-Dhahir Seyf-ed-Deen-Khoshkadam, a Greek by birth, superseded him, reigning himself for seven years, with equity and benignity; presenting a contrast to the cruelty and oppression of his appointed successor, Edh-Dhahir Aboo-Sa'eed Bilbay El-'Ala-ee, which caused the latter's fall and the elevation of the Sultan Aboo-Sa'eed Temerbeg Edh-Dhahiree, who, in his turn, was deposed to make room for El-Ashraf Kait Bey, a prince who deserves especial notice for his struggles with the Turks, whereby the conquest of Egypt by that people was deferred for a few years. After a period of quiet which followed his accession, he was alarmed by the victory gained by Mohammed II. over his ally the King of Persia, and posted a considerable force on the frontier of Syria. The successes of the conqueror of Constantinople made him desire to abdicate; but the Emeers prayed him to defend his rights, and he consequently prepared for the war. The death of Mohammed, and the dissensions between Bayezed II. and Jem (or Zizim) temporarily relieved him of these apprehensions. The fall of Jem, however, and his arrival at the Egyptian court, implicated Kait Bey in the quarrel; and on the final overthrow of this prince he made sure of a war with the more fortunate Bayezed, and himself began aggressive measures, intercepted the Turkish cara-

van of Pilgrims, and an ambassador from India who was on his way to Constantinople with presents, and took Tarsus and Adaneh. A remonstrance from Bayezed was answered by a successful attack on his Asiatic commander, 'Ala-ed-Dowleh. In the meantime Tarsus and Adaneh were recovered from him; but the Emeer El-Ezbekee, to whom was entrusted the conduct of all future wars, being despatched against these towns, retook them, defeated an army sent to chastise him, and annexed Karamania. Another force was speedily equipped, and took the field in 803: conditions of peace were refused, and considerable success attended the Turkish arms. El-Ezbekee was, therefore, again ordered to Syria; a Turkish squadron conveying troops was dispersed, and at Tarsus he gave battle. The result was at first unfavorable to the Memlooks, whose commander, however, rallied them under cover of night, and succeeded in surprising and totally defeating the Turks. Long negotiations followed this victory; and at length Kait Bey, who was always most anxious for peace, ceded the disputed towns of Tarsus and Adaneh, and secured repose during the rest of his days. He died in 901, having designated El-Melik En-Nasir Abu-s-Sa'adat Mohammed as his successor. This weak and barbarous king was put to death after four years, during which he was deposed, and Kansooh, surnamed Khamsameeyeh, and Edh-Dhahir Abu-n-Nasr Kansooh were successively installed. The first reigned but eleven days, and the latter abdicated after five months of great difficulty and danger. On the death of En-Nasir, El-Ashraf Kansooh Janbalat was elevated to the throne, but six months sufficed to accomplish his fall, and he was fortunate in preserving his life. The next Sultan, El-Melik El-'A'dil Tooman Bey, was acknowledged both in Egypt and Syria. He, however, was overthrown and killed in a few months.

The Memlooks now compelled Kansooh El-Ghooree to assume the dangerous dignity, with the title of El-Melik El-Ashraf. This



prince very unwillingly yielded. His previous life shows him to have been both virtuous and learned; and he proved himself to be an able ruler. After an unsuccessful expedition against the Portuguese in the East, he reigned in peace until the year 915, when Kurkood, the father of Seleem I., the Turkish Sultan, obtained his protection and assistance. Events similar to those which accompanied the end of Jem followed; and Seleem availed himself of a pretext to declare war against Egypt. The first reverse which the Egyptians suffered occurred to an army commanded by 'Ala-ed-Dowleh, formerly defeated by Kait Bey, but now in the pay of El-Ghooree. The winter was passed by the latter in preparing energetically for the inevitable struggle, and in the spring he advanced in person. Seleem, on his part, reduced the last place in the hands of the Egyptians in 'Aladowleeyeh, and pretended to march towards Persia; but at the same time he sent to demand of El-Ghooree wherefore he opposed his passage, and commanded in person on the frontier. El-Ghooree replied, that his was merely an army of observation, and that he was desirous of mediating between Seleem and Isma'eel Shah. Seleem, however, rapidly advanced, refused to listen to an attempt at negotiation, and was met by El-Ghooree on the plain of Marj-Dabik, near Aleppo. A long and sanguinary battle ensued, and victory declared for neither side, until Kheyr Bey, commanding the right wing, and El-Ghazalee, over the left of the Egyptian army, basely deserted to the enemy with their troops. The centre then gave way and fled in utter confusion, notwithstanding the efforts of the Sultan to rally them. He was trampled to death by his routed cavalry, while (according to some) in the act of prayer. This event took place on the 26th of Regeb 922 (A.D. 1517). With his death Egypt lost her independence. The shattered remains of the army collected in Cairo. Tooman Bey, a nephew of the deceased king, was elected Sultan, and at once determined on every resistance to the con-

queror. His general in Syria, El-Ganbardee, disputed the road with Seleem step by step, and Tooman Bey awaited his arrival near Cairo. Between El-Khankah and the metropolis, at the village of Er-Reydaneeyeh, the opposing armies joined battle, on the 29th of Zu-l-Heggeh. The fall of a favorite general, Sinan Pasha, infuriated the Turks, and the brilliant bravery of the Memlooks availed them not. Immense numbers of them were slain by their enemies in the pursuit, and the survivors reunited in Cairo. El-Ganbardee, however, sacrificed his fame by joining the victor. The Turkish army paused for rest; and time was thus given to Tooman Bey to hire Arabs at a great cost to replenish his thinned ranks. Seleem now passed to the west of Cairo. A night surprise conducted by Tooman failed, but he succeeded in putting to the sword a great many Turks. He fortified himself in the city, and a house-to-house combat ensued, the Memlooks defending every foot with the energy of despair; the citadel fell by assault, and the unfortunate Tooman effected his escape towards Alexandria; but on the way he was taken by Arabs, given up to El-Ganbardee and another, and brought in chains to Seleem, who at first received him with honor, but afterwards falsely accused him of conspiring against him, and, with the cruelty and perfidy characteristic of his race, crucified him over the Bab-Zuweyleh, the place of execution for common malefactors. Thus miserably perished the last independent ruler of Egypt, who possessed the best qualities of his line, and whose noble defence of his kingdom would have secured to him the commiseration of any but a Turk.

In reviewing the period during which Egypt was governed by independent Muslim princes, it is necessary to consider the spirit of the times and the people over whom they ruled. They succeeded to the government of countries worn out by incessant warfare, overrun by savage hordes, and debased by the rule of the Lower Empire. Egypt had long struggled against the slavery to which

it had been condemned, and the history of the last three dynasties of Pharaohs evinces the patriotism which yet animated her people. But the successive tyranny of the Persians, the Greeks, and the Romans, appears to have annihilated their nationality, and when the Arabs invaded the country, these causes, combined with religious strife, induced them to afford the conquerors every assistance in their power. But the changeful rule of the lieutenants, and the troubles of the Khaleefehs, debarred Egypt (excepting during the reigns of some kings of the dynasties of the Benee-Tooloon and the Ikhsheedeeyeh) from profiting by the enlightenment of the race who held dominion over it, until the conquest by the Fatimees. The Khaleefehs of that dynasty contributed in a great degree to restore to Egypt some portion of its ancient prosperity, and with the House of Eiyooob it attained its greatest military glory under the Muslims; but the edifices erected during the rule of the two dynasties of Memlook kings, the libraries collected in Cairo at that period, and the learned men who then flourished, would point to it as the age in which literature and the arts were cultivated with the most success; a sure evidence of the internal prosperity of any country. This is the more surprising when we consider the state of Syria, which had long before their accession fallen a prey to intestine wars, and the ravages of the Tatars, the Crusaders, and other invaders; and also bear in mind the constitution of their government, in which the more powerful chiefs were constantly aiming at the supreme authority; and the practice of purchasing Memlooks, and rearing them in the households of the great to enable their masters to maintain their ascendancy, augmented the number of these aspirants to the throne. These slaves were, unlike the Barhees (who were the Turkish Memlooks of the Eiyoobee Sultan, Es-Salih Negmed-Deen), chiefly Circassians, who afterwards composed the Second Dynasty, the Burgee. Many of the Memlook Sultans rivaled in military achievements the great Salah-ed-

Deen, and even penetrated further than he in their foreign expeditions. In Cairo are preserved the finest specimens of Arab architecture, almost all dating during the period comprised under the domination of the two Memlook Dynasties: the libraries of the mosques, and private collections of that city, though grievously injured since the Turkish conquest, are, or very recently were, the best and most considerable of those of Egypt or Syria; and, as before remarked, the University El-Azhar is still, owing to the fostering care of these Sultans, the principal seat of learning of the Eastern world. Some have endeavored to give a history of Egypt after the European model, with accounts of the state of commerce, taxation and the like, under the Muslims; but those only who have read the Arab histories of this and other countries can appreciate the general fallacy of these conclusions, and perceive in them that common failing of modern authors, a desire to throw a new light on history, rather than state only as much as the materials warrant.

It would be tedious and unprofitable to follow the details of Turkish misrule and tyranny which are from this time presented to the student of Egyptian history. Although Seleem destroyed the power of the Memlooks, he thought fit to appoint twenty-four Beys over the military provinces of that number into which he divided Egypt, subject to the supreme control of a Pasha, whose council was formed of seven Turkish chiefs (ojaklees), while one of the Beys held the post of Sheykh el-Beled, or Governor of the Metropolis; an officer who became an object of hatred to the other chiefs. For nearly two centuries the successive Pashas were mostly obeyed; but the ambition of becoming Sheykh el-Beled was the fruitful cause of intrigue and murder. The Memlooks who then held power in Egypt were called the Ghuzz, that being the name of the tribe to which they are said to have at first generally belonged; and they continually bought slaves, of Circassian or Georgian race.



to supply the place of children, for they did not intermarry with natives of Egypt, and women of more northern climates are generally either barren or bear sickly offspring in that country. Thus they lacked the surest source of power; few possessed any family ties; but at the same time the slaves in general were remarkably faithful to their patrons. At the expiration of the period before mentioned, the Beys gradually increased in power, until the authority of the Pasha was almost nominal, and the government became a military oligarchy; this brings us to the rise of the celebrated 'Alee Bey. He was created Sheykh el-Beled in the year 1177; but having revenged himself on an old enemy who had assassinated 'Alee's master, to whom he owed his elevation to the rank of Bey, he shortly after fled to Syria, and took refuge with the governor of Jerusalem, and thence went to Acre, where the Sheykh Dhahir became his friend; and that same year he returned to Cairo in his former capacity of Sheykh el-Beled. In 1179 his enemies again compelled him to flee, and he betook himself this time to El-Yemen, once more to return to Egypt; after which he gained increased power. His favorite Memlook, Mohammed Aboo-Dhahab, proved ungrateful, and, while enjoying the highest power, entered into a conspiracy against his life; but after receiving the presents of the hostile Beys, he denounced them to his master, who would not listen to warnings of his meditated treachery.

In the year 1182, the Porte demanded the assistance of 'Alee Bey in the Russian war; an order which he was about to obey, when he was apprised of the departure of a messenger with a firman, demanding his head, he having been falsely accused at Constantinople of intending to aid the Russians and throw off his allegiance. He caused the bearer of this order to be waylaid and put to death, and having possessed himself of the firman, he convened the Beys, showed them the document, and aided by those of his own household, persuaded the council to expel

the Pasha, and declare Egypt independent. The Sheykh Dhahir took part in this rebellion, and the Pasha of Damascus was beaten by him between Mount Lebanon and Tiberias. A period of good but vigorous government and of tranquility followed these events in Egypt, notwithstanding the very heavy imposts levied for the replenishment of the treasury; and 'Alee's generals gained for him extended power abroad. Mohammed Aboo-Dhahab was despatched to Arabia, and entered Mekkeh, where the Shereef was deposed, and another Bey traversed the eastern shores of the Red Sea. After the expedition to Arabia, Mahommed Bey marched into Syria to assist the Sheykh Dhahir against the Porte, and the co-operation of the Russians was demanded. A successful campaign terminated before the walls of Damascus, the siege of which was abandoned when nearly brought to a close, and Mohammed Bey returned with large forces to Egypt. This man, loaded with benefits by his patron, now openly rebelled; and being joined by 'Alee's enemies, at the head of whom was Isma'eel, chief of the guard (who was sent against him and went over to his side), he advanced on Cairo, and 'Alee escaped to his steady ally, Sheykh Dhahir, the prince of Acre. These events took place in the year 1186. Mahommed Bey was then declared Sheykh el-Beled. 'Alee Bey in the meanwhile, in conjunction with his ally, gained various advantages in Syria, and, on the information that his return was desired in Egypt, he collected a small force, assisted by Sheykh Dhahir and a Russian squadron, and determined on attempting to recover his power. He, however, fell into an ambuscade near Es-Saliheeyeh, and was wounded by one of his Memlooks named Murad (afterwards Murad Bey), carried to the citadel, and poisoned by Mohammed Bey. Thus terminated the career of the famous 'Alee Bey, a man whose energy, talents, and ambition bear a strong resemblance to those of the late viceroy Mohammed 'Alee.

Mohammed Bey Aboo-Dhabab continued Sheykh el-Beled, tendered his allegiance to the Porte, and was invested with the pashalic. He then entered Syria, and severely chastised Sheykh Dhahir, taking Gaza, Joppa, and Acre itself. Joppa was taken by assault, and suffered a massacre of its inhabitants, and Acre was pillaged. At the latter place the Pasha suddenly died. His mosque in Cairo is the latest fine specimen of Arab architecture, and is not unworthy of its better days.

The chief competitors for power were now Isma'eel, Ibraheem, and Murad, the first of whom was speedily expelled, the contest continuing between the two latter Beys. Ibraheem at length succeeded in causing himself to be proclaimed Sheykh el-Beled, and Murad contented himself with the office of Emeer el-Hagg, or chief of the pilgrims; but this arrangement was not destined to be of long continuance; a violent quarrel resulted in a recourse to arms, and that again in a peace of three years' duration, during which the two Beys held an equal sway. In the year 1200 the Porte despatched Hasan Capitan (properly Kapoodan) Pasha (or High Admiral) with a Turkish force, to reduce the turbulent Memlooks to obedience, and to claim the annual tribute. Murad Bey was defeated at Er-Rahmaneeh, and the Turks advanced to Cairo, desolating the country and acting according to their almost invariable practice on such occasions. The metropolis opened its gates to Hasan Pasha, who determined on pursuing the Beys to Upper Egypt, whither he despatched a large portion of his army, and a sanguinary conflict took place. But a war with Russia recalled this commander to Constantinople. Isma'eel was again created Sheykh el-Beled, and he held that post until the terrible plague of the year 1205, in which he perished, and hence it is commonly called the "Plague of Isma'eel." His death caused the return of Ibraheem and Murad; and eight years after intelligence of the arrival at Alexandria of a French army of 36,000 men, commanded

by General Bonaparte, united these chiefs in a common cause.

On the 18th May, 1798 (A.H. 1212), this expedition, consisting of thirteen sail of the line, six frigates, and twelve vessels of a smaller size, sailed from Toulon, and made the coast of Egypt on the 1st July. The troops were landed near Alexandria, and the city fell by assault on the 5th of that month. The French conquest and occupation of Egypt belong to European history; a recapitulation of the principal events of the period will therefore suffice in this place. The Memlooks affected to despise their antagonist, and hastened to chastise him: at Shibirrees they attacked the French, and were repulsed; but, nothing discouraged, they collected all their forces, exceeding 60,000 men, under the command of Murad, and intrenched themselves at Embabeh, opposite Cairo. Here was fought the battle which has been dignified with the name of that of the Pyramids. European tactics completely bewildered the Memlooks, their famous cavalry was received on the bayonets of the French squares, a galling fire of grape and musketry mowed down their ranks, and of this great army only about 2500 horse escaped with Murad Bey, while 15,000 men of all arms fell on the field of battle. Having made himself master of Cairo, Bonaparte despatched General Desaix to effect the conquest of Upper Egypt, and the success of the Eastern expedition seemed secured. But, ten days after the victory of Embabeh, the battle of the Nile annihilated the French fleet in Aboo-Keer Bay, and most materially influenced the future conduct of the war. On this point Napoleon himself says, "The loss of the battle of Aboukir had a vast influence on the affairs of Egypt, and even on those of the whole world; if the French fleet had been saved, the expedition to Syria would have encountered no obstacles, the siege-train would have been transported safely and easily across the desert, and St. Jean d'Acre would not have stopped the French army. But the French fleet being



destroyed, the divan was encouraged to declare war against France." The army lost a great support, its position in Egypt was totally changed, and Napoleon had to renounce forever the hope of seating the French power in the East by the triumph of the Egyptian expedition. The disastrous expedition into Syria, undertaken for the purpose of frustrating the efforts of Sir Sidney Smith before Alexandria, and of Jezzar Pasha, who was advancing from Acre, still further obscured Napoleon's prospects in the East, and the victory soon after obtained by him over the Ottoman army at Abou-Keer, the second defeat of Murad Bey, and various successes over the Turks, enabled the French general Kleber (Napoleon having left for Europe after the first of these events) to set on foot negotiations for an honorable evacuation of the country. But when the convention was already signed, and the French were about to quit Cairo, Lord Keith signified to Kleber that Great Britain would not consent to the terms of the treaty; and although this refusal was afterwards rescinded, Kleber considered that the withdrawal came too late; he totally defeated 70,000 men under the Grand Vezier at Heliopolis, and returned to Cairo to quell an insurrection of the inhabitants. This distinguished officer was about this time assassinated in the garden of his palace by a fanatic, who was impaled in the great square (then a lake) called the Ezbekeeyeh, in Cairo, and miserably lingered for the space of three days before death put an end to his sufferings. Under Kleber's administration, Egypt began to resume its former prosperity; by his conciliatory and good government, much prejudice against the French was overcome; by ceding a part of Upper Egypt to Murad, he gained the good will of that chief, who gave him no cause to regret this politic step; while under his auspices the "savans" of the Institute collected the valuable mass of information embodied in the "Great French Work."

On the death of Kleber, General Menou

succeeded to the command, and although he afterwards conducted the defence of the country with much valor, yet, to his injudicious administration, and his want of military talent, we must mainly ascribe the determination of the British government to attempt the expulsion of the French from Egypt, and the rapid success of the campaign that ensued. On the 21 of March, 1801, an army under Sir Ralph Abercromby arrived in Abou-Keer Bay and made a good landing in the face of a well-disposed French force, which offered every possible resistance. The memorable battle of Alexandria, in which Abercromby fell, decided the fate of the war. A bold march, executed with talent, effected the capitulation of Cairo; Alexandria surrendered on the 1st of September, and the French sailed from the shores of Egypt in the course of that month. General Hutchinson had taken the command of the English expedition, afterwards reinforced by a detachment from India under General Baird; and the army of the Grand Vezier, and that of the Capitan-Pasha, with the troops of Ibraheem Bey (Murad having died of the plague), had co-operated in the measures which led to the evacuation of the country by Menou.

The history now requires that we should mention the early career of a man who subsequently ruled the destinies of Egypt for a period of nearly forty years. The late viceroy of Egypt, Mohammed 'Alee Pasha, was born in the year of the Flight, 1182 (A.D. 1768-9), at Cavalla, a small seaport town of Albania. On the death of his father, in early life, he was brought up in the house of the governor of the town, who, as a reward for military prowess, gave him his daughter in marriage. By her he had, it is said, his three eldest sons, Ibraheem, Too-soon, and Isma'eel. Having attained the rank of buluk bashee (or head of a body of infantry), he became a dealer in tobacco, until, in his thirty-third year, he was despatched with his patron's son, 'Alee Agha, and 300 men, the contingent furnished by

his native place, with the Turkish expedition against the French in Egypt; and soon after his arrival in that country he succeeded, on the return of 'Alee Agha, to the command, with the nominal rank of been-bashee (or chief of a thousand men).

Soon after the evacuation of Egypt by the French, that unfortunate country became the scene of more severe troubles, in consequence of the unwarrantable attempts of the Turks to destroy the power of the Ghuzz. In defiance of promises to the English government, orders were transmitted from Constantinople to Hoseyn Pasha, the Turkish High Admiral, to ensnare and put to death the principal Beys. Invited to an entertainment, they were, according to the Egyptian contemporary historian El-Gabartee, attacked on board the flag-ship; Sir Robert Wilson and M. Mengin, however, state that they were fired on, in open boats, in the bay of Aboo-Keer. They offered a heroic resistance, but were overpowered and made prisoners, while Mohammed Bey El-Menfookh, 'Osman Bey Et-Tamburjee, 'Osman Bey El-Ashtar, Mohammed Bey El-Hasanee, Murad Bey the Younger, and Ibraheem Kikhya Es-Sennaree (a black), were among the killed. Some, including the afterwards-celebrated 'Osman Bey El-Bardeesee, escaped in a boat, and sought refuge with the English, who at that time occupied Alexandria. General Hutchinson, informed of this treachery, immediately assumed threatening measures against the Turks, and in consequence, the killed, wounded and prisoners were given up to him. Such was the commencement of the disastrous struggle between the Memlooks and the Turks.

Mohammed Khusruf was the first Pasha after the expulsion of the French. The form of government, however, was not the same as that before the French invasion; for the Ghuzz were not reinstated. The Pasha, and through him, the Sultan endeavored on several occasions either to ensnare them, or to beguile them into submission; but their efforts failing, Mohammed Khusruf took the

field, and a Turkish detachment 14,000 strong despatched against them to Demenhoor, whither they had descended from Upper Egypt, was defeated by a small force under El-Elfee. Their ammunition and guns fell into the hands of the Memlooks.

In March, 1803, the British evacuated Alexandria, and Mohammed Bey El-Elfee accompanied them to England to consult respecting the means to be adopted for restoring the former power of the Ghuzz. About six weeks after, the Arnoot (or Albanian) soldiers in the service of Khusruf tumultuously demanded their pay, and surrounded the house of the Defterdar, who in vain appealed to the Pasha to satisfy their claims. The latter opened fire from the artillery of his palace on the insurgent soldiery in the house of the Defterdar, across the Ezbekeeyeh. The citizens of Cairo, accustomed to such occurrences, immediately closed their shops, and the doors of the several quarters and every man who possessed any weapon armed himself. The tumult continued all the day, and the next morning a body of troops sent out by the Pasha failed to quell it. Tahir, the commander of the Albanians, then repaired to the citadel, gained admittance through an embrasure, and having obtained possession of it, began to cannonade the Pasha over the roofs of the intervening houses, and then descended with guns to the Ezbekeeyeh, and laid close siege to the palace. On the following day, Mohammed Khusruf made good his escape with his women and servants and his regular troops, and fled to Damietta by the river. This revolt marks the commencement of the rise of Mohammed 'Alee to power in Egypt, and of the breach between the Arnoots and Turks which ultimately led to the expulsion of the latter.

Tahir Pasha assumed the government, but in twenty-three days he met with his death from exactly the same cause as that of the overthrow of his predecessor. He refused the pay of certain of the Turkish troops, and was immediately assassinated. A desperate



conflict ensued between the Albanians and Turks; and the palace was set on fire and plundered. The masters of Egypt were now split into these two factions, animated with the fiercest animosity against each other. Mohammed 'Alee became the head of the former, but his party was the weaker, and he therefore entered into an alliance with Ibraheem Bey and 'Osman Bey El-Bardeesee. A certain Ahmad Pasha, who was about to proceed to a province in Arabia, of which he had been appointed governor, was raised to the important post of Pasha of Egypt, through the influence of the Turks, and the favor of the Sheykhs; but Mohammed 'Alee, who with his Albanians held the citadel, refused to assent to their choice; the Memlooks moved over from El-Geezeh, and Ahmad Pasha betook himself to the mosque of Ez-Zahir, which the French converted into a fortress. He was compelled to surrender by the Albanians; the two chiefs of the Turks who killed Tahir Pasha were taken with him and put to death, and he himself was detained a prisoner. In consequence of the alliance between Mohammed 'Alee and El-Bardeesee, the Albanians gave the citadel over to the Memlooks; and soon after, these allies marched against Khusruf Pasha, who having been joined by a considerable body of Turks, and being in possession of Damietta, was enabled to offer an obstinate resistance. After much loss on both sides, he was taken prisoner and brought to Cairo; but he was treated with much respect. The victorious soldiery sacked the town of Damietta, and were guilty of the barbarities usual with them on such occasions.

A few days later, 'Alee Pasha El-Tarabulsee landed at Alexandria with an imperial firman constituting him Pasha of Egypt, and threatened the Beys, who now were virtual masters of Upper Egypt, as well as of the capital and nearly the whole of Lower Egypt. Mohammed 'Alee and El-Bardeesee therefore descended to Rosetta, which had fallen into the hands of a brother of 'Alee Pasha, and having recovered the town and captured its

commander, El-Bardeesee purposed to proceed against Alexandria; but the troops required arrears of pay which it was not in his power to give, and the Pasha had cut the dyke between the lakes of Abou-Keer and Mareotis, thus rendering the approach to Alexandria more difficult. El-Bardeesee and Mohammed 'Alee therefore returned to Cairo. The troubles of Egypt were now increased by insufficient inundation, and great scarcity prevailed, aggravated by the exorbitant taxation to which the Beys were compelled to resort in order to raise money to pay the troops; while murder and rapine prevailed to a frightful extent in the capital, the riotous soldiery being under little or no control. In the meantime, 'Alee Pasha, who had been behaving in an outrageous manner towards the Franks in Alexandria, received a khatt-i-shereef from the Sultan, which he sent by his secretary to Cairo. It announced that the Beys should live peaceably in Egypt, with an annual pension, each, of fifteen purses and other privileges, but that the government should be in the hands of the Pasha. To this the Beys assented, but with considerable misgivings; for they had intercepted letters from 'Alee to the Albanians, endeavoring to alienate them from their side to his own; to these, deceptive answers were returned, and he was induced by them to advance towards Cairo, at the head of 2500 men. The forces of the Beys, with the Albanians, encamped near him at Shalakan, and he fell back on a place called Zufeyteh. They next seized his boats conveying soldiers, servants, and his ammunition and baggage; and, following him, they demanded wherefore he brought with him so numerous a body of men, in opposition to usage and to their previous warning. Finding they would not allow his troops to advance, forbidden himself to retreat with them to Alexandria, and being surrounded by the enemy, he would have hazarded a battle, but his men refused to fight. He, therefore, repaired to the camp of the Beys, and his army was compelled to retire to Syria. In the hands of

the Beys, 'Alee Pasha again attempted treachery. A horseman was seen to leave his tent one night at full gallop; he was the bearer of a letter to 'Osman Bey Hasan, the governor of Kine. This offered a fair pretext to the Memlooks to rid themselves of a man whose antecedents, and his present conduct, proved him to be a perfidious tyrant. He was sent under a guard of forty-five men towards the Syrian frontier; and about a week after, news was received that in a skirmish with some of his own soldiers he had fallen mortally wounded.

The death of 'Alee Pasha produced only temporary tranquillity; in a few days the return of Mohammed Bey El-Elfee (called the Great or Elder), from England, was the signal for fresh disturbances, which, by splitting the Ghuzz into two parties, accelerated their final overthrow. The jealousy which existed between El-Elfee and the other most powerful Bey, El-Bardeesee, has been before mentioned. The latter was now supreme among the Ghuzz, and this fact considerably heightened their old enmity. While the guns of the citadel, those at Masr El-'Ateekah, and even those of the palace of El-Bardeesee, were thrice fired in honor of El-Elfee, preparations were immediately commenced to oppose him. His partisans were collected opposite Cairo, and El-Elfee the Younger held El-Geezeh; but treachery was among them; Hoseyn Bey El-Elfee was assassinated by emissaries of El-Bardeesee, and Mohammed 'Alee, with his Albanians, gained possession of El-Geezeh, which was, as usual, given over to the troops to pillage. In the meanwhile El-Elfee the Great embarked at Rosetta; and not apprehending opposition, was on his way to Cairo, when a little south of the town of Manoof he encountered a party of Albanians, and with difficulty made his escape. He gained the eastern branch of the Nile, but the river had become dangerous, and he fled to the desert. There he had several hair-breadth escapes, and at last secreted himself among a tribe of Arabs at Ras-el-Wadee. A change in the fortune of

El-Bardeesee, however, favored his plans for the future. That chief, in order to satisfy the demands of the Albanians for their pay, gave orders to levy heavy contributions from the citizens of Cairo; and this new oppression roused them to rebellion. The Albanians, alarmed for their safety, assured the populace that they would not allow the order to be executed; and Mohammed 'Alee himself caused a proclamation to be made to that effect. Thus the Albanians became the favorites of the people, and took advantage of their opportunity. Three days later they beset the house of the aged Ibraheem Bey; and that of El-Bardeesee, both of whom effected their escape with considerable difficulty. The Memlooks in the citadel directed a fire of shot and shell on the houses of the Albanians which were situated in the Ezbekeyeh; but on hearing of the flight of their chiefs, they evacuated the place; and Mohammed 'Alee, on gaining possession of it, once more proclaimed Mohammed Khusruf Pasha of Egypt. For one day and a half he enjoyed the title; the friends of the late Tahir Pasha then accomplished his second degradation, and Cairo was again the scene of terrible enormities, the Albanians reveling in the houses of the Memlook chiefs, whose hareems met with no mercy at their hands. These events were the signal for the reappearance of El-Elfee.

The Albanians now invited Ahmad Pasha Khursheed to assume the reigns of government, and he without delay proceeded from Alexandria to Cairo. The forces of the partisans of El-Bardeesee were ravaging the country a few miles south of the capital, and intercepting the supplies of corn by the river: a little later they passed to the north of Cairo, and successfully took Bilbeys and Kalyoob, plundering the villages, destroying the crops, and slaughtering the herds of the inhabitants. Cairo was itself in a state of tumult, suffering severely from a scarcity of grain and the heavy exactions of the Pasha to meet the demands of his turbulent troops, at that time augmented by a Turkish detach-



ment. The shops were closed, and the unfortunate people assembled in great crowds, crying *Ya Leteef! Ya Lateef!* "Oh gracious [God]!" El-Elfee and 'Osman Bey Hasan had professed allegiance to the Pasha; but they soon after declared against him, and they were now approaching from the south; and having repulsed Mohammed 'Alee, they took the two fortresses of Tura. These Mohammed 'Alee speedily retook by night with 4000 infantry and cavalry; but the enterprise was only partially successful. On the following day the other Memlooks north of the metropolis actually penetrated into the suburbs; but a few days later were defeated in a battle fought at Shubra, with heavy loss on both sides. This reverse in a measure united the two great Memlook parties, though their chiefs remained at enmity.

El-Bardeesef passed to the south of Cairo, and the Ghuzz gradually retreated towards Upper Egypt. Thither the Pasha despatched three successive expeditions (one commanded by Mohammed 'Alee), and many battles were fought, but without decisive result.

At this period another calamity befel Egypt; about 3000 Delees arrived in Cairo from Syria. These troops had been sent for by Khursheed in order to strengthen himself against the Albanians; and the events of this portion of the history afford sad proof of their ferocity and brutal enormities, in which they far exceeded the ordinary Turkish soldiers and even the Albanians. Their arrival immediately recalled Mohammed 'Alee and his party from the war, and instead of aiding Khursheed, was the proximate cause of his overthrow.

Cairo was ripe for revolt; the Pasha was hated for his tyranny and extortion, and execrated for the deeds of his troops, especially those of the Delees: the Sheykhs enjoined the people to close their shops, and the soldiers clamored for pay. At this juncture a firman arrived from Constantinople conferring on Mohammed 'Alee the pashalic of Jiddeli; but the occurrences of a few days raised him to that of Egypt.

On the 12th of Safar A.H. 1220 (May 1805) the Sheykhs, with an immense concourse of the inhabitants, assembled in the house of the Kadee; and the 'Ulama, amid the prayers and cries of the people, wrote a full statement of the heavy wrongs which they had endured under the administration of the Pasha. The 'Ulama, in answer, were desired to go to the citadel; but they were apprised of treachery; and on the following day, having held another council at the house of the Kadee, they proceeded to Mohammed 'Alee, and informed him that the people would no longer submit to Khursheed. "Then whom will ye have?" said he. "We will have *thee*," they replied, "to govern us according to the laws; for we see in thy countenance that thou art possessed of justice and goodness." Mohammed 'Alee seemed to hesitate, and then complied, and was at once invested. On this, a bloody struggle commenced between the two Pashas: Cairo had before experienced such conflicts in the streets and over house-tops, but none so severe as this. Khursheed, being informed by a messenger of the insurrection, immediately laid in stores of provisions and ammunition, and prepared to stand a siege in the citadel. Two chiefs of the Albanians joined his party, but many of his soldiers deserted. Mohammed 'Alee's great strength lay in the devotion of the citizens of Cairo, who looked on him as their future deliverer from their afflictions; and great numbers armed themselves, advising constantly with Mohammed 'Alee, having the seyyid 'Omar and the Sheykhs at their head, and guarding the town at night. On the 19th of the same month, Mohammed 'Alee besieged Khursheed. Entrenchments were raised, and the lofty minaret of the mosque of the Sultan Hasan was used as a battery from whence to fire on the citadel; while guns were also posted on the mountain in its rear. After the siege had continued many days, Khursheed gave orders to cannonade and bombard the town; and for six days his commands were executed with little interruption.

the citadel itself also lying between two fires. Mohammed 'Alee's position at this time was very critical; his troops became mutinous for their pay; the Silahdar, who had commanded one of the expeditions against the Ghuzz, advanced to the relief of Khursheed; and the latter ordered the Delees to march to his assistance. The firing ceased on the Friday, but recommenced on the eve of Saturday, and lasted until the next Friday. On the day following, news came of the arrival at Alexandria of a messenger from Constantinople. The ensuing night in Cairo presented a curious spectacle; many of the inhabitants gave way to rejoicing, in the hope that this envoy would put an end to their miseries, and fired off their weapons as they paraded the streets with bands of music. The Silahdar, imagining the noise to be a fray, marched in haste towards the citadel; while its garrison sallied forth, and commenced throwing up entrenchments in the quarter of 'Arab-el-Yesar, but were repulsed by the armed inhabitants and the soldiers stationed there; and during all this time, the cannonade and bombardment from the citadel, and on it from the batteries on the mountain, continued unabated.

The envoy brought a firman confirming Mohammed 'Alee, and ordering Khursheed to repair to Alexandria, there to await further orders; but this he refused to do, on the ground that he had been appointed by a khatt-i-shereef. The firing ceased on the following day, but the troubles of the people were rather increased than assuaged; murders and robberies were daily committed by the soldiery, the shops were all shut, and some of the streets barricaded. While these scenes were being enacted, El-Elfee was besieging Demenhoor, and the other Beys were returning towards Cairo, Khursheed having called them to his assistance.

Soon after this, a squadron under the command of the Turkish High Admiral arrived in Abou-Keer Bay, with dispatches confirmatory of the firman brought by the former envoy, and authorizing Mohammed 'Alee to

continue to discharge the functions of governor for the present. Khursheed at first refused to yield; but at length, on condition that his troops should be paid, he evacuated the citadel, and embarked for Rosetta.

Mohammed 'Alee now possessed the title of Governor of Egypt, but beyond the walls of Cairo his authority was everywhere disputed by the Beys, who were joined by the army of the Silahdar of Khursheed; and many Albanians deserted from his ranks. To replenish his empty coffers he was also compelled to levy exactions, principally from the Copts. An attempt was made to ensnare certain of the Beys, who were encamped north of the metropolis. On the 17th of August 1805, the dam of the canal of Cairo was to be cut, and some chiefs of Mohammed 'Alee's party wrote, informing them that he would go forth early on that morning with most of his troops to witness the ceremony, inviting them to enter and seize the city; and, to deceive them, stipulating for a certain sum of money as their reward. The dam, however, was cut early in the preceding night, without any ceremony. On the following morning, these Beys, with their Memlooks, and a very numerous body, broke open the gate of the suburb El-Hoseyneeyeh, and gained admittance into the city from the north, through the gate called Bab-el-Futooh. They marched along the principal streets for some distance, with kettle-drums behind each company, and were received with apparent joy by the citizens. At the mosque called the Ashrafeeyeh they separated, one party proceeding to the Azhar and the houses of certain Sheykhs, and the other continuing along the main street, and through the gate called Bab-Zuweyleh, where they turned up towards the citadel. Here they were fired on by some soldiers from the houses; and with this signal a terrible massacre commenced. Falling back towards their companions, they found the bye-streets closed; and in that part of the main thorough-fare called Beyn-el-Kasreyn, they were suddenly placed between two fires. Thus shut up in



a narrow street, some sought refuge in the collegiate mosque El-Barkookeeyeh, while the remainder fought their way through their enemies, and escaped over the city walls with the loss of their horses. Two Memlooks had, in the meantime, succeeded, by great exertions, in giving the alarm to their comrades in the quarter of the Azhar, who escaped by the eastern gate called Bab-el-Ghureiyib. A horrible fate awaited those who had shut themselves up in the Barkookeeyeh: they begged for quarters and surrendered, were immediately stripped nearly naked, and about fifty were slaughtered on the spot; and about the same number were dragged away, with every brutal aggravation of their pitiful condition, to Mohammed 'Alee. Among them were four Beys, one of whom, driven to madness by Mohammed 'Alee's mockery, asked for a drink of water; his hands were untied, that he might take the bottle, but he snatched a dagger from one of the soldiers, and rushed at the Pasha, and fell, covered with wounds. The wretched captives were then chained, and left in the court of the Pasha's house; and on the following morning the heads of their comrades who had perished the day before were skinned, and stuffed with straw, before their eyes. One Bey and two others paid their ransom, and were released; the rest, without exception, were tortured and put to death in the course of the ensuing night. Eighty-three heads (many of them those of Frenchmen and Albanians) were stuffed, and sent to Constantinople, with a boast that the Memlook chiefs were utterly destroyed. Thus ended Mohammed 'Alee's first massacre of his too confiding enemies.

The Beys, after this, appear to have despaired of regaining their ascendancy; most of them retreated to Upper Egypt, and an attempt at compromise failed. El-Elfee offered his submission, on the condition of the cession of the Feiyoum and other provinces; but this was refused, and that chief gained two successive victories over the Pasha's troops, many of whom deserted to him.

At length, in consequence of the remonstrances of the English, and a promise made by El-Elfee of 1500 purses, the Porte consented to reinstate the twenty-four Beys, and to place El-Elfee at their head; but this measure met with the opposition of Mohammed 'Alee, and the determined resistance of the majority of the Memlooks, who, rather than have El-Elfee at their head, preferred their present condition; for the enmity of El-Bardeesee had not subsided, and he commanded the voice of most of the other Beys. In pursuance of the above plan, a squadron under Salih Pasha, shortly before appointed High Admiral, arrived at Alexandria on the 1st of July 1806, with 3000 regular troops, and a successor to Mohammed 'Alee, who was to receive the pashalic of Salonica. This wily chief professed his willingness to obey the commands of the Porte; but stated that his troops, to whom he owed a vast sum of money, opposed his departure. He induced the 'Ulama to sign a letter, praying the Sultan to revoke the command of reinstating the Beys; persuaded the chiefs of the Albanian troops to swear allegiance to him, and sent 2000 purses contributed by them to Constantinople. El-Elfee was at that time besieging Demenhour, and he gained a signal victory over the Pasha's troops; but the dissensions of the Beys destroyed their last chance of a return power. El-Elfee and his partisans were unable to pay the sum promised to the Porte; Salih Pasha received plenipotentiary powers from Constantinople, in consequence of the letter from the 'Ulama; and, on the condition of Mohammed 'Alee's paying 4000 purses to the Porte, it was decided that he should continue in his post, and the reinstatement of the Beys was abandoned. Fortune continued to favor the Pasha. In the following month, El-Bardeesee died, aged forty-eight years; and, soon after, a scarcity of provisions excited the troops of El-Elfee to revolt. That Bey very reluctantly raised the siege of Demenhour, being in daily expectation of the arrival of an English army; and at the village of Shubra-

ment he was attacked by a sudden illness, and died on the 30th of January 1807, aged fifty-five years. Thus was the Pasha relieved of his two most formidable enemies; and, shortly after, he defeated Shaheen Bey, with the loss, to the latter, of his artillery and baggage, and 300 men killed or taken prisoners.

On the 17th of March 1807, a British fleet appeared off Alexandria, having on board nearly 5000 troops, under the command of General Fraser; and the place, being disaffected towards Mohammed 'Alee, opened its gates to them. Here they first heard of the death of El-Elfee, upon whose co-operation they had founded their chief hopes of success; and they immediately despatched messengers to his successor, and to the other Beys, inviting them to Alexandria. The British resident, Major Misset, having represented the importance of taking Rosetta and Er-Rahmaneezeh, to secure supplies for Alexandria, General Fraser, with the concurrence of the Admiral, Sir John Duckworth, detached the 31st regiment and the Chasseurs Britanniques, under Major-General Wauchope and Brigadier-General Meade, on this service; and these troops entered Rosetta without encountering any opposition; but as soon as they had dispersed among the narrow streets, the garrison opened a deadly fire on them from the latticed windows and roofs of the houses. They effected a retreat on Aboo-Keer and Alexandria, after a very heavy loss of 185 killed and 262 wounded; General Wauchope and three officers being among the former, and General Meade and seventeen officers among the latter. The heads of the slain were fixed on stakes, on each side of the road crossing the Ezbekeeyeh in Cairo.

Mohammed 'Alee, meanwhile, was conducting an expedition against the Beys in Upper Egypt, and he had defeated them near Asyoot, when he heard of the arrival of the British. In great alarm lest the Beys should join them, especially as they were far north of his position, he immediately sent messengers to his rivals, promising to comply

with all their demands, if they should join in expelling the invaders; and this proposal being agreed to, both armies marched towards Cairo on opposite sides of the river.

To return to the unfortunate British expedition. The possession of Rosetta being deemed indispensable, Brigadier-General Stewart and Colonel Oswald were despatched thither, with 2500 men. For thirteen days a cannonade of that town was continued without effect; and on the 20th of April, news having come in from the advanced guard at El-Hamad of large reinforcements to the besieged, General Stewart was compelled to retreat; and a dragoon was despatched to Major Macleod, commanding at El-Hamad, with orders to fall back. The messenger, however, was unable to penetrate to the spot; and the advanced guard—consisting of a detachment of the 71st, two companies of the 78th, one of the 35th, and De Rolles' regiment, with a picquet of dragoons, the whole mustering 733 men—was surrounded, and after a gallant resistance, the survivors, who had expended all their ammunition, became prisoners of war. General Stewart regained Alexandria with the remainder of his force, having lost, in killed, wounded, and missing, nearly 900 men. Some hundreds of British heads were now exposed on stakes in Cairo, and the prisoners were marched between these mutilated remains of their countrymen.

The Beys became divided in their wishes; one party being desirous of co-operating with the British, the other, with the Pasha. These delays proved ruinous to their cause; and General Fraser, despairing of their assistance, evacuated Alexandria on the 14th of September. From that date to the spring of 1811, the Beys from time to time relinquished certain of their demands; the Pasha on his part granted them what before had been withheld; the province of the Feiyoom, and part of those of El-Geezeh and Benes-Suweyf, were ceded to Shaheen; and a great portion of the Sa'eed, on the condition of paying the land-tax, to the others. Many of them









took up their abode in Cairo, but tranquillity was not secured; several times they met the Pasha's forces in battle, and once gained a signal victory. Early in the year 1811, the preparations for an expedition against the Wahhabees in Arabia being complete, all the Memlook Beys then in Cairo were invited to the ceremony of investing Mohammed 'Alee's favorite son, Toosoon, with a pelisse, and the command of the army. As on the former occasion, the unfortunate Memlooks fell into the snare. On the 1st of March, Shaheen Bey and the other chiefs (one only excepted) repaired with their retinues to the citadel, and were courteously received by the Pasha. Having partaken of coffee, they formed in procession, and, preceded and followed by the Pasha's troops, slowly descended the steep and narrow road leading to the great gate of the citadel; but as soon as the Memlooks arrived at this gate, it was suddenly closed before them. The last of those who made their exit before the gate was shut were Salih Koosh and his Albanians. To these troops their chief now made known the Pasha's orders to massacre all the Memlooks within the citadel; therefore, having returned by another way, they gained the summits of the walls and houses that hem in the road in which the Memlooks were incarcerated, and some stationed themselves upon the eminences of the rock through which that road is partly cut. Thus securely placed, they commenced a heavy fire on their defenceless victims; and immediately the troops who closed the procession, and who had the advantage of higher ground, followed their example. Of the betrayed chiefs, many were laid low in a few moments; some, dismounting, and throwing off their outer robes, vainly sought, sword in hand, to return, and escape by some other gate. The few who regained the summit of the citadel experienced the same cruel fate as the rest (for those whom the Albanian soldiers made prisoners met with no mercy from their chiefs or from Mohammed 'Alee), but it soon became impossible for any to retrace their

steps even so far; the road was obstructed by the bleeding bodies of the slain Memlooks, and their richly caparisoned horses, and their grooms. Four hundred and seventy Memlooks entered the citadel; and of these, very few, if any, escaped. One of these is said to have been a Bey. According to some, he leaped his horse from the ramparts, and alighted uninjured, though the horse was killed by the fall; others say that he was prevented from joining his comrades, and discovered the treachery while waiting without the gate. He fled, and made his way to Syria. This massacre was the signal for an indiscriminate slaughter of the Memlooks throughout Egypt, orders to this effect being transmitted to every governor; and in Cairo itself, the houses of the Beys were given over to the soldiery, who slaughtered all their adherents, treated their women in the most shameless manner, and sacked their dwellings. During the two following days, the Pasha and his son Toosoon rode about the streets, and endeavored to stop these atrocious proceedings; but order was not restored until 500 houses had been completely pillaged. In extenuation of this dark blot on Mohammed 'Alee's character, it has been urged that he had received the order for the destruction of the Memlooks from Constantinople, whither the heads of the Beys were sent. It may be answered to this plea, that on other occasions he scrupled not to defy the Porte.

A remnant of the Memlooks fled to Nubia, and a tranquillity was restored to Egypt to which it had long been unaccustomed, and which has rarely been interrupted since. In the year following the massacre the unfortunate exiles were attacked by Ibraheem Pasha, the eldest son of Mohammed 'Alee, in the fortified town of Ibream, in Nubia. Here the want of provisions forced them to evacuate the place; a few who surrendered were beheaded, and the rest went further south and built the town of New Dongola, where the venerable Ibraheem Bey died in 1816, at the age of eighty. As their numbers thinned, they endeavored to maintain

their little power by training some hundreds of blacks; but again, on the approach of Isma'eel, another son of the Pasha of Egypt, sent with an army to subdue Nubia and Sennar, some returned to Egypt and settled in Cairo, while the rest, amounting to about 100 persons, fled in dispersed parties to the countries adjacent to Sennar.

Mohammed 'Alee being undisputed master of Egypt, at the reiterated commands of the Porte, despatched, in 1811, an army of 8000 men, including 2000 horse, under the command of Toosoon Pasha, against the Wahhabees. After a successful advance, this force met with a serious repulse at the pass of Safra and Judeiyideh, and retreated to Yembo'. In the following year Toosoon, having received reinforcements, again assumed the offensive, and captured El-Medeenah, after a prolonged siege. He next took Jiddeh and Mekkeh, defeating the Wahhabees beyond the latter place, and capturing their general. But some mishaps followed, and Mohammed 'Alee, who had determined to conduct the war in person, left Egypt for that purpose in the summer of 1813. In Arabia he encountered serious obstacles from the nature of the country and the harassing mode of warfare adopted by his adversaries. His arms met with various fortune; but on the whole his forces proved superior to those of the enemy. He led a successful expedition in the Hijaz, and on the conclusion of a treaty with the Wahhabee chief, 'Abd-Allah, in 1815, he returned to Egypt on hearing of the escape of Napoleon from Elba.

He now confiscated the lands belonging to private individuals, merely allowing them a pension for life, and attempted to introduce the European system of military tactics. A formidable mutiny, however, broke out in the metropolis, the Pasha's life was endangered, and he sought refuge by night in the citadel, while the soldiery committed many acts of plunder. The revolt was reduced by presents to the chiefs of the insurgents, and Mohammed 'Alee very honor-

ably ordered that the sufferers by the late disturbances should receive compensation from the treasury. The project of the "Nizam Gedced," as the European system is called in Egypt, was, in consequence of this commotion, abandoned for a time.

Soon after Toosoon returned to Egypt, but Mohammed 'Alee, dissatisfied with the treaty which had been concluded with the Wahhabees, and with the nonfulfillment of certain of its clauses, determined to send another army to Arabia, and to include in it the soldiers who had recently proved unruly. This expedition, under Ibraheem Pasha, left in the autumn of 1816. After several unimportant advantages, Ibraheem sat down before the town of Er-Rass; but three months' exertions proving unavailing, he raised the siege, with the loss of nearly half his army. Notwithstanding, he advanced on the capital, Ed-Dir'eeyeh, by slow but sure steps. The last place before reaching that city offered a brave resistance, and Ibraheem, in revenge, caused all its inhabitants to be put to the sword, excepting a number of women and children, the former of whom were spared not from motives of pity. Ed-Dir'eeyeh fell after a five months' siege, in the course of which an explosion destroyed the whole of the besiegers' powder; and had the Wahhabees been aware of the extent of the disaster, few, we may believe, would have escaped to tell the tale. 'Abd-Allah, their chief, was taken, and with his treasurer and secretary was sent to Constantinople, where, in spite of Ibraheem's promise of safety, and of Mohammed 'Alee's intercession in their favor, they were paraded and put to death. At the close of the year 1819, Ibraheem returned to Cairo, having conquered all present opposition in Arabia, but without having broken the spirit of the Wahhabees.

The Pasha, since his return from Arabia, had turned his attention to the improvement of the manufactures of Egypt, and engaged very largely in commerce. The results of these attempts are stated in other places, but the important work of digging the new canal



of Alexandria, called the Mahmoodeeyeh, must here be again mentioned. The old canal had long fallen into decay, and the necessity of a safe channel between Alexandria and the Nile was much felt. Such was the object of the canal then excavated, and it has on the whole well answered its purpose; but the sacrifice of life was enormous, and the labor of the unhappy Fellahs was forced. Towards the accomplishment of a favorite project, the formation of the Nizam Gedeed, a force was ordered to the southern frontier of Egypt, and the conquest of Sennar was contemplated in order to get rid of the disaffected troops and to obtain a sufficient number of captives to form the nucleus of the new army. The forces destined for this service were led by Isma'eel, then the youngest son of Mohammed 'Alee; they consisted of between four and five thousand men, Turks and Arabs, and were despatched in the summer of 1820. Nubia at once submitted, the Shageeyeh Arabs immediately beyond the province of Dongola were worsted, and Sennar was reduced without a battle. Mohammed Bey, the Defterdar, with another force of about the same strength, was then sent by Mohammed 'Alee against Kurdufan with a like result, but not without a hard-fought engagement. In 1822, Isma'eel was, with his retinue, put to death by an Arab chieftain by name Nimr; and the Defterdar, a man infamous for his cruelty, assumed the command in those provinces, and exacted terrible retribution from the innocent inhabitants.

In the years 1821 and 1822 Mohammed 'Alee despatched both ships and men (the latter about 7000 or 8000 Albanians and Turks) to the Morea, Cyprus, and Candia, to aid the Porte in reducing the Greek insurrection; and he continued to take part in that struggle, his fleet being engaged at Navarino, until the English insisted on the evacuation of the Morea, in 1828, by Ibrahim Pasha. In the latter of the two years before mentioned (1822), an army of disciplined troops was at length organized: 8000

men (chiefly slaves, from Sennar and Kurdufan) were trained by French officers at Aswan. Of the vast numbers seized in the countries above named, many died on the way: those who were not eligible were, with the women, sold in Cairo, and in the remainder were incorporated many Fellahs. Colonel Seve (now Suleyman Pasha), a Frenchman who afterwards became a Muslim, superintended their organization; great numbers of the Blacks died of hypochondria, but the Egyptians proved very good troops. Many thousands were pressed in consequence, and they now constitute the bulk of the army. In 1823 the new conscripts amounted to 24,000 men, composing six regiments of infantry, each regiment consisting of five battalions of 800 men, and the battalions of eight companies of 100 men.

In 1824, a native rebellion of a religious character broke out in Upper Egypt, headed by one Ahmad, an inhabitant of Es-Salimeeyeh, a village situate a few miles above Thebes. He proclaimed himself a prophet, and was soon followed by between 20,000 and 30,000 insurgents, mostly peasants, but some deserters from the Nizam, for that force was yet in a half organized state, and in part declared for the impostor. The insurrection was crushed by Mohammed 'Alee, and about one-fourth of Ahmad's followers perished, but he himself escaped and was never after heard of. Few of these unfortunates possessed any other weapon than the long staff (Nebboot) of the Egyptian peasant; still they offered an obstinate resistance, and the combat resembled a massacre. In the same year war was once more made on the Wahhabees, who had collected in considerable numbers. The 2d regiment was sent on this service, and it behaved in a very creditable manner.

But the events of the war with the Porte are perhaps the most important of the life of Mohammed 'Alee. The campaign of 1831 had ostensibly for its object the castigation of 'Abd-Allah, Pasha of Acre: the invading force consisted of six regiments of infantry

four of cavalry, four field-pieces, and a greater number of siege-guns, the whole under the command of Ibraheem Pasha, while the fleet, conveying provisions, ammunition, &c., was to accompany the army by sea. The terrible cholera of 1831, however, stayed the expedition when it was on the eve of departing; 5000 of its number died, and it was not until early in October of the same year that it started. Little opposition was encountered on the way to Acre, whither Ibraheem had gone by sea, and that place was invested on the 29th of November. The artillery of the besieged was well served; an assault in the following February was repulsed, and the cold and rain of a Syrian winter severely tried the Egyptian troops. A second assault in like manner failed, and Ibraheem was called away to repel 'Osman Pasha, governor of Aleppo. The latter, however, hastily decamped without giving him battle, and Ibraheem, deeming this advantage sufficient, retraced his steps towards Acre. He then pushed the siege with fresh vigor, and stormed the city on the 27th of May: 1400 men fell in the breach, and the garrison was found to be reduced to about 400 men. The fall of Acre was followed by negotiation. Mohammed 'Alee evinced a disposition for peace, but demanded the government of Syria, and the Porte, in consequence, denounced him as a traitor. On his part, Ibraheem pushed his successes: Damascus was evacuated at his approach, and the battle of Hims, fought on the 8th of July 1832, decided the superiority of the Egyptian army, and the advantage of disciplined troops over an irregular force, although very disproportionate in numbers. The enemy composed the advanced guard of the Turkish army, 30,000 strong, and the Egyptians numbered only 16,000 men.

After this victory, Ibraheem marched to Hamah, and thence to Aleppo (which had just before closed its gates against the Turkish general-in-chief, Hoseyn Pasha, whose troops became rapidly disorganized), forced the defiles of Beylan, and pursued the

fugitive Turks to Adaneh. About the same time an Egyptian squadron had chased the Sultan's fleet into Constantinople. Diplomacy was, at this point, again resorted to, but without any result; the Sultan depended on his fleet to protect the capital, and determined to risk another engagement with the victorious enemy. The charge of this venture was entrusted to Resheed Pasha, the Grand Vezeer. In the mean time, Ibraheem Pasha had gained the pass of Taurus; and having beaten the Turks at Oulou-Kislak, he hesitated not to give battle to Resheed Pasha at the head of about 60,000 men, his own army being less than half that strength; the battle of Konyeh, on the plains of Anatolia, proved utterly disastrous to the Porte: in the confusion of the fight, and the darkness of a thick day, the Grand Vezeer was made prisoner, his army routed, and Constantinople was within six marches of the victor, without an army to oppose his passage. The capital of the Ottoman Empire, in eminent danger by sea and land, was then intrusted to the keeping of its hereditary enemy, as the last resource of the Sultan Mahmood, and a Russian fleet and army were sent thither. Negotiations were, in consequence, opened, and on the 14th of May, 1833, a treaty was concluded between Mahommed 'Alee and the Porte, by which the whole of Syria, and the district of Adaneh were ceded to the former on condition of his paying tribute. With this terminated the war, but not the animosity of the Sultan. Ibraheem, by excessive firmness and rigor, speedily restored security and tranquillity to the greater part of Syria; but some years later, the attempt of Mahmood to get the better of his vassal, and the consequent disaster experienced by his arms at Nezeeb, entailed fresh complications, and the interference of Great Britain ended in the restoration of Syria to the Porte in 1841. The political motives which actuated the Great Powers at this time and in 1831 need not here be discussed; and the operations on the coast of Syria, the bombardment of Acre, and the blockade of Alexandria,



are familiar to most newspaper readers. It is undoubtedly true that Mohammed 'Alee placed all his reliance on the co-operation of France, and to its desertion of his cause, and his confidence in its assistance, either morally or physically, must be ascribed the unfortunate issue of the war. That the Syrians, in general, preferred the rule of Mohammed Alee to the tyranny of Pashas appointed from Constantinople may be safely averred; but we cannot close this account of his possession of that province without animadverting on the horrible cruelties perpetrated by Ibraheem Pasha, or warning our readers not to give credence to the unmeasured praise bestowed by many on the Egyptian troops there engaged. Conceding that they were superior soldiers to the Turks, it must be borne in mind that they were veterans, disciplined and led by French officers, and an able general: their opponents were destitute of any European discipline, badly officered, and discouraged by the disasters in Greece. It has, moreover, been stated on good authority, that Ibraheem owed much of his success to the placing of artillery in the rear of his troops, with orders to fire on them should they show symptoms of wavering.

After the peace of 1841, Mohammed 'Alee gave up all grand political projects, and solely occupied himself in improvements, real or imaginary, in Egypt. He continued to prosecute his commercial speculations and manufacturing, educational, and other schemes. The barrage of the Nile, still uncompleted, was commenced by his direction, and in 1848, he visited Constantinople, where he received the rank of Vezier. In the year 1848, however, symptoms of imbecility appeared, and after a short space Ibraheem was declared his successor. But his rule was very short. In about two months he died; and, according to the terms of the treaty, Abbas, a son of Toosoon, and the eldest representative of the family, succeeded to the pashalic. This miserable voluptuary, and withal bigoted, though ignorant, Muslim, utterly neglected the affairs of government

and solely consulted his own gratification. He died suddenly, and as some assert mysteriously, in July of the year 1854 and the next Viceroy was Sa'eed Pasha, the fourth son of Mohammed' Alee. He died in 1863, and the office fell to Ismail Pasha, the fifth of the dynasty. Under his rule and that of his predecessor the material improvements of the west have been introduced into Egypt; railroads connect the principal cities, and the opera and theatres of Cairo and Alexandria offer to the stranger the latest novelties of Paris. The present viceroy has visited all the European courts, and he is an active promoter of the great Suez Canal.

Mohammed 'Alee survived Ibraheem, and died on the 3d of August 1849. Many and conflicting have been the opinions entertained of this remarkable man; for such at least all acknowledge him to have been. His massacre of the Memlooks has been the great point of attack by his enemies; but that, as well as many other of his acts, must be ascribed to his boundless ambition, not to innate cruelty; for he has proved himself to be adverse to unnecessary bloodshed. That he really esteemed European civilization may be doubted; but his intelligent mind could not fail to perceive that therein lay his great strength, and of this he availed himself with consummate ability. To his firm government Egypt is indebted for the profound tranquillity which it has long been its good fortune to enjoy: a traveler of any nation or faith may traverse it in its length and breadth with greater safety than almost any other country out of Western Europe; and the display of fanaticism has been rigorously punished. This has undoubtedly increased the hatred of the Muslims for the professors of other religions; but we may hope that it will eventually produce a better state of feeling. While, however, Egypt has benefited by the establishment of order, the people have suffered more severe exactions. The confiscation of private lands has been before mentioned: to that arbitrary act must be

added the seizure of the lands of the mosques, the imposition of heavy taxation, and a system of merciless impressment. In fact, the condition of the Egyptian Fellah has rarely been as wretched as it is at the present day. He also misunderstood the real resources of Egypt, which are certainly agricultural; by the much-lauded introduction of cotton, he dealt a severe blow to native produce; and he did more to injure the country by endeavoring to encourage manufacturing industry, and by establishing enormous government monopolies, a measure which crushed the spirit of the agriculturists. His military and governing abilities were assuredly very great, and his career is almost unequalled in Turkish history. Had it not been for the intervention of Great Britain, his Syrian successes over the Porte would probably have led to very beneficial results, by rescuing Egypt from the wretched condition of a Turkish province. But the firman of 1841, entailed the loss of all his military power, the army was reduced to 18,000 men, and the navy condemned to rot in the harbor of Alexandria, while Mohamed 'Alee, failing to gain the great object of his ambition, the establishment of an independent dynasty, and being compelled to look on his then living family as his only heirs, thenceforth confined himself to measures of lesser importance, and did not prosecute even these with his former energy.

The most important event in the modern history of Egypt, is the completion of the Suez Canal, connecting the Red Sea with the Mediterranean. This work was projected and carried out entirely by the French, and its successful issue, in spite of the difficulties which had been before considered insurmountable, was due to the skill and perseverance of the French engineer M. de Lesseps. The formal opening was celebrated on the 16th of November, 1869, by a dedication with religious exercises according to both Mohammedan and Christian rites.

The ceremony was witnessed by a great

number of invited guests from all parts of the world, including the Empress of the French, the Emperor of Austria and the crown princes of Holland and Prussia. A fleet of forty steamers with the guests on board afterward passed through the canal, proving the complete practicability of its navigation.

NUBIA is the name given to the large tract of country lying south of Egypt on both sides of the Nile. The most remarkable feature of this region are the magnificent monumental remains with which it is covered along the line of the stream, and which continue to perpetuate the genius and power of the ancient population of the country situated on the Upper Nile. In these temples, carved out of the solid rock, we see the evidences of a first rude attempt in the rough excavation of the rock, and then a gradual improvement, which must have extended through a long series of years before it culminated in the highly-finished sculptures of Abou-Simboul. But in surveying these wonders the mind is insensibly impressed with the conclusion, that the wealth and power which produced these have entirely passed away and, that if new worlds have risen, we have lost old nations, and that, in the lapse of ages empires themselves vanish, like the baseless fabric of a vision, leaving scarcely a wreck or trace behind. History sheds no light on events and characters which the veil of three thousand years has covered with impenetrable obscurity; and while groping our way amid temples dedicated to gods, and structures raised in honor of heroes, whose very names sound like voices from the dead, we must be satisfied with the conclusion, that long before the dawn of history there had existed in that singular region a great people whose architectural monuments have outlasted their learning, their philosophy, and even their very name.

The people of Nubia are generally called by the Arabs Barabra. They differ considerably in the darkness of their complexion in the



northern and southern parts of the country. They are generally well-made, strong, and muscular, and have tolerably good features. They are more honest than the Egyptians. Previous to 1821 the Nubians were independent, being ruled by chiefs of their own; but in that year they were brought under the power of Egyptian pashas, and the government of Nubia is now, like that of Egypt, a military despotism.

The ancient history of ABYSSINIA is very imperfectly known. The story of the Abyssinians, that their country is the Sheba mentioned in Scripture whose queen visited Solomon, is unworthy of credit; equally so is the assertion that Solomon had a son by that queen, named Menilebek, from whom sprang the Abyssinian kings. The kingdom of the Auxumitæ flourished in Abyssinia, in the first or second century of our era. Its chief town was Auxume, whose site is now occupied by the modern Axum in Tigre, where many vestiges of its greatness are to be found. It appears that at this time the arts of the Greeks and Egyptians had penetrated into the country; and we find the Greek language used in their monumental inscriptions, as in the famous monument at Axum, executed before the introduction of Christianity, in which the king calls himself "son of the invincible Mars." In the year 522, the Abyssinians, under the command of their king Elesbaan, the most powerful, and the only conquering prince that occupied the throne, attacked and destroyed the kingdom of the Homerites, on the opposite coast of the Red Sea. Elesbaan afterwards resigned the government, and ended his life in a monastery. About sixty years later, the Abyssinians were expelled from Arabia, and from this time till about the year 960, we have very little information respecting them that can be depended on. About the latter period, Queen Judith, a Jewess princess, of more than manly courage and ruthless ambition, conceived the bloody design of murdering all the members of the royal family,

and establishing herself in their stead. During the execution of the project, the infant king was carried off by some faithful adherents, and conveyed to Shoa, where his authority was acknowledged; while Judith reigned for forty years over the rest of the kingdom, and transmitted the crown to her posterity. In 1268, however, the kingdom was restored to the royal house, in the person of Icon Amlac. On the accession of this prince the royal residence was removed from Axum to Shoa, and the Amharic became the language of the court. About the close of the 15th century, the Portuguese missions into Abyssinia commenced, and were continued from time to time, till Mendez, by his arrogance and cruelty, brought about their expulsion. This Portuguese Jesuit had so ingratiated himself with the Emperor Lusneius, as to be intrusted with the management of the religious affairs of the country. The emperor himself swore obedience to the Roman Pontiff, and commanded his people to embrace the Roman Catholic religion. But the people had not suffered papal tyranny sufficiently long to submit tamely to the inquisitorial punishment that Mendez administered to the recusants. Civil commotions and insurrections were the consequence, till at length, in 1631, the emperor freed the people from the tyranny of Mendez, by granting them liberty to exercise the religion they preferred; and Basilides, who succeeded his father in 1632, drove Mendez and the whole Jesuitical persecutors out of the country. Abyssinia then became the seat of anarchy and confusion, occasioned by the encroachments of the Gallas from without, and the contests between the governors of the different provinces in the interior. Might everywhere triumphed over right; cities and villages were burned down, and the inhabitants driven out and sold for slaves. In these circumstances, the king, who lived in Gondar, with only a small retinue of servants, received but little respect or obedience from the governors of the different provinces, each of whom was anxious to obtain that

title for himself, and was only prevented by the jealousy of the others. The result of these contests has been that Abyssinia, as a kingdom, has almost ceased to exist. Its latest form of government was an empire, with hereditary rulers, who consider themselves the lineal descendants of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba.

The war between England and Abyssinia in 1868, arose out of the imprisonment of the English consul and several other English residents by King Theodore, in consequence of what he considered an affront offered him by the English government. In 1863 the King entrusted a letter to Queen Victoria to Mr. Cameron the consul, asking for a safe conduct for ambassadors which he proposed to send to England in compliance with a treaty which had been made. Mr. Cameron took the letter and then went to visit some tribes which were hostile to Theodore, and while he was among them he is said to have expressed himself very strongly against the Abyssinian government. His words were reported to King Theodore by an interpreter, and incensed him so much that when the consul returned without the reply to his letter which he expected, he threw him into prison together with a missionary and other European residents. Negotiations were immediately opened by the English government for their liberation. Mr. Hormuzd Rassam a Turk, but an English subject, was sent with a letter asking for their release. He was received with great attention; and upon presents being offered, the King agreed to liberate the prisoners if the Queen would send him skilful artisans who would introduce useful arts into his country. This was consented to, but in consequence of neither party wishing to be the first to fulfil their part of the agreement, the arrangement was not carried out, and war between the two countries ensued.

The first part of the English army landed

towards the end of the year 1867. Early in 1868 it was joined by the commander of the expedition, Sir Robert Napier. The beginning of the march was slow and without any noticeable incidents, the route was difficult and the army suffered much from want of water. After they had gone about half way to Magdala the capital, they advanced more rapidly, being aided by a native chief who was one of the most powerful enemies of Theodore. In April the British troops had arrived before Magdala without having encountered any resistance. At Magdala Theodore had his court; the place was defended by a fortress armed with twenty-eight guns, and by its natural position should have been impregnable. Upon being summoned to surrender, Theodore made no reply, and without waiting for the attack he advanced against the enemy who were fortified in strong positions in front of Magdala. He was driven back with the loss of some 2000 killed and wounded, while the English reported their loss as only sixteen wounded. The next day he sent all the prisoners into the British camp. Napier, however, demanded an unconditional surrender. This was refused, and when the truce expired, the English army attacked Magdala. By the treason of some of the chiefs one of the strongest fortresses immediately yielded to the assault, and Theodore, his force diminished by the desertion of many of his supporters, was unable to hold out. He, however, fought to the last, and when the fort surrendered, he was found dead, having it is said killed himself.

The son of Theodore was among the captives, and was taken to England with the intention of educating him with a view to future amicable commercial relations between the two countries. Upon the withdrawal of the English troops, after the war Abyssinia fell back into its former anarchy.



## CARTHAGE.

THE beginning of the Carthaginian history, like that of many other nations, is obscure and uncertain. In the seventh year of Pygmalion, king of Tyre, his sister Elisa, or Dido, is said to have fled with some of her companions and vassals from the cruelty and avarice of her brother, who had put to death her husband Sichæus in order to obtain possession of his wealth. She first touched at the island of Cyprus, where she met with a priest of Jupiter, who expressed a desire of attending her; a proposal to which she readily consented, and fixed the priesthood in his family. At that time it was a custom in the island of Cyprus for the young women to go on certain stated days, before marriage, to the sea side, there to look for the arrival of strangers on their coasts, in order to prostitute themselves for gain, that they might thereby acquire a dowery. Of these strange damsels the Tyrians selected eighty, whom they carried along with them. From Cyprus they sailed directly for the coast of Africa; and at last landed safely in the province called *Africa Propria*, not far from Utica, a Phœnician city of great antiquity. The inhabitants received their countrymen with great demonstrations of joy, and invited them to settle in the country. The common fable is that the Phœnicians imposed upon the Africans. They desired for their intended settlement only as much ground as an ox's hide would encompass. This request the Africans laughed at; but they were surprised when, upon their granting it, they saw Elisa cut the

hide into the smallest shreds, by which means it surrounded a large territory, in which she built the citadel called *Byrsa*. The learned, however, are now unanimous in exploding this fable; and it is certain that the Carthaginians for many years paid an annual tribute to the Africans for the ground they occupied.

The new city soon became populous and flourishing by the accession of the neighboring Africans, who resorted thither at first with a view of traffic. In a short time it became so considerable, that Jarbas, a neighboring prince, thought of making himself master of it without any effusion of blood. To effect this, he desired that an embassy of ten of the most noble Carthaginians might be sent to him; and upon their arrival, he proposed to them a marriage with Dido, threatening war in the event of refusal. The ambassadors, being afraid to deliver this message, told the queen that Jarbas desired some person might be sent to him who was capable of civilizing his Africans, but that there was no possibility of finding any of her subjects who would leave his relations for the conversion of such barbarians. For this they were reprimanded by the queen, who told them that they ought to be ashamed of refusing to live in any manner for the benefit of their country; upon which they informed her of the true nature of their message from Jarbas, adding that, according to her own decision, she ought to sacrifice herself for the good of her country

The unhappy queen, rather than submit to be the wife of such a barbarian, caused a funeral pile to be erected, and put an end to her life with a dagger. This is Justin's account of the death of queen Dido; as to Virgil's account of her amour with Æneas, it is obviously fabulous, and was so considered even in the days of Macrobius.

About 503 years before the birth of Christ the Carthaginians entered into a treaty with the Romans. It related chiefly to matters of navigation and commerce. From it we learn that the whole island of Sardinia, and part of Sicily were then subject to Carthage; that the Carthaginians were very well acquainted with the coasts of Italy, and had previously made some attempts upon them; and that, even at this early period, a spirit of jealousy had been excited between the two republics. By degrees the Carthaginians extended their power over all the islands of the Mediterranean, Sicily excepted; and for the entire conquest of this island they made vast preparations about 480 years before Christ. Their army consisted of 300,000 men; their fleet was composed of upwards of 2000 men of war and 3000 transports; and with such an immense armament they made no doubt of conquering the whole island in a single campaign. In this, however, they found themselves miserably deceived. Hamilcar, their general, having landed his numerous forces, invested Himera, a city of considerable importance, and carried on his approaches with the greatest assiduity; but he was at last attacked in his trenches by Gelon and Theron, the tyrants of Syracuse and Agrigentum, who inflicted on the Carthaginians one of the greatest overthrows mentioned in history. A hundred and fifty thousand were killed in the battle and pursuit, and all the rest taken prisoners, so that of so mighty an army not a single individual escaped. Of the 2000 ships of war, and 3000 transports of which the Carthaginian fleet consisted, eight ships only, which happened to be out at sea, made their escape, and immediately set sail for Carthage; but these

were all cast away, and every soul perished, except a few who were saved in a small boat, and at last reached Carthage with the dismal news of the total loss of the fleet and army. No words can express the consternation of the Carthaginians upon receiving the news of so terrible a disaster. Ambassadors being immediately dispatched to Sicily with orders to conclude a peace upon any terms, they put to sea without delay, and landing at Syracuse, threw themselves at the conqueror's feet, begging Gelon, with many tears, to receive their city into favor, and grant them a peace on whatever conditions he should choose to prescribe. Gelon granted their request upon condition that Carthage should pay him 2000 talents of silver to defray the expenses of the war; that they should build two temples in which the articles of treaty might be lodged and kept as sacred; and that for the future they should wholly abstain from human sacrifices. This peace, for which there existed so much necessity, was not thought too dearly purchased; and to show their gratitude for Gelon's moderation, the Carthaginians complimented his wife Demerata with a crown of gold worth a hundred talents.

From this time we find little mention of the Carthaginians for seventy years. During the latter period, however, they greatly extended their dominions in Africa, and like wise shook off the tribute which gave them so much uneasiness. They had also warm disputes with the inhabitants of Cyrene, the capital of Cyrenaica, about a regulation of the limits of their respective territories. The consequence of these disputes was a war, which reduced both nations so low that they consented first to a cessation of hostilities, and then to a peace. At last it was agreed that each state should appoint two commissioners, who should set out from their respective cities on the same day, and that the spot on which they met should be the boundary of both states. In consequence of this, two brothers called Philæni were sent out from Carthage, and advanced with great



celerity, whilst those from Cyrene were much slower in their motions. Whether this proceeded from accident, or design, or perfidy, we are not certainly informed; but the Cyreneans, finding themselves greatly outstripped by the Philæni, accused them of breach of faith, asserting that they had set out before the time appointed, and consequently that the convention between their principals was broken. The Philæni desired them to propose some expedient by which their differences might be accommodated, promising to submit to it, whatever it might be. The Cyreneans then proposed either that the Philæni should retire from the place where they were, or that they should be buried alive upon the spot. With this last condition the brothers immediately complied, and by their death gained a large extent of territory for their country. The Carthaginians ever afterwards celebrated this as a most brave and heroic action, paid the brothers divine honors, and endeavored to immortalize their names by erecting two altars there with suitable inscriptions upon them.

About the year before Christ 412, some disputes happened between the Egestines and Selinuntines, inhabitants of two cities in Sicily; the former called in the Carthaginians to their assistance, and occasioned a new invasion of Sicily by that nation. Great preparations were made for this war; and Hannibal, whom they had appointed as general, was empowered to raise an army equal to the undertaking, as well as equip a suitable fleet. They also appropriated certain funds for defraying the expenses of the war, intending to exert their whole force to reduce the island to subjection.

The Carthaginian general having landed his forces, immediately marched to Selinus. In his way he took Emporium, a town situated on the river Mazara; and having arrived at Selinus he immediately invested it. The besieged made a very vigorous defence; but at last the city was taken by storm, and the inhabitants were treated with the utmost cruelty. All were massacred by

the savage conqueror, except the women, who fled to the temples; and these escaped, not through the merciful disposition of the Carthaginians, but because it was feared that, if driven to despair, they would set fire to the temples, and by that means consume the treasure they expected to find in these places. Sixteen thousand were massacred; 2,250 escaped to Agrigentum; and the women and children, about 5000 in number, were carried away into captivity. At the same time the temples were plundered, and the city razed to the ground. After the reduction of Selinus, Hannibal laid siege to Himera, a city which he desired above all things to become master of, in order that he might revenge the death of his grandfather Hamilcar, who had been slain before it by Gelon. His troops, flushed with their late success, behaved with undaunted courage; but finding that his battering engines did not answer his purpose sufficiently, he undermined the wall, supporting it with large beams of timber, to which he afterwards set fire, and thus laid part of it flat on the ground. Notwithstanding this advantage, however, the Carthaginians were several times repulsed with great slaughter; but at last they became masters of the place, and treated it in the same manner as they had done Selinus. After this, Hannibal, dismissing his Sicilian and Italian allies, returned to Africa.

The Carthaginians were now so much elated that they meditated the reduction of the whole island. But as the age and infirmities of Hannibal rendered him incapable of commanding the forces alone, they joined in commission with him Imilcar, the son of Hanno, one of the same family. On the landing of the Carthaginian army, all Sicily was alarmed; and the principal cities put themselves into the best state of defence they were able. The Carthaginians immediately marched to Agrigentum, and began to batter the walls with great fury. The besieged, however, defended themselves with incredible resolution, burnt in a sally all the machines raised against their city, and re-

pulsed the enemy with great slaughter. In the meantime, the Syracusians, alarmed at the danger of Agrigentum, sent an army to its relief. On their approach they were immediately attacked by the Carthaginians; but after a sharp contest the latter were defeated, and forced to fly to the very walls of Agrigentum, with the loss of about 6000 men. Had the Agrigentine commanders now sallied out and fallen upon the fugitives, the Carthaginian army must in all probability have been destroyed; but, either through fear or corruption, they refused to stir out of the place, and this occasioned its fall. Immense booty was found in the city, and the Carthaginians behaved with their usual cruelty, putting all the inhabitants to the sword, not excepting those who had fled to the temples.

The next attempt of the Carthaginians was intended to be against the city of Gela; but the Geleans, being greatly alarmed, implored the protection of Syracuse; and at their request, Dionysius was sent to assist them with 2000 foot and 400 horse. The Geleans were so well satisfied with his conduct, that they treated him with the highest marks of distinction; they even sent ambassadors to Syracuse to return thanks for the important services done them by sending him thither; and soon afterwards he was appointed generalissimo of the Syracusan forces and those of their allies, against the Carthaginians. In the mean time Imilcar, having razed the city of Agrigentum, made an incursion into the territories of Gela and Camarina, which he ravaged in a dreadful manner, carrying off an immense quantity of plunder, which filled his whole camp. He then marched against the city; but though it was indifferently fortified, he met with a vigorous resistance, and the place held out for a long time without receiving any assistance from its allies. At last Dionysius came to its relief with an army of 50,000 foot and 1000 horse. At the head of this body he attacked the Carthaginian camp, but was repulsed with great loss, upon which he

called a council of war, the result of whose deliberations was, that since the enemy was so much superior to them in strength, it would be highly imprudent to put all to the issue of a battle, and that the inhabitants should therefore be persuaded to abandon the country, as the only means of saving their lives. A trumpet was accordingly sent to Imilcar to desire a cessation of hostilities until the next day, in order, as was pretended, to bury the dead, but in reality to give the people of Gela an opportunity of making their escape. About the beginning of the night the greater part of the citizens left the place, and Dionysius himself with the army followed them about midnight. To amuse the enemy he left 2000 of his light-armed troops behind him, commanding them to make fires all night, and set up loud shouts, as though the army still remained in the town. But at daybreak this body took the same route as their companions, and pursued their march with great celerity. The Carthaginians, finding the city deserted by almost all its inhabitants, immediately entered it, putting to death such as remained; after which Imilcar, having thoroughly plundered it, moved towards Camarina. The inhabitants of this city had been likewise drawn off by Dionysius, and it underwent the same fate with Gela.

Notwithstanding these successes, however, Imilcar, finding his army greatly weakened, partly by the casualties of war, and partly by a plague which broke out in it, sent a herald to Syracuse to offer terms of peace. His unexpected arrival was very agreeable to the Syracusans, and a peace was immediately concluded upon the conditions that the Carthaginians, besides their ancient acquisitions in Sicily, should still possess the countries of the Silicani, the Selinuntines, the Himereans, and Agrigentines; that the people of Gela and Camarina should be permitted to reside in their respective cities, which, however, were to be dismantled, upon their paying an annual tribute to the Carthaginians; and that all the Sicilians should preserve their inde-



pendence, except the Syracusans, who were to continue in subjection to Dionysius.

The tyrant of Syracuse, however, had concluded this peace with no other view than to gain time, and put himself in condition to attack the Carthaginian territories at greater advantage. Having accomplished his object, he acquainted the Syracusans with his design, and they immediately approved of it; upon which he gave up to the fury of the populace the persons and possessions of the Carthaginians who resided in Syracuse, and traded there, relying on the faith of treaties. As there were at that time many of their ships in the harbor, laden with cargoes of great value, the people immediately plundered them, and not content with this, ransacked their houses in a most outrageous manner. This example was followed throughout the whole island; and in the mean time Dionysius dispatched a herald to Carthage, with a letter to the senate and people, telling them that, if they did not immediately withdraw their garrisons from all the Greek cities in Sicily, the people of Syracuse would treat them as enemies. With this demand, however, he did not allow them time to comply; for, without waiting for any answer from Carthage, he advanced with his army to Mount Eryx, near which stood the city of Motya, a Carthaginian colony of great importance, which he immediately invested. But soon afterwards, leaving his brother Leptines to carry on the attack, he proceeded with the greater part of his forces to reduce the cities in alliance with the Carthaginians. He destroyed their territories with fire and sword, levelled all their trees, and then invested Egesta and Entella, most of the other towns having opened their gates at his approach; but these having baffled his utmost efforts, he returned to Motya, and pushed on the siege of that place with the utmost vigor. The Carthaginians, in the mean time, though alarmed at the message sent them by Dionysius, and reduced to a miserable condition by the plague, which had broken out in their city, did not despond, but dispatched

officers to Europe, with considerable sums, to raise troops with the utmost diligence. Ten galleys were also sent from Carthage to destroy all the ships that might be found in the harbor of Syracuse. The admiral, according to his orders, entered the harbor during the night, without being discerned by the enemy; and having sunk most of the ships he found there, returned without the loss of a man. Meantime the Motyans defended themselves with incredible vigor whilst their enemies, desirous of revenging the cruelties exercised upon their countrymen by the Carthaginians, fought like lions. At last the place was taken by storm, and the Greek soldiers began a general massacre, which Dionysius was for some time unable to restrain; but at last he ordered the Motyans to fly to the Greek temples, which they accordingly did, and a stop was thus put to the slaughter. The soldiers, however, took care to thoroughly plunder the town, in which they found great treasure.

The following spring Dionysius invaded the Carthaginian territories, and made an attempt upon Egesta; but here he was again disappointed. The Carthaginians were greatly alarmed at his progress; but next year, notwithstanding a considerable loss sustained in a sea-fight with Leptines, Himilco their general landed a powerful army at Panormus, seized upon Eryx, and then advancing towards Motya, made himself master of it before Dionysius could send any forces to its relief. He next proceeded to Messana, which he likewise besieged and took; after which most of the Siculi revolted from Dionysius.

Notwithstanding this defection, Dionysius, finding that his forces still amounted to 30,000 foot and 3000 horse, advanced against the enemy. At the same time Leptines was sent with the Syracusan fleet against that of the Carthaginians, but with positive orders not to break the line of battle upon any account whatsoever. Notwithstanding these orders, he thought proper to divide his fleet, and the consequence was that he suffered a

total defeat, above 100 of the Syracusan galleys being sunk or taken, and 20,000 men killed either in the battle or in the pursuit. Dionysius, disheartened by this misfortune, returned with his army to Syracuse, being afraid that the Carthaginian fleet might become master of that city if he advanced to fight the army. On the other hand, Himilco did not fail immediately to invest the capital; and would certainly have become master of it, and consequently of the whole island, had not a most malignant pestilence obliged him to desist from all further operations. This dreadful malady made great havoc among his forces both by land and sea; and, to complete his misfortunes, Dionysius attacked him unexpectedly, totally ruined his fleet, and made himself master of his camp.

Himilco, finding himself altogether unable to sustain another attack, was obliged to come to a private agreement with Dionysius, who for 300 talents consented to permit him to escape to Africa with the shattered remains of his fleet and army. The unfortunate general arrived at Carthage clad in mean and sordid attire, where he was met by a great number of people bewailing their sad and inauspicious fortune. Himilco joined them in their lamentations; and being unable to survive his misfortunes, put an end to his own life. Having left Mago in Sicily to take care of the Carthaginian interests in the best manner he could, this person treated all the Sicilians subject to Carthage with the greatest humanity; and, having received a considerable number of soldiers from Africa, he at last formed an army, with which he ventured a battle. But in this he was defeated, and driven out of the field, with the loss of 800 men; which obliged him to desist from further attempts of that nature.

Notwithstanding these terrible disasters, the Carthaginians could not refrain from making new attempts upon the island of Sicily, and about the year before Christ 392 Mago landed in it with an army of 80,000 men. This attempt, however, was attended

with no better success than the former ones; and Dionysius found means to reduce him to such straits for want of provisions, that he was obliged to sue for peace, which lasted nine years. At the end of this period the war was renewed with various success, and continued with little interruption till the year before Christ 376, when the Syracusan state being rent by civil dissensions, the Carthaginians thought it a proper time to exert themselves, in order to become masters of the whole island. They fitted out a great fleet, and entered into alliance with Icetas, tyrant of the Leontini, who pretended to have taken Syracuse under his protection. By this treaty the two powers engaged to assist each other in order to expel Dionysius II.; after which they were to divide the island between them. The Syracusans applied for succors to the Corinthians, who readily sent them a body of troops under the command of Timoleon, an experienced general. By a stratagem this commander succeeded in landing his forces at Taurominium. The whole of them did not exceed 1200 in number; yet with these he marched against Icetas, who was at the head of 5000 men, surprised his army at supper, put 300 of them to the sword, and took 600 prisoners. Then marching to Syracuse, he penetrated into one part of the town before the enemy had any notice of his approach. Here he took post, and defended himself with such resolution, that he could not be dislodged by the united power of Icetas and the Carthaginians.

In this place he remained for some time in expectation of a re-enforcement from Corinth, till the arrival of which he did not judge it practicable to extend his conquests. But the Carthaginians, being apprised that the Corinthian succors were detained by tempestuous weather at Thurium, posted a strong squadron, under Hanno their admiral, to intercept them in their passage to Sicily. That commander, however, not imagining the Corinthians would attempt a passage to Sicily in such a stormy season, left his station at Thurium, and ordering his seamen to



crown themselves with garlands, and adorn their vessels with bucklers of both the Greek and Carthaginian form, sailed to Syracuse in a triumphant manner. Upon his arrival there, he gave the troops in the citadel to understand that he had taken the succors Timoleon expected, thinking by this means to intimidate them into a surrender. But while he thus trifled away his time, the Corinthians marched with great expedition to Rhegium, and, taking the advantage of a gentle breeze, crossed over into Sicily. Mago, the Carthaginian general, no sooner received information of the arrival of this re-enforcement, than he was struck with terror; and though the whole Corinthian army did not exceed 4000 men, he soon afterwards weighed anchor, in spite of all the remonstrances of Icetas, and set sail for Africa. But he no sooner arrived, than, overcome with remorse and shame for his unparalleled cowardice, he laid violent hands on himself. His body was hung upon a gallows or cross, in order to deter succeeding generals from forfeiting their honor in so flagrant a manner.

After the flight of Mago, Timoleon carried all before him. He obliged Icetas to renounce his alliance with the state of Carthage, nay even deposed him, and continued his military preparations with the greatest vigor. On the other hand, the Carthaginians prepared for the ensuing campaign with the utmost alacrity. An army of 70,000 men was sent over, with a fleet of 200 ships of war and 1000 transports laden with warlike engines, armed chariots, horses, and all other sorts of provisions. This immense multitude, however, was overthrown on the banks of the Crimesus by Timoleon; 10,000 were left dead on the field of battle, and of these more than 3000 were native Carthaginians of the best families in the city. Above 15,000 were taken prisoners; and all their baggage and provisions, with 200 chariots, 1000 coats of mail, and 10,000 shields, fell into Timoleon's hands. The spoil, which consisted chiefly of gold and silver, was so immense that the whole Sicilian army was

occupied three days in collecting it and stripping the slain. After this signal victory, he left his mercenary forces upon the frontiers of the enemy, in order to plunder and ravage the country; whilst he himself returned to Syracuse with the rest of his army, where he was received with the greatest demonstrations of joy. Soon afterwards, Icetas, having grown weary of a private station, concluded a new peace with the Carthaginians, and, assembling an army, ventured an engagement with Timoleon; but in this he was utterly defeated, and Icetas himself, with Eupolemus his son, and Euthymus his general of horse, were brought bound to Timoleon by their own soldiers. The first two were immediately executed as tyrants and traitors, and the last murdered in cold blood; Icetas's wives and daughters were likewise cruelly put to death after a public trial. In a short time afterwards, Mamercus, another of the Carthaginian confederates, was overthrown by Timoleon, with the loss of 2000 men. These misfortunes induced the Carthaginians to conclude a peace on the conditions that all the Greek cities should be set free; that the river Halcus should be the boundary between the territories of both parties; that the natives of cities subject to the Carthaginians should be allowed to withdraw, if they pleased, to Syracuse or its dependencies, with their families and effects; and lastly, that Carthage should not, for the future, give any assistance to the remaining tyrants against Syracuse.

About 316 years before Christ, we find the Carthaginians engaged in another bloody war with the Sicilians. Sosistratus, who had usurped the supreme authority at Syracuse, having been forced by Agathocles to raise the siege of Rhegium, returned with his shattered troops to Sicily; but, soon after this unsuccessful expedition, he was obliged to abdicate the sovereignty and quit Syracuse. With him were expelled above 600 of the principal citizens, who were suspected of having formed a design to overturn the plan of government then established in the city

As Sosistratus and the exiles thought themselves ill treated, they had recourse to the Carthaginians, who readily espoused their cause. But the Syracusans, having recalled Agathocles, who had before been banished by Sosistratus, appointed him commander-in-chief of all their forces, principally on account of the known aversion he bore that tyrant. The war, however, did not then continue long; for Sosistratus and the exiles were quickly received again into the city, and peace was concluded with Carthage. The people of Syracuse, however, finding that Agathocles wanted to make himself absolute, exacted an oath from him that he would do nothing to the prejudice of the democracy. But notwithstanding this oath, Agathocles pursued his purpose, and, by a general massacre of the principal citizens of Syracuse, raised himself to the throne. For some time he was obliged to keep the peace he had concluded with Carthage; but at last, finding his authority established, and his subjects ready to second his ambitious designs, he paid no regard to treaties, and immediately made war on the neighboring states, which he had expressly agreed not to do, after which he carried his arms into the very heart of the island. In these expeditions he was attended with such success, that in two years he brought into subjection all the Greek part of Sicily; and when this was accomplished, he committed great devastations in the Carthaginian territories, their general Hamilcar not offering to give him the least disturbance. Conduct so perfidious greatly incensed the people of those districts against Hamilcar, whom they accused before the senate. He died, however, in Sicily, and Hamilcar the son of Gisco was appointed to succeed him in the command of the forces. The last place which held out against Agathocles was Messina, whither all the Syracusan exiles had retired. But Pasiphilus, Agathocles's general found means to cajole the inhabitants into a treaty, which Agathocles, according to custom, paid no regard to; and as soon as he got possession

of the town he cut off all those who had opposed his government; for, as he intended to prosecute the war with the utmost vigor against Carthage, he thought it a point of good policy to destroy as many of his Sicilian enemies as possible.

In the meantime the Carthaginians having landed a powerful army in Sicily, an engagement soon ensued, in which Agathocles was defeated with a loss of 7000 men. After this defeat he was obliged to shut himself up in Syracuse, which the Carthaginians immediately invested, and most of the Greek states in the island submitted to them.

Agathocles, seeing himself stripped of almost all his dominions, and his capital itself in danger of falling into the hands of the enemy, formed a design, which, were it not attested by writers of undoubted authority, would seem absolutely incredible. This was no less than to transfer the war into Africa, and lay siege to the enemy's capital, at a time when he himself was besieged, and only one city left to him in all Sicily. Before he departed, however, he made all the necessary preparations for the defence of the place, and appointed his brother Antandrus governor. He also gave permission to all who were not willing to encounter the fatigues of a siege to retire out of the city. Many of the principal citizens accepted of this offer; but they had no sooner got out of the place than they were cut off by parties posted on the road for that purpose. Having seized upon their estates, Agathocles raised a considerable sum, which was intended in some measure to defray the expenses of the expedition. He carried with him, however, only fifty talents to supply his present wants, being well assured that he should find in the enemy's country whatever was necessary for his subsistence. As the Carthaginians had a much superior fleet, they for some time kept the mouth of the harbor blocked up; but at last a fair opportunity offered, and Agathocles weighing anchor, soon got clear of both the port and city of Syracuse. The Carthaginians pursued him with all expedition; but



notwithstanding their utmost efforts, Agathocles kept ahead, and landed his troops with very little opposition.

Soon after his forces had disembarked, Agathocles burnt his fleet, in order that his soldiers might behave with the greater resolution, when they saw all possibility of retreat cut off. He first advanced to a place called the Great City, which, after a feeble resistance, he took and plundered. He then marched to Tunis, which surrendered on the first summons; and Agathocles leveled both places with the ground.

The Carthaginians were at first thrown into the greatest consternation. But, soon recovering themselves, the citizens took up arms with so much alacrity, that in a short time they raised an army of 40,000 foot and 1000 horse, with 2000 armed chariots, and intrusted the command to Hanno and Hamilcar, two generals between whom there subsisted a great animosity. But this disunion occasioned the defeat of their whole army, with the loss of their camp, although the force of Agathocles did not exceed 14,000 men. Among the rich spoils the conqueror found many chariots of curious workmanship, which carried 20,000 pairs of fetters and manacles which the enemy had provided for their expected prisoners. After this defeat, the Carthaginians, supposing themselves to have fallen under the displeasure of their deities on account of their neglecting to offer in sacrifice children of noble families, resolved to expiate this guilt. Accordingly two hundred children of the first rank were sacrificed to their gods, besides three hundred other persons who voluntarily offered themselves to pacify the wrath of these sanguinary deities.

After these expiations Hamilcar was recalled from Sicily. When the messengers arrived, Hamilcar commanded them not once to mention the victory of Agathocles; but, on the contrary, to give out among the troops that he had been entirely defeated, his forces cut off, and his fleet destroyed by the Carthaginians. This threw the Syracusans into

the utmost despair; however, one Eurymnon, an Etolian, prevailed upon Antandrus not to consent to a capitulation, but to stand a general assault. Hamilcar, informed of this, prepared his battering engines, and made all the necessary preparations for storming the town without delay. But while matters were in this situation, a galley, which Agathocles had caused to be built immediately after the battle, got into the harbor of Syracuse, and informed the inhabitants of the victory which he had obtained. Hamilcar, observing that the garrison flocked down to the port on this occasion, and expecting to find the walls unguarded, ordered his soldiers to erect scaling ladders, and begin the intended assault. The enemy having left the ramparts quite exposed, the Carthaginians mounted them without being discovered, and had almost possessed themselves of a portion situated between two towers, when the patrol discovered them. Upon this a warm contest ensued; and at last the Carthaginians were repulsed with loss. Hamilcar, therefore, finding it in vain to continue the siege after such glad tidings had revived the spirits of the Syracusans, drew off his forces, and sent a detachment of 5000 men to reinforce the troops in Africa. He still, however, entertained hopes that he might oblige Agathocles to quit Africa, and return to the defence of his own dominions. With this view he spent some time in making himself master of such cities as had sided with the Syracusans; and, after having brought all their allies under subjection, he returned again to Syracuse, hoping to surprise it in a night attack. But being attacked while advancing through narrow passes, where his numerous army had not room to act, he was defeated with great slaughter, taken prisoner, carried into Syracuse, and put to death.

In the meantime the Agrigentines, finding that the Carthaginians and Syracusans had greatly weakened each other by this war, thought it a proper opportunity for attempting to gain the sovereignty of the whole island. They, therefore, commenced a war

against both parties ; and prosecuted it with such success, that in a short time they wrested many places of consequence out of the hands both of the Syracusans and Carthaginians.

In Africa the tyrant carried every thing before him. He reduced most of the places of any importance in the territory of Carthage ; and hearing that Elymas king of Libya had declared against him, he immediately entered Libya Superior, and in a great battle overthrew that prince, putting to the sword a considerable part of his troops, and the general who commanded them ; after which he advanced against the Carthaginians with such expedition, that he surprised and defeated them with the loss of two thousand killed, and a great number taken prisoners. He next prepared for the siege of Carthage itself ; and, with a view to this, advanced to a post within five miles of that city. On the other hand, notwithstanding the great losses they had already sustained, the Carthaginians encamped with a powerful army between him and their capital. In this situation Agathocles received advice of the defeat of the Carthaginians forces before Syracuse, and also the head of Hamilcar their general ; upon which he immediately rode up to the enemy's camp, and showing them the head, gave them an account of the total destruction of their army before Syracuse. This threw them into such consternation, that in all human probability Agathocles would have made himself master of Carthage, had not an unexpected mutiny arisen in his camp, which gave the Carthaginians time to recover from their terror.

The year following an engagement happened, in which neither party gained any great advantage ; but soon afterwards, the tyrant, notwithstanding all his victories, found himself unable to carry on the war alone ; and he, therefore, endeavored to gain over to his interest Ophellas, one of the captains of Alexander the Great. In this he succeeded perfectly ; and in order to succor his new ally the more effectually, Ophellas sent to Athens for a body of troops. Having com-

pleted his military preparations, Ophellas found his army to consist of 10,000 foot and 600 horse, all regular troops, besides 100 chariots, and a body of 10,000 men, attended by their wives and children, as if he had been going to plant a new colony. At the head of these forces he continued his march towards the position of Agathocles for eighteen days, and then encamped at Automale, a city about three thousand stadia distant from the capital of his dominions. He then advanced through the *Regio Syrtica*, but found himself reduced to such extremities, that his army were in danger of perishing for want of bread, water, and other provisions. They were also greatly annoyed by serpents and wild beasts, with which that desert region abounded. The serpents made the greatest havoc among the troops ; for, being of the same color as the earth, and extremely venomous, many soldiers, who trod upon them without seeing them, were stung to death. At last, after a very fatiguing march of two months, he approached the position of Agathocles, and encamped at a small distance, to the no small terror of the Carthaginians, who apprehended the most fatal consequences from this junction. Agathocles at first caressed him, and advised him to take all possible care of his troops, who had undergone so many fatigues, but soon afterwards cut him off by treachery, and then by fair words and promises persuaded his troops to serve under himself.

Agathocles, now finding himself at the head of a numerous army, assumed the title of king of Africa, intending soon to complete his conquests by the reduction of Carthage. He began with the siege of Utica, which was taken by assault. He then marched against Hippo Diarrhytus, the Biserta of the moderns, which was also taken by storm ; and after this most of the people bordering upon the sea-coasts, and even those who inhabited the inland parts of the country, submitted to him. But in the midst of this career of success, the Sicilians formed an association in favor of liberty, which obliged



the tyrant to return home, leaving his son Archagathus to carry on the war in Africa.

Archagathus, after his father's departure, greatly extended the African conquests. He sent Eumachus at the head of a large detachment to invade some of the neighboring provinces, whilst he himself, with the greater part of his army, observed the motions of the Carthaginians. Eumachus passing into Numidia, first took the great city of Tocas, and conquered several of the Numidian cantons. Afterwards he besieged and took Phillina, which was attended with the submission of the Asphodelodians, a nation, according to Diodorus, as black as the Ethiopians. He then reduced several cities; and being at last elated with his good fortune, resolved to penetrate into the most remote parts of Africa. And in this he at first met with success; but hearing that the barbarous nations were advancing in a formidable body to give him battle, he abandoned his conquests, and retreated with the utmost precipitation towards the sea-coast, after having lost a great number of men.

This unfortunate expedition produced a great revolution in the affairs of Archagathus. The Carthaginians, informed of Eumachus' bad success, resolved to exert themselves in order to repair their former losses, and divided their forces into three bodies; one of these they sent to the sea-coast, to keep the towns there in awe; another they dispatched into the Mediterranean parts, to preserve the allegiance of the inhabitants there; and the last body they ordered to Upper Africa, in order to support their confederates in that country. Apprised of the motions of the Carthaginians, Archagathus likewise divided his forces into three bodies. One of these he sent to observe the Carthaginian troops on the sea-coast, with orders to advance afterwards into Upper Africa; another, under the command of Æschrión, one of his generals, he posted at a proper distance in the heart of the country, to observe both the enemy there and the barbarous nations; and with the last, which he led

in person, he kept near Carthage, preserving a communication with the other two, in order to send them succors or recall them, as the exigency of affairs might require. The Carthaginian troops sent into the heart of the country were commanded by Hanno, a general of great experience, who, being informed of the approach of Æschrión, laid an ambuscade for him, into which he was drawn, and cut off with 4000 foot and 200 horse. Himilco, who commanded the Carthaginian forces in Upper Africa, having received advice of Eumachus's march, immediately advanced against him; and an engagement ensued, in which the Greeks were almost totally cut off, or perished with thirst after the battle; for out of 8000 foot only thirty, and of 800 horse only forty, had the good fortune to make their escape. •

Archagathus having received the melancholy news of these two defeats, immediately called in the detachments he had sent out to harass the enemy, which would otherwise have been instantly cut off. He was however, in a short time hemmed in on all sides, reduced to the last extremity for want of provisions, and ready every moment to be swallowed up by the numerous forces which surrounded him. In this deplorable situation Agathocles received an express from Archagathus, acquainting him of the losses which the latter had sustained, and the scarcity of provisions he labored under. Upon this the tyrant, leaving the care of the Sicilian war to one Leptines, got out of the harbor, by a stratagem, eighteen Etruscan ships which came to his assistance; and then engaging the Carthaginian squadron which lay in its neighborhood, took five of their ships, and made all their men prisoners. In this way he became master of the port, and secured a passage into it for the merchants of all nations, who soon restored plenty where the famine had before begun to make great havoc. Supplying himself, therefore, with a sufficient quantity of necessaries for the voyage which he was about to undertake, he immediately set sail for Africa.

Upon his arrival in that country, Agathocles reviewed his forces, and found them to consist of 6000 Greeks, and as many Samnites, Celtes and Etruscans, besides 10,000 Africans and 1500 horse. As he found his troops in a state bordering on despair, he thought this a proper time for offering the enemy battle. The Carthaginians, however, did not think proper to accept the challenge, especially as, by keeping close in their camp, where they had plenty of every thing, they could starve the Greeks into a surrender without striking a blow. Upon this, Agathocles attacked the Carthaginian camp with great bravery, made a considerable impression upon it, and might perhaps have carried it, had not his mercenaries deserted him almost at the first onset. By this piece of cowardice he was forced to retire with precipitation to his camp, whither the Carthaginians pursued him very closely, doing great execution in the pursuit.

The next night, the Carthaginians sacrificed all the prisoners of distinction, as a grateful acknowledgment to their gods for the victory they had gained. Whilst they were employed in this inhuman work, the wind, suddenly rising, carried the flames to the sacred tabernacle near the altar, which was entirely consumed, together with the general's tent, and those of the principal officers adjoining to it. A dreadful alarm was raised throughout the whole camp, which was heightened by the great progress of the fire; for as the soldiers' tents consisted of very combustible materials, and the wind blew in a most violent manner, the whole camp was almost entirely reduced to ashes; and many of the soldiers, endeavoring to carry off their arms and the rich baggage of their officers, perished in the flames. Some of those who made their escape met with a fate equally unhappy; for after the repulse of Agathocles the Africans deserted him, and were at that instant coming over in a body to the Carthaginians. But these the persons who were flying from the flames took to be the whole Syracusan army advancing in

order of battle to attack their camp; upon which a dreadful confusion ensued, some taking to their heels, while others fell down in heaps one upon another, and many engaged their comrades, mistaking them for the enemy. Five thousand men lost their lives in this tumult, and the rest thought proper to take refuge within the walls of Carthage; nor could the appearance of daylight for some time dissipate their apprehensions. In the meantime the African deserters observing the great confusion among the Carthaginians, and not knowing the meaning of it, were so terrified, that they thought proper to return to the place from which they had come. The Syracusans, seeing a body of troops advancing towards them in good order, concluded that the enemy were marching to attack them, and therefore immediately cried out, "To arms!" while the flames ascending from the Carthaginian camp into the air, and the lamentable outcries proceeding thence, confirmed them in this opinion, and greatly heightened their confusion. The consequence was much the same as in the Carthaginian camp; for, coming to blows with one another instead of the enemy, they scarcely recovered their senses upon the return of light; and the intestine tumult proved so bloody that it cost Agathocles four thousand men.

This last disaster so disheartened the tyrant, that he immediately set about contriving means for making his escape privately, which he at last effected, though with great difficulty. After his departure his two sons were immediately put to death by the soldiers, who, choosing a leader from among themselves, made peace with the Carthaginians upon the conditions that the Greeks should deliver up all the places which they held in Africa, on receiving from them three hundred talents; that such of them as were willing to serve in the Carthaginian army should be kindly treated and receive the usual pay; and that the rest should be transported to Sicily, and have the city of Selinus allotted for their habitation.



From this time till the commencement of their first war with the Romans, we find nothing remarkable in the history of the Carthaginians. The first Prussic War, as it is commonly called, began about 255 B.C. The details of its origin and progress will be found in the history of Rome.

The Carthaginians were no sooner freed from this sanguinary and expensive war than they found themselves engaged in another of the most dangerous kind. It is called by ancient historians the Libyan War, or the War with the Mercenaries. The principal cause of this war may be shortly stated. When Hamilcar returned to Carthage, he found the republic so much impoverished, that, far from being able to give these troops the largesses and rewards promised them, it could not pay them their arrears. He had committed the care of transporting them to one Gisco, an officer of great penetration, who, as if he had foreseen what would happen, did not ship them off all at once, but in small and separate parties, in order that those who landed first might be paid off and sent home before the arrival of the rest. The Carthaginians, however, did not act with the same prudence as Gisco. As the state was almost entirely exhausted by the late war, and the immense sum of money paid to the Romans in consequence of the peace, they judged it proper to endeavor to save something to the public, and with this view they did not pay off the mercenaries as they arrived, thinking it better to wait till they had all arrived, in the hope of obtaining some remission of their arrears. But, being soon made sensible of their error, by the frequent disorders of which these barbarians were guilty in the city, they with some difficulty prevailed on the officers to take up their quarters at Sicca, and canton their troops in that neighborhood. To induce them to do so, however, they gave them a sum of money for their present subsistence, and promised to comply with their demands when the remainder of the troops should have arrived from Sicily. But the troops, being wholly immersed in idleness,

to which they had long been strangers, a neglect of discipline ensued, and of course a petulant and licentious spirit immediately showed itself. They were now determined not to acquiesce in receiving their bare pay, but to insist upon the rewards which Hamilcar had promised them, and even to compel the state of Carthage by force of arms to comply with their demands. The senate being informed of the mutinous disposition of the soldiery, dispatched Hanno, one of the suffetes, to pacify them. Upon his arrival at Sicca, he expatiated largely on the poverty of the state, and the heavy taxes with which the citizens of Carthage were loaded; and, instead of answering their extravagant expectations, he desired them to be satisfied with receiving part of their pay, and to remit the remainder in consideration of the pressing exigencies of the republic. But the mercenaries, highly provoked that neither Hamilcar nor any other of the principal officers who commanded them in Sicily, and who were the best judges of their merit, made their appearance on this occasion, but only Hanno, a person utterly unknown, and above all others disagreeable to them, immediately had recourse to arms; and assembling in a body, to the number of 20,000, they advanced to Tunis, and immediately encamped before that city.

The Carthaginians, being greatly alarmed at the approach of so formidable a body to Tunis, made large concessions to the mercenaries, in order to bring them back to their duty; but, far from being softened, the latter grew more insolent upon these concessions, considering them as the effects of fear, and therefore became altogether averse to thoughts of accommodation. Making a virtue of necessity, the Carthaginians showed a disposition to satisfy them in all points, and agreed to refer the points at issue to the opinion of some general in Sicily, as they had all along desired, leaving the choice of such commander entirely to the soldiery themselves. Gisco was accordingly pitched upon to mediate this affair, the mercenaries believ-

ing Hamilcar to have been a principal cause of the ill treatment they had met with, since he never appeared amongst them, and according to the general opinion, had voluntarily resigned his commission. Gisco soon arrived at Tunis with money to pay the troops; and, after conferring with the officers of the several nations apart, he harangued them in such a manner, that a treaty was upon the point of being concluded, when Spendius and Mathos, two of the principal mutineers, occasioned a tumult in every part of the camp. Spendius was by nation a Campanian, and had been a slave at Rome, whence he fled to the Carthaginians. The apprehensions he entertained of being delivered up to his old master, by whom he was sure to be hanged or crucified, prompted him to break off the accommodation. Mathos was an African, and free born; but as he had been active in raising the rebellion, and was well acquainted with the implacable disposition of the Carthaginians, he knew that a peace must infallibly prove his ruin. He therefore joined with Spendius, and insinuated to the Africans the danger of concluding at that juncture a treaty, which could not but leave them exposed singly to the rage of the Carthaginians. This so incensed the Africans, who were much more numerous than the troops of any other nation, that they immediately assembled in a tumultuous manner, and the foreigners soon joined them, being inspired by Spendius with an equal degree of fury. Nothing was now to be heard but the most horrid oaths and imprecations against Gisco and the Carthaginians. Whoever offered to make any remonstrance, or lend an ear to temperate counsels, was stoned to death by the enraged multitude; and many persons lost their lives for attempting to speak, before it could be known whether they were in the interest of Spendius or of the Carthaginians.

In the midst of these commotions Gisco behaved with great firmness and intrepidity, and left no methods untried to soften the officers and calm the minds of the soldiery;

but the torrent of sedition was now so strong, that there was no possibility of keeping it within bounds. They therefore seized upon the military chest, dividing the money among themselves as part payment of their arrears; put the person of Gisco under an arrest; and treated him, as well as his attendants, with the utmost indignity. Mathos and Spendius, in order to destroy all hopes of an accommodation with Carthage, applauded the courage and resolution of their men, loaded the unhappy Gisco and his followers with irons, and formally declared war against the Carthaginians. The cities of Africa to which deputies had been sent to exhort them to recover their liberty soon came over to them, except Utica and Hippo Diarrhytus. And the army being thus greatly increased, they divided it into two parts, with one of which they moved towards Utica, whilst the other marched to Hippo, in order that both places might be simultaneously besieged. The Carthaginians, in the mean time, found themselves ready to sink under the pressure of their misfortunes. After they had been harassed twenty-four years by a most cruel and destructive foreign war, they entertained some hopes of enjoying repose. The citizens of Carthage drew their individual subsistence from the rents or revenues of their lands, and the public expenses from the tribute paid by Africa; all which they were not only deprived of at once, but, what was worse, had it directly turned against them. They were destitute of arms and forces either by sea or land, and had made no preparations for sustaining a siege, or the equipping of a fleet. They suffered all the calamities incident to the most ruinous civil war; and, to complete their misery, had not the least prospect of receiving assistance from any foreign friend or ally. Notwithstanding their deplorable situation, however, they did not despair, but pursued all the measures necessary to put themselves in a suitable posture of defence.

Hanno was dispatched to the relief of Utica with a considerable body of forces,



100 elephants, and a large train of battering engines. Having reconnoitred the enemy, he immediately attacked their intrenchments, and, after an obstinate contest, forced them. The mercenaries lost a vast number of men, and consequently the advantages gained by Hanno were so great, that they might have proved decisive had he made a proper use of them; but victory having rendered him too confident, and his troops neglecting their duty, the mercenaries rallied their forces, fell upon him, cut off many of his men, forced the rest to fly into the town, retook and plundered the camp, and seized all the provisions and military stores brought to the relief of the besieged. Nor was this the only instance of Hanno's military incapacity. Notwithstanding he lay encamped in the most advantageous manner, near the town called Gorza, where he twice overthrew the enemy, and had it in his power to ruin them totally, he yet neglected to improve these advantages, and even suffered the mercenaries to possess themselves of the isthmus which joined to the continent of Africa the peninsula on which Carthage stood.

These repeated mistakes induced the Carthaginians once more to place Hamilcar Barcas at the head of their forces. This commander marched against the enemy with 10,000 men, horse and foot, being all the troops the Carthaginians could then assemble for their defence; a proof of the very low state to which they had at that time been reduced. As Mathos, after the occupation of the isthmus, had posted proper detachments in the passes of two hills facing the continent, and guarded the bridge over the Bagrada, which through Hanno's neglect he had taken, Hamilcar saw little probability of engaging him upon equal terms, or indeed of even getting at him. Observing, however, that on the blowing of certain winds the mouth of the river was choked up with sand, so as to become passable, though with no small difficulty, while these winds continued, he halted at the river's mouth, without communicating his design to any person.

As soon as the wind favored his project, he crossed the river privately by night, and immediately after his passage drew up the troops in order of battle; and advancing into the plain, where his elephants were capable of acting, moved towards Mathos, who was posted at the village near the bridge. This daring action greatly surprised and intimidated the Africans. However, Spendius, receiving intelligence of the enemy's motions, drew a body of 10,000 men out of Mathos' camp, with which he attended Hamilcar on one side, and ordered 15,000 from Utica to observe him on the other; thinking by this means to surround the Carthaginians, and cut them off at one stroke. But by feigning a retreat, Hamilcar found means to engage them at a disadvantage, and gave them a total overthrow, with the loss of 6000 killed and 2000 taken prisoners, while the rest fled, some to the town at the bridge, and others to the camp at Utica. He did not give them time to recover from their defeat, but pursued them to the town near the bridge before mentioned, which he entered without opposition, the mercenaries flying in great confusion to Tunis; and upon this many towns submitted of their own accord to the Carthaginians, whilst others were reduced to subjection by force of arms.

Notwithstanding these disasters, Mathos pushed on the siege of Hippo with great vigor, and appointed Spendius and Austartus, commander of the Gauls, with a strong body, to observe the motions of Hamilcar. These commanders, therefore, at the head of a choice detachment of 6000 men drawn out of the camp at Tunis, and 2000 Gallic horse, attended the Carthaginian general, approaching him as near as they could with safety, and keeping close to the skirts of the mountains. At last Spendius having received a strong reinforcement of Africans and Numidians, and occupied all the heights surrounding the plain in which Hamilcar lay encamped, resolved not to let slip so favorable an opportunity of attacking him. Had a battle now ensued, Hamilcar and his army

must in all probability have been cut off; but, by the desertion of one Naravasus, a young Numidian nobleman, with 2000 men, he found himself enabled to offer his enemies battle. The fight was obstinate and bloody; but at last the mercenaries were entirely overthrown, with the loss of 10,000 men killed and 4000 taken prisoners. All the prisoners who were willing to enlist in the Carthaginian service Hamilcar received into his army, supplying them with the arms of the soldiers who had fallen in the engagement; and to the rest he gave full liberty to go where they pleased, upon condition that they should never for the future bear arms against the Carthaginians; informing them, at the same time, that every violator of this agreement who fell into his hands must expect no mercy.

Mathos and his associates, fearing that this affected lenity of Hamilcar might occasion a defection among the troops, thought that the best expedient would be to put them upon some action so execrable in its own nature that no hopes of reconciliation should remain. By their advice, therefore, Gisco, and all the Carthaginian prisoners were put to death; and when Hamilcar sent to demand the remains of his countrymen, he received for answer, that whoever presumed hereafter to come upon that errand, should meet with Gisco's fate; after which they came to a resolution to treat with the same barbarity all Carthaginians who should fall into their hands. In return for this enormity, Hamilcar delivered up all the prisoners who fell into his hands to be devoured by wild beasts; being convinced that compassion served only to render his enemies more fierce and untractable.

The war was now carried on generally to the advantage of the Carthaginians; nevertheless, the malcontents still found themselves in a capacity to take the field with an army of 50,000 men. They watched Hamilcar's motions, but kept on the hills, carefully avoiding to come down into the plains, on account of the Numidian horse and Cartha-

ginian elephants. But Hamilcar, being much superior in skill to any of their generals, at last shut them up in a post so situated that it was impossible to get out of it. Here he kept them strictly besieged; and the mercenaries, not daring to venture a battle, began to fortify their camp, and surround it with ditches and intrenchments. But they were soon pressed so sorely by famine, that they were obliged to eat one another; yet as they were rendered desperate by the consciousness of their guilt, they did not desire any terms of accommodation. At last, being reduced to the utmost extremity of misery, they insisted that Spendius, Autaritus, and Zarxas, their leaders, should in person have a conference with Hamilcar, and make proposals to him. Peace was accordingly concluded, upon the conditions that ten of the ringleaders of the malcontents should be left entirely to the mercy of the Carthaginians, and that the troops should all be disarmed, every man retiring only in a single coat. The treaty was no sooner concluded than Hamilcar, by virtue of the first article, seized upon the negotiators themselves; and the army being informed that their chiefs were under arrest, had immediately recourse to arms, suspecting they were betrayed; but Hamilcar, drawing out his army in order of battle, surrounded them, and either cut them to pieces or trod them to death with his elephants. The number of wretches who perished on this occasion amounted to above 40,000.

After the destruction of the army, Hamilcar invested Tunis, whither Mathos had retired with his remaining forces. The former had another general, named Hannibal, joined in the command with him. Hannibal's quarters were on the road leading to Carthage, and Hamilcar's on the opposite side. The army was no sooner encamped, than Hamilcar caused Spendius and the rest of the prisoners to be led out in the view of the besieged, and crucified near the walls. Mathos, however, observing that Hannibal did not keep so good a guard as he ought to have



done, made a sally, attacked his quarters, killed many of his men, made several prisoners, among whom was Hannibal himself, and plundered his camp. Taking down the body of Spendius from the cross, Mathos immediately substituted Hannibal in his stead; and thirty Carthaginian prisoners of distinction were crucified around him. After this disaster, Hamilcar decamped, and posted himself along the sea-coast, near the mouth of the river Bagrada.

The senate, though greatly terrified by so unexpected a blow, omitted no means necessary for their preservation. They sent thirty senators, with Hanno at their head, to consult with Hamilcar about the proper measures for putting an end to this unnatural war; conjuring Hanno in the most pressing manner to be reconciled to Hamilcar, and to sacrifice his private resentment to the public benefit. This was effected with some difficulty; and the two generals came to a full resolution to act in concert for the good of the public. The senate, at the same time, ordered all the youth capable of bearing arms to be pressed into the service; and by these means a strong reinforcement being sent to Hamilcar, he soon found himself in a condition to act offensively. He now defeated the enemy in every rencounter, drew Mathos into frequent ambuscades, and gave him one notable overthrow near Leptis. This reduced the rebels to the necessity of hazarding a decisive battle, which proved fatal to them. The mercenaries fled almost at the first onset, and most of their army fell either in the field of battle or in the pursuit. Mathos, with a few, escaped to a neighboring town, where he was taken alive, carried to Carthage, and executed; and then, by the reduction of the revolted cities, an end was put to this war, which, from the excesses of cruelty committed in it, went among the Greeks by the name of the *inexpiable war*.

During the Libyan war, the Romans, upon some absurd pretences, wrested from the Carthaginians the island of Sardinia; and the latter, not being able to resist, were

obliged to submit to the loss. Hamilcar, finding his country not in a condition to enter into an immediate war with Rome, formed a scheme to put it on a level with the haughty republic. This was by making an entire conquest of Spain, by which means the Carthaginians might have troops capable of contending with the Romans. In order to facilitate the execution of this scheme, he inspired both his son-in-law Asdrubal, and his son Hannibal, with an implacable aversion to the Romans, as the great enemies of his country's grandeur. And having completed all the necessary preparations, Hamilcar, after greatly enlarging the Carthaginian dominions in Africa, entered Spain, where he commanded nine years, during which time he subdued many warlike nations, and amassed an immense quantity of treasure, which he distributed partly amongst his troops and partly amongst the great men at Carthage, by which means he supported his interests with these two powerful bodies. At last he was killed in a battle, and was succeeded by his son-in-law Asdrubal. This general fully answered the expectations of his countrymen, having greatly enlarged their dominions in Spain, and built the city of New Carthage, now Carthagera. He made such progress in his conquests that the Romans began to be alarmed. They did not, however, choose at present to come to an open rupture, on account of the apprehensions which they entertained of an invasion by the Gauls. They judged it most proper, therefore, to have recourse to milder methods; and prevailed upon Asdrubal to conclude a new treaty with them, upon the conditions that the Carthaginians should not pass the Iberus; and that the Saguntines, a colony of Zacynthians, and a city situated between the Iberus and that part of Spain subject to the Carthaginians, as well as the other Greek colonies there, should enjoy their ancient rights and privileges.

Asdrubal, after having governed the Carthaginian dominions in Spain for eight years, was treacherously murdered by a Gaul, whose

master he had put to death. Three years before this happened, he had written to Carthage to desire that young Hannibal, then twenty-two years of age, might be sent to him. This request was complied with, notwithstanding the opposition of Hanno; and, from the first arrival of the young man in the camp, he became the darling of the whole army. The great resemblance he bore to Hamilcar rendered him extremely agreeable to the troops. He seemed to possess every talent and qualification that contribute towards forming a great commander. After the death of Asdrubal, he was saluted as general by the army with the highest demonstrations of joy. He immediately put himself in motion; and in the first campaign conquered the Olcades, a nation situated near the Iberus. The next year he subdued the Vaccæi, another nation immediately adjoining. Soon afterwards, the Carpætani, one of the most powerful nations in Spain, declared against the Carthaginians. Their army consisted of 100,000 men, with which they proposed to attack Hannibal on his return from the Vaccæi; but by a stratagem they were utterly defeated, and the whole nation obliged to submit.

Nothing now remained to oppose the progress of the Carthaginian arms but the city of Saguntum, the modern Murviedro. Hannibal, however, for some time did not think proper to come to an open rupture with the Romans by attacking that place. At last he found means to embroil some of the neighboring cantons, especially the Turdetani, or, as Appian calls them, the Torboletæ, with the Saguntines, and thus furnished himself with a pretext for attacking their city. On the commencement of the siege, the Roman senate dispatched two ambassadors to Hannibal, with orders to proceed to Carthage in case the general refused to give them satisfaction. But they had scarcely landed, when Hannibal, who was carrying on the siege of Saguntum with great vigor, sent them word that he had something else to do than give audience to ambassadors. At last, however,

he admitted them, and in answer to their remonstrances, told them that the Saguntines had drawn their misfortunes upon themselves, by committing hostilities against the allies of Carthage; at the same time he desired the deputies, if they had any complaints to make of him, to carry them to the senate of Carthage. They did so, and on their arrival in that capital, demanded that Hannibal might be delivered up to the Romans, to be punished according to his deserts. This of course was not complied with, and war was immediately declared between the two nations.

The Saguntines are said to have defended themselves for eight months with incredible bravery. At last, however, the city was taken, and the inhabitants were treated with the utmost cruelty. After this conquest, Hannibal put his African troops into winter quarters at New Carthage; but, in order to gain the affection of the Spaniards, he permitted them to retire to their respective homes.

The next campaign, having taken the necessary measures for securing Africa and Spain, he passed the Iberus, subdued the different nations betwixt that river and the Pyrenees, appointed Hanno commander of all the new conquered districts, and immediately began his march for Italy. The progress of this memorable campaign, which was at first so disastrous to the Romans, but which finally resulted in the ruin of the army of Hannibal; and the destruction of Carthage by Scipio Aemilianus, are narrated in the history of Rome.

Beside Carthage and Egypt, the other principal divisions of the northern coast of Africa were MAURETANIA and NUMIDIA to the west of Carthage, and CYRENE to the east. The ancients gave the general name of LIBYA to the other portions of the coast, and to the territory lying between these provinces and the great Libyan desert. The terms Libya and Ethiopia in ancient geography are very vague, and seem to have been ap-



pied to almost all the unexplored parts of Africa. The boundaries of Mauretania and Numidia are not very accurately known. Mauretania lay to the northwest, on the Atlantic and Mediterranean, comprising a great part of what is now Morocco and Fez. Numidia joined it on the east and extended to the territory of Carthage. The ancient inhabitants of Mauretania were called Mauri, from which the modern name of Moor is derived. Their origin is uncertain. According to Jewish tradition, they were the offspring of Lud the son of Misraim, whose descendants are called Mauri in the scriptures. It is certain that this region, as well as others to the eastward had many colonies planted by the Phœnicians. The earliest legendary prince of Mauretania mentioned in history is Neptune, and next to him were Atlas and Antæus, his two sons, both famous in the Grecian fables on account of their wars with Hercules. Antæus, in his contention with that hero, seems to have acted with great bravery and resolution. Having received reinforcements of Libyan troops, he cut off numbers of Hercules' men. But that celebrated commander, having at last intercepted a strong force of Libyans sent to the relief of Antæus, inflicted on him a total overthrow, in which both he and the greater part of his forces were put to the sword. This decisive action put Hercules in possession of Libya and Mauretania, and consequently of the riches of these kingdoms. Hence arose the fable that Hercules finding that Antæus, a giant of enormous size with whom he was engaged in single combat, received fresh strength as often as he touched his mother earth when thrown upon her, at last lifted him up in the air, and squeezed him to death. Hence, probably, was the origin of the legend of Hercules taking the globe upon his shoulders from Atlas, and overcoming the dragon which protected the garden of the Hesperides, where he gathered all the golden apples which it produced, by which, it is presumed were symbolized the riches which fell into his hands by his victory over

Antæus. With regard to the age in which Antæus and Atlas lived, the supposition of Sir Isaac Newton seems to be the most probable. According to him, Ammon the father of Sesak, was the first king of Libya, or of that vast tract extending from the borders of Egypt to the Atlantic Ocean, the conquest of which was effected by Sesak in his father's lifetime. Neptune afterwards excited the Libyans to a rebellion against Sesak, and slew him, and then invaded Egypt under the command of Atlas or Antæus, the son of Neptune, Sesak's brother and admiral. Not long after, Hercules the general of Thetis and Ethiopia, reduced a second time the whole territory of Libya, having overthrown and slain Antæus near a town in Thetis, from that event called Antarca or Antæopolis. This is supposed to have happened about 1000 B. C. From the defeat of Antæus nothing remarkable occurs in the history of Mauretania till the times of the Romans, who brought the whole country under their jurisdiction, at the same time with the rest of northern Africa.

NUMIDIA, which owed its name to the circumstance that its early inhabitants were pastoral tribes. (Nomades.) These tribes, differing both in descent and character, extended their wanderings from the Nile along the coast as far west as the Fortunate Islands. The limits of the country were therefore for a long time very ill-defined. It was not until the time of the Punic wars that the title of Numidians came to be definitely restricted to the Massæsyli and the Massyli, who dwelt between the River Mulucha on the West, and the Carthaginian territory on the East, and were divided from each other by the River Ampsaga. These two tribes were then athletic and warlike savages, living on the sides of the mountains in little huts called *magalia*, and scouring the plains on horseback without saddle or bridle. From that period, however, the character of the people, and the condition of the country, began to be changed by foreign interference and the events of war. During

the struggle between Hannibal and the Romans, Syphax, the prince of the Massæsyli, espoused the cause of the former, and Masinissa, the prince of the Massyli, espoused the cause of the latter. Syphax was defeated, along with his great ally, in the battle of Zama, B. C. 202; his territories were incorporated with those of the Massyli; all the Carthaginian district with the exception of a portion around the capital city, was added; and Masinissa received possession of the whole, with the title of King of Numidia. It then became the aim of that able prince to civilize his people by the introduction of arts and agriculture. After his death in 148 B. C., the same line of policy was followed, with even more success, by his son and successor Micipsa. But the commotions that broke out in the ensuing reign marred the prosperity which a long peace had been fostering. Jugurtha, the nephew, and Adherbal and Hiempsal, the sons of Micipsa, were left joint-heirs to the throne. The first of these princes was unscrupulous and ambitious, and did not rest until he had defeated and murdered his cousins, and had seized the sceptre of the entire kingdom. This involved the Numidians in a contest with the Romans. After all the wiles of intrigue and the stratagems of war had proved unsuccessful, the usurper was captured and put to death in 106 B. C., and the crown was bestowed upon Hiempsal II. But the disasters of Numidia were not yet ended. Juba I., the son and successor of the last-mentioned prince, espoused the cause of Pompey during the Roman civil war. The final defeat of his party at the battle of Thapsus, in 46 B. C., left him exposed to the vengeance of Cæsar. The desperate state of his affairs drove him to commit suicide; and his kingdom, reduced into the form of a Roman province, was placed under the governorship of Sallust the historian. Soon after this period Numidia began to enter upon a long period of prosperity. The "jus coloniae" was conferred upon its capital, Cirta, and upon its other chief towns. Commerce was diffused by

means of the Roman roads; peace was preserved by means of the Roman soldiers; and the wild Numidian horsemen were thus transformed in course of time into a community of industrious peasants. The gospel found an easy entrance, and prospered so rapidly, that the country is said to have contained in the fifth century no fewer than 123 episcopal sees. It was not until the invasion of the Saracens, in the seventh century, that the prosperity of Numidia, simultaneously with its Christianity, received a fatal blow.

CYRENAICA, or PENTAPOLIS, on the shores of the Mediterranean Sea, lay exactly opposite to Greece in a southerly direction, at the distance of about 250 miles. It received the name of *Cyrenaica* from Cyrene, its chief city; and that of *Pentapolis* from the fact of its containing five principal cities, Berenice or Hesperus, Barce, Cyrene, Apollonia, and Arsinoe. The district included that portion of the African continent which stretched from the borders of Africa Propria, beginning at the town of Ara Philemon on the west, to the frontier of Egypt on the east. The breadth of the district, measuring from the Mediterranean to the confines of the great desert, is about 80 miles.\* On its southern frontier Cyrenaica is protected from the scorching winds of the Sahara by a range of lofty mountains which descend in gradual slopes to the sea, producing thus within a small compass a great variety of climate and temperature. From this circumstance the vegetable products of Cyrenaica comprise almost every species to be found both in the tropical and temperate zones; and as its position was admirably adapted for commerce, nothing was wanting but an enterprising population to turn these advantages to account, and make the country one of the most valuable in the world. The people of Thera, under Battus a native of that island, were the first to colonize Cyrenaica. After a slight opposition from the native tribes, they established themselves in the country, and founded Cyrene B. C. 631.



Other cities soon began to spring up in advantageous situations, which acknowledged Cyrene as the capital of the country, but were really quite independent of it, and at length threw off its yoke altogether. After the invasion of Cambyses the regal form of government was entirely abolished, and the republican substituted in its room. Under the Ptolemaic dynasty of Egypt (with which country Cyrenaica was incorporated B. C. 321), Cyrenaica rose into great importance from the extent and value of its commerce. At the beginning of the first century B. C. it was bequeathed by will to the Romans by Apion, the last lineal representative of the Ptolemies. Soon afterwards it became a Roman province, and along with the island of Crete was governed by a Roman pro-con-

sul. The commercial prosperity of Cyrenaica, however, continued unimpaired till the revolt of the Jews in the province during the reign of Trajan. This revolt was only quelled after the most bloody atrocities had been perpetrated on both sides; and the population was so much diminished in the contest, that the native tribes recommenced their incursions, and overran the province up to the walls of the principal cities. In the middle of the seventh century of the Christian era the whole country passed into the hands of the Saracens. From that time till the present the country has been occupied by tribes of wandering Arabs nominally subject to the pasha of Tripoli. The rest of Libya plays no important part in history.

## BARBARY STATES.

THE present empire of Morocco, along with part of Algeria, was known to the ancients under the name of *Mauretania*. The authentic history of the country begins from the time when the Romans first became acquainted with it, an event which did not take place till toward the end of the second Punic war. But though they then became acquainted with Mauretania, it was a long time before they conquered that country; and its monarchs were of considerable importance in the foreign and domestic wars of the Romans during the intermediate period. At the time of the war with Jugurtha, the throne of Mauretania was occupied by Bocchus, who, under the pretence of friendship, betrayed Jugurtha to the Romans, and in return for this treachery, was confirmed in his kingdom and received into alliance with Rome. On his death the kingdom was divided between his two sons, Bogudes and Bocchus. In the first civil war of Rome, both these monarchs supported the party of Cæsar, who allowed them to retain their power; but in the war between Octavius and Antony, Bocchus assisted the former, and Bogudes the latter. Bocchus in consequence usurped the whole kingdom while his brother was absent in Spain, and retained possession of it till his death in 33 B. C., when Mauretania passed into the hands of the Romans. In the year 25 B. C., Augustus gave Mauretania to Juba II., King of Numidia, in exchange for his own country,

which was then made a Roman province; and that prince seems to have raised the country to a high degree of prosperity, and to have introduced among the natives much of the civilization of Greece and Rome. In the year 40 A. D. Mauretania came for the second time under the power of the Romans, and in 42 A. D. was divided by Claudius into two provinces,—Mauretania Tingitana, nearly corresponding with Morocco; and Mauretania Cæsariensis, comprising part of the modern Algeria. Numerous Roman colonies were founded here, among which Tingis, the modern Tangier, was the most important, and gave its name to the western province; but the Roman power was never firmly established here; and the Moors joined with the Vandals on their invasion in 429. The power of the Vandals was destroyed by Belisarius in 534, but the Moors still continued independent, and made continual inroads on the more civilized portions of the country. In the latter part of the seventh century the Arabs first penetrated into Mauretania as far as the Ocean and the Great Desert; and the natives of the country were either driven to the mountains, or joined with their invaders, and adopted their religion, language, and manners. For a long time after this conquest the country remained in a state of great confusion, and was not united under a single government. After the lapse of a century, however, Edris, a descendant of Mohammed, obtained so much



influence over the Moorish tribes as to be recognized by them as sovereign of the northern part of Morocco, while the southern was still occupied by independent chiefs. This monarch was succeeded by his son of the same name, who founded the city of Fez in 807. In 1055 Abu Bekr, the chief of a sect of warlike fanatics, first assumed the title of sovereign of Morocco, and his grandson and successor founded the city of Morocco, and made it the royal residence. This dynasty, however, came to an end in 1202, when Fez and some of the other provinces asserted their independence. The Mohammedan conquerors of Spain were driven back to Morocco in 1492, and in the next century the territory was again united under a single emperor. This empire, however, which was extended under Al Mansor as far as the confines of Timbuctoo, fell to pieces in the beginning of the seventeenth century. Another dynasty was established in 1648 by Mulai Sherif-el-Fileli, King of Tafilet, whose descendants are still the reigning family. In 1844 Abd-el-Kader, the ameer of Algiers, stirred up the Moors to a war with France, which led to the bombardment of Tangier and the occupation of Mogadore, but peace was concluded and that town evacuated in the same year. In more recent times the tranquillity of the empire has been disturbed, and the power of the sultan weakened, by internal disorders. The depredations of the Riff pirates have been recommenced, and Prussian and French vessels, as well as a Spanish establishment on the coast, suffered in 1855 and 1856 from their outrages. The French government, however, obtained in 1856 compensation from the sultan, which was the first instance of such redress being peaceably granted.

The empire of Morocco is divided into four territories, which were formerly independent kingdoms, but are now subject to the sultan. These are,—Fez, occupying the northern portion, between the Oom-er-Begh and the Mediterranean; Morocco, occupying the centre, between this river and the Atlas;

Suse, occupying the south; and Tafilet, occupying the country to the east of the Atlas. The sub-divisions of these are not at all distinctly marked, though they were formerly believed to consist of several provinces, the names of which were derived in some cases from the natural features of the country, and in others from the tribes that inhabit it. For administrative purposes, Fez and Morocco are each divided into fifteen *ammala*, or districts, while three more are made up by the other territories. These districts sometimes comprise no more than a single town, and sometimes extend over a large tract of country. Each is under the dominion of a *kaid*, who collects the taxes from his subjects. The Sultan of Morocco, over those tribes which are really subject to him, has unlimited power. He is supreme both in civil and ecclesiastical matters, and has titles which signify "Lord of the Faithful," and "Viceroy of God on earth." His power is not limited, as in Turkey, by councils or ministers, but he is himself the sole lord of the life, liberty, and property of his subjects. There is no law in Morocco but the will of the sultan and his subordinates; the inferior officers plunder the people, and are in their turn plundered by the sultan. Wherever he happens to reside, he gives audience personally four times a week for the administration of justice, and sentence is always pronounced without any delay. The dominion of the sultan, however, only extends over the plains, for the Amazighis, who inhabit the mountains, have never been brought into subjection to the Moors, and have a sort of republican government among themselves. The only standing army in Morocco consists of 5,000 negroes, who form the sultan's body-guard. There is also a sort of militia, who are occasionally called out, but receive no pay, except a horse, and a small present when they visit the capital. They are good horsemen and marksmen, but quite undisciplined, and therefore not very effective. The empire is hereditary, and is confined to males; but it is not always

the eldest son who succeeds, and the succession is frequently disturbed by bloodshed and civil war. The revenue is chiefly derived from taxes on corn and cattle, which are paid in kind, and a poll tax on the Jews; but it is very fluctuating, and has often to be raised by force of arms from the Arab tribes.

The kingdom of ALGIERS made formerly a considerable part of the Mauritania Tingitana, which was reduced to a Roman province by Julius Cæsar, and from him also called Mauritania Cæsariensis. The Romans were driven out of that continent by the Vandals, these by Belisarius, the Greek emperor Justinian's general, and the Greeks in their turn by the Saracens. This last revolution happened about the middle of the seventh century, and the Arabs continued masters of the country, divided into a great number of petty kingdoms or states, under chiefs of their own choosing, till the year 1051. In this year Abubeker-ben-Omar, or, as the Spanish authors call him, Abu-TeXefien, an Arab of the Zinhagian tribe, gathered, by the help of his marabouts, or saints, a most powerful army of malcontents, in the southern provinces of Numidia and Libya. His followers were named Marabites or Morabites, by the Spaniards Almoravides, probably from their being assembled principally by the saints, who were also called Morabites. The caliph's forces were at this time employed in quelling other revolts in Syria, Mesopotamia, etc., and the Arabs in Spain were engaged in the most bloody wars; so that Texefien having nothing to fear from them had all the success he could wish against the Arabian sheiks or petty tyrants, whom he defeated in many battles, and at last drove not only out of Numidia and Libya, but out of all the western districts, reducing the whole province of Tingitania under his dominion. Texefien was succeeded by his son Yusef, or Joseph, a brave and warlike prince. He founded the city of Morocco, and engaging in war with the Zeneti,

a powerful tribe who inhabited Tremecen, defeated them in repeated engagements, and finally almost exterminated them. He then extended his conquests over almost all Barbary. Thus was founded the empire of the Morabites, which, however, was of no long duration, that race being in the twelfth century driven out by Mohavedin, a marabout. This race of priests was expelled by Abdulac, governor of Fez, and he in the thirteenth century was stripped of his new conquests by the Scherifs of Hascen, the descendants of those Arabian princes whom Abu-TeXefien had formerly expelled.

The better to secure their new dominions, the Scherifs divided them into several little kingdoms or provinces; and among the rest, the present kingdom of Algiers was divided into four, namely, Tremecen, Tenez, Algiers Proper; and Bujeiah. The first four princes laid so good a foundation for a lasting balance of power between their little kingdoms, that they continued for some centuries in mutual peace and amity; but at length the king of Tremecen having ventured to violate some of their articles, Abul-Farez, king of Tenez, declared war against him, and obliged him to become his tributary. This king dying soon after, and having divided his kingdom among his three sons, new discord arose, which Spain taking advantage of, sent a powerful fleet and army against Barbary, under the count of Navarre, in 1505. This commander soon made himself master of the important cities of Oran, Bujeiah, and some others. Finally, he landed a number of forces near Algiers, and obliged that metropolis to become tributary to Spain.

To this galling yoke the Algerines were obliged to submit till the year 1516, when, hearing of the death of Ferdinand, king of Spain, they sent an embassy to Aruch Barbarossa, who was at that time on a cruise with a squadron of galleys and barks, spreading terror wherever he appeared by his valor and success. The purport of the embassy was, that he should come and free them from the Spanish yoke; for which they agreed to



pay him a gratuity answerable to so great a service. Upon this Barbarossa immediately despatched eighteen galleys and thirty barks to the assistance of the Algerines, while he himself advanced towards the city with 800 Turks, 3000 Jegelites, and 2000 Moorish volunteers. Instead of taking the nearest road to Algiers, he directed his course towards Shershel, where Hassan, another famed corsair, had established himself. Him he surprised, and obliged to surrender, not without a previous promise of friendship; but no sooner had Barbarossa got him in his power, than he beheaded him, and obliged all Hassan's Turkish adherents to follow him in his new expedition.

On Barbarossa's approach to Algiers, he was welcomed by all the people of that metropolis, who looked for deliverance from this daring bandit, whom they accounted invincible. Elated beyond measure with this kind reception, Barbarossa formed a design of becoming king of Algiers; and fearing some opposition from the inhabitants, on account of the excesses he suffered his soldiers to commit, he murdered their prince Eutemi, and caused himself to be proclaimed king; his Turks and Moors crying out as he rode along the streets, "Long live King Aruch Barbarossa, the invincible king of Algiers, the *chosen of God* to deliver the people from the oppression of the Christians; and destruction to all that shall oppose or refuse to own him as their lawful sovereign." These threatening words so intimidated the inhabitants, already apprehensive of a general massacre, that he was immediately acknowledged as king.

Barbarossa was no sooner seated on the throne, than he treated his subjects with such cruelty, that they used to shut up their houses and hide themselves when he appeared in public. In consequence of this, a plot was soon formed against him; but having discovered it, he caused twenty of the principal conspirators to be beheaded, and their bodies to be buried in a dunghill, and laid a heavy fine on those who survived. This so terrified

the Algerines, that they never afterwards dared to attempt anything against either Barbarossa or his successors.

In the meantime the son of Prince Eutemi, having fled to Oran, and put himself under the protection of the marquis of Gomarez, laid before that nobleman a plan for putting the city of Algiers into the hands of the king of Spain. Cardinal Ximenes, having approved of it, sent a fleet with 10,000 land forces, under the command of Don Francisco, or, as others call him, Don Diego de Vera, to drive out the Turks, and restore the young prince; but the fleet no sooner came within sight of land than it was dispersed by a storm, and the greater part of the ships dashed against the rocks. Most of the Spaniards were drowned, and the few who escaped to the shore were either killed by the Turks or made slaves.

Though Barbarossa had nothing to boast on this occasion, his pride and insolence had now risen to such a pitch, that he imagined himself invincible. He found little difficulty in conquering the kingdoms of Tenez and Tremecen. Abuchen Men, however, the exiled sovereign of Tremecen, had recourse to Charles V. then lately arrived in Spain with a powerful fleet and army. That monarch immediately ordered the young king a succor of 10,000 men, under the command of the governor of Oran, who, under the guidance of Abuchen Men, began his march towards Tremecen; and in their way they were joined by Prince Selim, with a great number of Arabs and Moors. The tyrant kept close in his capital, being embarrassed by his fears of revolt, and the politic delays of the king of Fez, who had not sent the auxiliaries he promised. Being now informed that Abuchen Men and his Arabs, accompanied by the Spaniards, were in full march to lay siege to Tremecen, he thought proper to come out at the head of 1500 Turks and 5000 Moorish horse, in order to break his way through the enemy; but he had not proceeded far from the city before his council advised him to return and fortify himself

in it. This advice was now too late, the inhabitants being resolved to shut him out, and open their gates to their own lawful prince as soon as he appeared. In this distress Barbarossa saw no resource but to retire to the citadel. Here he defended himself vigorously; but his provisions failing, he took advantage of a subterraneous path, which he had caused to be dug, and, taking his immense treasures with him, stole away as secretly as possible. His flight, however, was soon discovered; and he was so closely pursued, that to amuse, as he hoped, the enemy, he caused a great part of his money, plate, jewels, etc., to be scattered on the way, thinking they would delay their pursuit in gathering it up. This stratagem, however, failed through the vigilance of the Spanish commander, who being himself at the head of the pursuers, obliged them to march on, till he came up close to him on the banks of the Huexda, about eight leagues from Tremecen. Barbarossa had just crossed the river with his vanguard, when the Spaniards came up with his rear on the other side, and cut them all off; and then crossing the water, overtook him at a small distance from it. Here a bloody engagement ensued, in which the Turks fought like lions; but being at length overpowered by numbers, they were all cut in pieces, and Barbarossa among the rest, in the forty-fourth year of his age, and four years after he had raised himself to the royal title of Jigel.

The news of Barbarossa's death spread the utmost consternation among the Turks at Algiers; however, they caused his brother Hayradin to be immediately proclaimed king. The Spanish commander now sent back the emperor's forces, without making any attempt upon Algiers, by which he lost the opportunity of driving the Turks out of that country; while Hayradin, justly dreading the consequences of the tyranny of his officers, sought the protection of the grand signior. This was readily granted, and he himself appointed bashaw or viceroy of Algiers; by which means he received such con-

siderable re-enforcements, that the unhappy Algerines could attempt no resistance; and such numbers of Turks resorted to him, that he was able not only to keep the Moors and Arabs in subjection at home, but to annoy the Christians at sea.

Hayradin next undertook to build a strong mole for the protection of his ships. In this he employed 30,000 Christian slaves, whom he obliged to labor without intermission for three years, in which time the work was completed. Hayradin soon became dreaded, not only by the Arabs and Moors, but also by the maritime Christian powers, especially the Spaniards. The viceroy failing not to acquaint the grand signior with his success, and obtain from him a fresh supply of money, by which he was enabled to build a strong fort, and to erect batteries on all places that might favor the landing of an enemy. All these have since received greater improvements from time to time.

In the meantime the sultan, either out of a sense of the great services Hayradin had rendered, or perhaps out of jealousy lest he should make himself independent, raised him to the dignity of bashaw of the empire, and appointed Hassan Aga, a Sardinian renegade, an intrepid warrior, and an experienced officer, to succeed him as bashaw of Algiers. Hassan had no sooner taken possession of his new government, than he began to pursue his ravages on the Spanish coast with greater fury than ever, extending them to the Ecclesiastical State, and other parts of Italy. Pope Paul III. exhorted the emperor Charles V. to send a powerful fleet to suppress these frequent and cruel piracies; and, that nothing might be wanting to render the enterprise successful, a bull was published by his holiness, in which a plenary absolution of sins, and the crown of martyrdom, were promised to all those who either fell in battle or were made slaves. The emperor accordingly set sail at the head of a powerful fleet, consisting of one hundred and twenty ships and twenty galleys, having on board 26,000 chosen troops, and an immense quantity of



money, arms, ammunition, etc. In this expedition many young noblemen and gentlemen attended as volunteers, and among these many knights of Malta, so remarkable for their valor against the enemies of Christianity. Even ladies of birth and character attended Charles in his expedition; and the wives and daughters of the officers and soldiers followed them with a design to settle in Barbary after the conquest should be completed. The expedition meeting with a favorable wind, soon appeared before Algiers; every ship displaying the Spanish colors on the stern, and another at the head, with a crucifix to serve for a pilot.

By this prodigious armament the Algerines were thrown into the utmost consternation. The city was surrounded only by a wall, with scarcely any outworks. The whole garrison consisted of 800 Turks and 5000 Moors, without fire-arms, and poorly disciplined and accoutred; the rest of their forces being dispersed in the other provinces of the kingdom, to levy the usual tribute on the Arabs and Moors. The Spaniards landed without opposition, and immediately built a fort, under the cannon of which they encamped, and diverted the course of a spring which supplied the city with water. Being now reduced to the utmost distress, Hassan received a summons to surrender at discretion, on pain of being put to the sword with all the garrison. He was on the point of surrendering the city, when advice was brought to him that the forces belonging to the western government were in full march towards the place; upon which it was resolved to defend it to the utmost. Charles, in the meantime, resolving upon a general assault, kept up a constant firing upon the town; which, from the weak defence made by the garrison, he looked upon as already in his hands. But while the douwan, or Algerine senate, were deliberating on the most proper means of obtaining an honorable capitulation, a mad prophet, attended by a multitude of people, entered the assembly, and foretold a speedy destruction of the

Spaniards before the end of the moon, exhorting the inhabitants to hold out till that time. This prediction was soon accomplished in a very surprising and unexpected manner; for on the 28th of October, 1541, a dreadful storm of wind, rain, and hail, arose from the north, accompanied with violent shocks of earthquake, and a dismal and universal darkness both by sea and land; so that the sun, moon, and elements seemed to combine together for the destruction of the Spaniards. In that one night, some say in less than half an hour, eighty-six ships and fifteen galleys were destroyed, with all their crews and military stores, by which the army on shore was deprived of all means of subsistence. The camp also, which spread itself along the plain under the fort, was laid quite under water by the torrents which descended from the neighboring hills. Many of the troops, endeavoring to remove into some better situation, were cut in pieces by the Moors and Arabs; while several galleys and other vessels, seeking to gain some neighboring creeks along the coasts, were immediately plundered, and their crews massacred, by the inhabitants.

The next morning Charles beheld the sea covered with the fragments of his numerous ships, and the bodies of men and horses floating on the waves. Seeing his affairs desperate, he abandoned his tents, artillery, and all his heavy baggage, and marched in great disorder towards Cape Metafez, in order to re-embark his troops in the few vessels which had survived the tempest. But Hassan, who had caused his motions to be watched, allowed him just time to get to the shore, when he sallied out and attacked the Spaniards in the midst of their confused and hasty embarkation, killing great numbers, and bringing away a still greater number of captives; after which he returned in triumph to Algiers, where he celebrated with great rejoicings his happy deliverance.

Charles having reached the port of Bujeiah on the second of December, was detained there by contrary winds for several weeks,

whence he set sail for Carthage, which he reached without further disaster. In this unfortunate expedition upwards of one hundred and twenty ships and galleys were lost, with above 300 colonels and other land and sea officers, 8000 soldiers and marines, besides those destroyed by the enemy on the re-embarkment, or drowned in the last storm. The number of prisoners was so great that the Algerines sold some of them, by way of contempt, for an onion per head.

Hassan, elated with this victory, in which he had very little share, undertook an expedition against the king of Tremecen, who, being now deprived of the assistance of the Spaniards, was forced to procure a peace by paying a large sum of money, and becoming tributary to him. The bashaw returned to Algiers laden with riches, and soon after died of fever, in the sixty-sixth year of his age.

From this time the Spaniards were never able to annoy the Algerines in any considerable degree. In 1555 they lost the city of Bujeiah, which was taken by Salha Rais, Hassan's successor, who next year set out on a new expedition, which was suspected to be intended against Oran; but he had scarcely got four leagues from Algiers, when the plague, which at that time raged violently in the city, carried him off in twenty-four hours.

The dignity of bashaw passed through several hands, when it was occupied by Hassan, the son of Hayradin. Immediately on his arrival, he engaged in a war with the Arabs, by whom he was defeated with great loss. Next year the Spaniards undertook an expedition against Mostagan, under the command of the count d'Alcandela; but were utterly defeated, the commander himself killed, and 12,000 men taken prisoners.

Hassan engaged in the siege of Marsalquiver, situated near the city Oran, which he designed to invest immediately after. The army employed in this siege consisted of 26,000 foot and 10,000 horse, beside which he had a fleet consisting of thirty-two galleys

and galliots, together with three French vessels laden with biscuit, oil, and other provisions. The city was defended by Don Martin de Cordova, brother of the count d'Alcandela, who had been taken prisoner in the battle where that nobleman was killed, but had obtained his liberty from the Algerines with immense sums, and now made a most gallant defence against the Turks. The city was attacked with the utmost fury by sea and land, so that several breaches were made in the walls. The Turkish standards were several times planted on the walls, and as often dislodged; but the place must have in the end submitted, had not Hassan been obliged to raise the siege in haste, on the news that the famed Genoese admiral Doria was approaching with considerable succors from Italy.

In 1567 Hassan was recalled to Constantinople, where he died three years after. He was succeeded by Mohammed, who gained the love of the Algerines by several public-spirited actions. He incorporated the janizaries and Levantine Turks together, and by that means put an end to their dissensions, which paved the way for making Algiers independent of the Porte. He likewise added some considerable fortifications to the city and castle, which he designed to render impregnable. At this time one John Gascon, a bold Spanish adventurer, formed a design of surprising the whole piratical navy in the bay, and setting them on fire in the night-time. For this he not only had the permission of King Philip II., but was furnished by him with proper vessels, mariners, and fire-works, for the execution of his plot. He came accordingly, unperceived by any, to the very mole-gate, and dispersed his men with their fire-works; but, to their great surprise, they found these so ill mixed, that all their art could not make them take fire. In the mean time Gascon took it into his head, by way of bravado, to go to the mole-gate, and give three loud knocks with the pommel of his dagger. This he had the good fortune to do without meeting with any disturbance or



opposition; but it was not so with his men; for on finding their endeavors unsuccessful, they made such a noise as quickly alarmed the guard posted on the adjacent bastion, from which the alarm quickly spread through the whole garrison. Gascon now finding himself in the utmost danger, sailed off with all possible haste; but he was pursued, overtaken, and brought back a prisoner to Mohammed, who no sooner got him into his power than he immediately caused a gibbet of considerable height to be erected on the spot where Gascon had landed, ordering him to be hoisted up, and hung by the feet to a hook, so that he died in exquisite torture.

Mohammed, being soon after recalled, was succeeded by the renegado Ochali, who reduced the kingdom of Tunis, which, however, remained subject to the viceroy of Algiers only till the year 1586, when a bashaw of Tunis was appointed by the Porte.

The kingdom of Algiers continued to be governed, till the beginning of the seventeenth century, by viceroys or bashaws appointed by the Porte, whose avarice and tyranny were intolerable both to the Algerines and the Turks themselves. At last the Turkish janizaries and militia became powerful enough to depose these petty tyrants, and set up officers of their own. They sent a deputation of some of their chief members to the Porte, to complain of the avarice and oppression of these bashaws, and represent how much more honorable, as well as more economical, it would be for the grand signior to permit them to choose from among themselves their own dey or governor, whose interest it would be to see that the revenue of the kingdom was duly employed in keeping up its forces complete, and in supplying any other exigencies of the state, without any further charge or trouble to the Porte than that of allowing them its protection. On their part, they engaged always to acknowledge the grand signior as their sovereign, to pay him their usual allegiance and tribute, to respect his bashaws, and to lodge and maintain them and their retinue. All con-

cerns which related to the government of Algiers were to be left under the direction of the dey and his douwan.

These proposals having been accepted by the Porte, the deputies returned highly satisfied; and having notified their new privileges, the great douwan immediately proceeded to the election of a dey from among themselves. Altercations, however, frequently happened between the bashaws and deys, the one endeavoring to recover their former power, and the other to reduce it.

In the year 1601 the Spaniards, under the command of Doria, the Genoese admiral, made another attempt upon Algiers, in which they were more fortunate than usual, their fleet being only driven back by contrary winds, so that they came off without loss. In 1609 the Moors, being expelled from Spain, flocked in great numbers to Algiers; and as many of them were very able sailors, they undoubtedly contributed to raise the Algerine fleet to that formidable condition which it soon after reached; though it is probable the frequent attempts made on their city would also induce them to increase their fleet. In 1616 it consisted of forty sail of ships between 200 and 400 tons, their flag ship having 500 tons. It was divided into two squadrons, one of eighteen sail, stationed before the port of Malaga, and the other at the cape of Santa Maria, between Lisbon and Seville, both of which attacked all Christian ships, both English and French, with whom they pretended to be in friendship, as well as Spaniards and Portuguese, with whom they were at war.

The Algerines were now become very formidable to the European powers. The Spaniards, who were most in danger, and least able to cope with them, solicited the assistance of England and other states, and of the pope. The French, however, were the first who dared to show their resentment of these outrages; and in 1671 M. Beaulieu was sent against the Algerines with a fleet of fifty men of war, who defeated their fleet and took two of their vessels, while their admiral

sunk his own ship and crew rather than fall into his enemies' hands.

In 1620 a squadron of English men of war was sent against Algiers, under the conduct of Sir Robert Mansel; but of this expedition we have no other account than that it returned without effecting any thing; and the Algerines, becoming more and more insolent, openly defied all the European powers, the Dutch only excepted, to whom, in 1625, they sent a proposal directed to the prince of Orange, that in case they would fit out twenty sail of ships the following year, upon any good service against the Spaniards, they would join them with sixty sail of their own.

The next year the *Coulolies* or *Cologlies* (the children of such Turks as had been permitted to marry at Algiers), who were enrolled in the militia, having seized on the citadel, had nearly made themselves masters of the city, but were attacked by the Turks and renegadoes, who defeated them with terrible slaughter. Many of them were put to death, and their heads thrown in heaps upon the city-walls, without the eastern gate. Part of the citadel was blown up; and the remaining *Coulolies* were dismissed from the militia, to which they were not again admitted till long after.

In the year 1623 Algiers and the other states of Barbary threw off altogether their dependence on the Porte. No sooner was this resolution taken, than the Algerines began to make prizes of several merchant ships belonging to powers at peace with the Porte. Having seized a Dutch ship and polacre at Scanderoon, they ventured on shore; and finding the town abandoned by the Turkish aga and inhabitants, they plundered all the magazines and warehouses, and set them on fire. About this time Louis XIII. undertook to build a fort on their coasts, in the room of one formerly built by the Marsilians, which they had demolished. This, after some difficulty, he accomplished, and it was called the *Bastion of France*; but the situation being afterwards found inconvenient, the French purchased the port of La Calle, and

obtained liberty to trade with the Aratians and Moors. The Ottoman court, in the mean time, was so much embarrassed with the Persian war, that there was no leisure to check the Algerine piracies. This gave an opportunity to the vizier and other courtiers to compound with the Algerines, and to share their prizes, which were very considerable. However, for form's sake, a severe reprimand, accompanied with threats, was sent them; to which they replied, that "these depredations deserved to be indulged to them, seeing they were the only bulwark against the Christian powers, especially against the Spaniards, the sworn enemies of the Moslem name;" adding, that "if they should pay a punctilious regard to all that could purchase peace, or liberty to trade with the Ottoman empire, they would have nothing to do but set fire to all their shipping, and turn camel-drivers for a livelihood."

In the year 1635 four younger brothers of a good family in France entered into an undertaking so desperate, that perhaps the annals of knight-errantry can scarcely furnish its equal. This was no less than to retort the piracies of the Algerines upon themselves, and this with a small frigate of ten guns! In this ridiculous undertaking one hundred volunteers embarked: a Maltese commission was procured, together with an able master and thirty-six mariners. They had the good fortune, on their first setting out, to take a ship laden with wine on the Spanish coast, with which they were so much elated, that three days after they madly encountered two large Algerine corsairs, one of twenty and the other of twenty-four guns, both well manned, and commanded by able officers. These vessels attacked the frigate so furiously that she soon lost her main-mast; notwithstanding which, the French made so desperate a resistance, that the pirates were not able to take them, till the noise of their fire brought up five more Algerines, when the French vessel, being almost torn in pieces, was boarded and taken. The young knights-errant were punished for their te-



merity by a dreadful captivity, from which they redeemed themselves in 1642 at the price of 6000 dollars.

The Algerines prosecuted their piracies with impunity, to the terror and disgrace of the Europeans, till the year 1652, when a French fleet being accidentally driven to Algiers, the admiral took it into his head to demand a release of all the captives of his nation, without exception. This being refused, the Frenchman without ceremony carried off the Turkish viceroy, and his *cadi* or judge, who had just arrived from the Porte, with all their equipage and retinue. The Algerines, by way of reprisal, surprised the Bastion of France already mentioned, and carried off the inhabitants to the number of 600, with all their effects; which so provoked the admiral, that he sent them word that he would pay them another visit the next year with his whole fleet.

The Algerines, undismayed by the threats of the French admiral, fitted out a fleet of sixteen galleys and galliots, well manned and equipped, under the command of Admiral Hali Pinchinin. The chief design of this armament was to capture the treasure of Loretto, which, however, they were prevented by contrary winds from reaching. They then made a descent on Puglia, in the kingdom of Naples, where they ravaged the whole territory of Necotra, carrying off a vast number of captives. Thence steering towards Dalmatia, they scoured the Adriatic; and, having collected immense plunder, left these coasts in the utmost consternation and resentment.

At last the Venetians, alarmed at such terrible depredations, equipped a fleet of twenty-eight sail, under the command of Admiral Capello, with express orders to burn, sink, or take, all the Barbary corsairs he should meet. An engagement ensued, in which the Algerines were defeated, and five of their vessels disabled, with the loss of 1500 men, Turks and Christian slaves, besides 1600 galley-slaves who regained their liberty. Pinchinin, after this defeat, returned

to Valona, where he was again watched by Capello: but the latter had not lain long at his old anchorage before he received a letter from the senate, desiring him to make no further attempt on the pirates at that time, for fear of a rupture with the Porte. The brave Venetian was forced to comply; but resolving to take such a leave of the Algerines as he thought they deserved, attacked them with such bravery, that, without any great loss, his men towed out their sixteen galleys, with all their cannon, stores, etc. To conceal this, Capello was ordered to sink all the Algerine ships he had taken, except the admiral's, which was to be conducted to Venice, and laid up as a trophy. Capello came off with a severe reprimand; but the Venetians were obliged to purchase, with 500,000 ducats, a peace from the Porte.

The news of this defeat and loss filled Algiers with the utmost grief and confusion. The whole city was on the point of a general insurrection, when the bashaw and douwan issued a proclamation, forbidding complaints and outcries, under the severest penalties. In the mean time they applied to the Porte for an order that the Venetians settled in the Levant should make up their loss. But with this the grand signior refused to comply, and left them to repair their losses, as well as build new ships, in the best manner they could.

The pirates did not long continue in their weak and defenceless state; being able, at the end of two years, to appear at sea with a fleet of sixty-five sail. Admiral Pinchinin equipped four galliots at his own expense, with which, in conjunction with the *chiayah*, or secretary of the bashaw of Tripoli, he made a second excursion. This small squadron, consisting of five galleys and two brigantines, fell in with an English ship of forty guns, which, however, Pinchinin's captains refused to engage; but being afterwards reproached by him for their cowardice, they swore to attack the next Christian ship that should come in their way. This happened to be a Dutch merchantman of twenty-eight

guns, which, however, beat them off with great loss. But though Pinchinin thus returned in disgrace, the rest of the fleet quickly returned with vast numbers of slaves, and an immense quantity of rich spoils; insomuch that the English, French, and Dutch, were obliged to court the mighty Algerines, who sometimes vouchsafed to be at peace with them, but swore eternal war against Spain, Portugal, and Italy, whom they looked upon as the greatest enemies to the Mahometan name. At last Louis XIV., provoked by the grievous outrages committed by the Algerines on the coasts of Provence and Languedoc, ordered, in 1681, a considerable fleet to be fitted out against them, under the marquis du Quesne, vice-admiral of France. His first expedition was against a number of Tripolitan corsairs, who had the good fortune to escape him, and shelter themselves in the island of Scio, belonging to the Turks. This did not, however, prevent him from pursuing them thither, and making such a terrible fire upon them as quickly destroyed fourteen of their vessels, besides battering the walls of the castle.

This severity seemed only to be designed as a check to the piracies of the Algerines; but finding they still continued their outrages on the French coast, he sailed to Algiers in August, 1682, cannonading and bombarding it so furiously, that the whole town was in flames in a very short time. The great mosque was battered down, and most of the houses laid in ruins, insomuch as the inhabitants were on the point of abandoning the place; when on a sudden the wind changed, and obliged Du Quesne to return to Toulon. The Algerines immediately made reprisals, by sending a number of galleys and galliots to the coast of Provence, where they committed the most dreadful ravages, and brought away a vast number of captives; upon which a new armament was ordered to be prepared at Toulon and Marseilles against the next year; and the Algerines, having received timely notice, put themselves in as good a state of defence as the time would allow.

In May, 1683, Du Quesne, with his squadron, cast anchor before Algiers; where, being joined by the Marquis d'Affranville at the head of five stout vessels, he resolved to bombard the town next day. Accordingly, 100 bombs were thrown into it the first day, which did terrible execution; while the besieged made some hundred discharges of their cannon without doing any considerable damage. The following night the bombs were again thrown into the city in such numbers, that the dey's palace and other great edifices were almost destroyed; some of their batteries were dismantled, and several vessels sunk in the port. The dey and Turkish bashaw, as well as the whole soldiery, alarmed at this dreadful devastation, sued for peace. As a preliminary, the immediate surrender of all Christian captives who had been taken fighting under the French flag was demanded; which being granted, 142 of them were immediately given up, with a promise of sending the remainder as soon as they could be got from the different quarters of the country. Accordingly Du Quesne sent his commissary-general, and one of his engineers, into the town, but with express orders to insist upon the delivery of all the French captives without exception, together with the effects taken from the French; and that Mezomorto, the admiral, and Hali Rais, one of their captains, should be given as hostages.

This last demand having embarrassed the dey, he assembled the douwan, and acquainted them with it; upon which Mezomorto broke out into a violent passion, and told the assembly that the cowardice of those who sat at the helm had occasioned the ruin of Algiers; but that, for his part, he would never consent to deliver up anything that had been taken from the French. He immediately acquainted the soldiery with what had passed; which so exasperated them that they murdered the dey that very night, and next day choose Mezomorto in his place. The new dey immediately cancelled all the articles of peace, and hostilities were renewed with



greater fury than ever. The siege was resumed with redoubled energy, and the French admiral now kept pouring in such volleys of bombs, that in less than three days the greater part of the city was reduced to ashes; and the fire burned with such vehemence, that the sea was illumined by it for more than two leagues around. Mezomorto, unmoved at all these disasters, and the vast number of the slain, whose blood ran in rivulets along the streets, or rather growing furious and desperate, sought only revenge; and not content with causing the French in the city to be cruelly murdered; ordered their consul to be tied hand and foot, and fastened alive to the mouth of a mortar, whence he was shot away. By this piece of inhumanity Du Quesne was so exasperated, that he did not leave Algiers till he had utterly destroyed their fortifications, shipping, almost all the lower, and above two-thirds of the upper part of the city, by which means it became little else than a heap of ruins.

The haughty Algerines were now thoroughly convinced that they were not invincible; they therefore immediately sent an embassy into France, begging in the most abject terms for peace, which Louis immediately granted, to their inexpressible joy. They now began to pay some regard to other nations, and to be a little cautious how they wantonly incurred their displeasure. The first bombardment of the French had so far humbled the Algerines, that they condescended to enter into a treaty with England, which was renewed upon terms very advantageous to the latter in 1686. It is not to be supposed, however, that the rooted perfidy of the Algerines would at once disappear. Notwithstanding this treaty, they lost no opportunity of making prizes of the English ships which they could conveniently reach. Upon some outrage of this kind, Captain Beach drove ashore and burnt seven of their frigates in 1695, which produced a renewal of the treaty five years after; but it was not until the taking of Gibraltar and Port Mahon that

Britain could have a sufficient check upon them to enforce the observation of treaties, and they have since paid a greater deference to the English than any other European nation.

The eighteenth century furnishes no very remarkable events with regard to Algiers, except the taking of the city of Oran from the Spaniards in 1708 (which, however, they regained in 1737), and the expulsion of the Turkish bashaw, and uniting his office to that of dey, in 1710.

The increasing naval power of the great European states in this century, made the Barbary corsairs more cautious in their attacks, which were now chiefly confined to the weaker states in the vicinity of the Mediterranean, particularly those of Naples and Sardinia;—not only attacking their vessels, but making descents upon their shores, and carrying off not only property but also persons of every age, sex and rank, and disposing of them as slaves. Europe, engrossed by the mightier evils in which it was involved during thirty years' war, bestowed comparatively little attention on this partial distress. At the Congress of Vienna, however, when the peace of the Continent appeared to be established on a permanent basis, the attention of the sovereigns was laudibly called to every quarter from which it could suffer disturbance. The evil in question, by which numerous individuals, often of a respectable place in society, were torn from their homes, immured in dungeons, and exposed to every outrage, could not fail to appear of the first magnitude. The Congress, having been unexpectedly broken up, did not come to any final decision. The subject, however, continued to be agitated in the councils of Britain, and her gallant officers who had been employed in the Mediterranean strongly represented the propriety of interference. The Dutch, at the same time, her now friendly neighbors, cordially concurred in promoting this common interest of humanity.

The first step taken was to send squadrons under Lord Exmouth to Algiers, and Sir

Thomas Maitland to Tunis, with a demand for the general liberation of the slaves actually in bondage, and the entire discontinuance, for the future, of this detestable trade. Overawed by the immense power with which they knew these demands to be supported, they returned a conciliatory answer. They dismissed a number of slaves actually in their hands, and engaged that only the final sanction of the Porte should be wanting to abolish forever the system of Christian slavery. The British commanders then returned to England with their fleets, which were immediately laid up.

Tunis, which had imbibed some portion of European humanity and civilization, and was better aware of its real interests and position, adhered very tolerably to the terms stipulated. But Algiers, bred in rapine, furiously repelled a system which opened to its rovers the fearful prospect of being obliged to earn a subsistence by honest industry. So dreadful was the ferment that a plan, it is said, had been formed to assassinate Lord Exmouth on his way to the ship. The dey, raised from the dregs of the soldiery, and sharing all their barbarism, allowed full scope to their violence, and sought only to secure himself against its effects. He formed alliances with the Porte, the emperor of Morocco, and other leading Mussulman potentates; he strengthened Algiers with new works, and prepared to brave the utmost fury of the Christian powers. Under these precautions, the system of Christian piracy was commenced with redoubled activity, to compensate for the late suspension, and to repair the loss of the slaves who had been given up. The Algerine soldiery, in their blind fury had recourse to an outrage still more terrible. A number of vessels, belonging to Naples and other Mediterranean states, had been in the practice of assembling at Bona to carry on the pearl fishery, in which, upon payment of an annual tribute, they were protected by the Algerine state. Suddenly these peaceful and industrious fishermen were surrounded by a band of Moors,

who commenced an indiscriminate massacre, which could not be justified on any ground or pretence, and seems to have no object but to show their implacable hatred to the Christian name.

As soon as the tidings of this dreadful outrage arrived in England, they kindled at once a just indignation, and a determination to follow up to the utmost the measures projected against this common pest of the civilized world. Lord Exmouth's fleet was re-equipped with almost incredible dispatch. Early in July, 1816, he sailed with five ships of the line and eight smaller vessels and arrived at Gibraltar in the beginning of August, when he was joined by a Dutch fleet of six frigates under Admiral Capellen. Having remained at Gibraltar a short time, to make some necessary preparations, Lord Exmouth sent forward Captain Dashwood, of the *Prometheus*, to bring away, if possible the consul and his family. Captain Dashwood was strictly interrogated as to Lord Exmouth's armament, of which the dey had received information from a French vessel, and from other quarters. He contrived to evade the questions; and though he found it impossible to obtain the consul's release, he managed to bring off his wife and daughter, disguised in the uniform of naval officers. An attempt was also made to carry off his infant child in a basket, but it betrayed itself by its cries; however, the dey, with unusual humanity, allowed the child to follow the mother. The consul himself was thrown into close confinement. The dey, meantime, was exerting himself in the most extraordinary manner to put the place in a posture of defence. The batteries on the mole, and all other points commanding the harbor, were strengthened and enlarged; and armed men, to the number of forty thousand, were brought in from the surrounding country.

Lord Exmouth, being detained by calms and contrary winds, did not anchor in front of Algiers till the 26th, when he sent a flag of truce under cover of the *Severn* gun-brig, with a peremptory demand of certain



conditions, which, however, were extremely moderate. They consisted in the final abolition of Christian slavery—the immediate liberation of all slaves now within the territory of Algiers—the repayment of all ransoms obtained since the commencement of the year—the liberation of the consul and all British subjects now in confinement. On the Severn arriving in front of the mole, the captain of the port came out to meet the English, and invited them to enter the city. Salame, the interpreter, declined, but presented the conditions, demanding that an answer should be sent within an hour. The captain, not without some reason, replied that this was a period wholly inadequate to decide on so important a demand. Hereupon two or three hours were allowed; and two were declared by the captain to be sufficient. Meantime, a favorable breeze having sprung up, Lord Exmouth moved forward his ships to within a mile of the harbor, where he held himself ready for action. Salame waited three hours and a half, when no boat appearing from the land, he steered for the fleet, making signals of the failure of his mission; after which steps were immediately taken for commencing operations.

Algiers was fortified in the strongest manner, and by all the resources of nature and art. The mole, considered a masterpiece of defensive architecture, was encircled by four batteries, respectively of forty-four, forty-eight, sixty-six and sixty guns. All the range of steeps facing the sea, on which the city was built, were covered with batteries which could keep up a united fire upon an assailing fleet. Lord Exmouth, undismayed, bore up into the center of this mighty line of defence, and placed the Queen Charlotte within fifty yards of the mole,—a bold and happy position, where her own fire was more effective than elsewhere and many of the principal Turkish guns could not bear upon her. The other ships took their stations in line; while the Dutch squadron, which could not find room in front of the mole, was detached to the flanks, to occupy the fire of bat-

teries which might otherwise have borne on the English. The fleets were placed in this formidable array, yet all was still silent, and the surrounding heights were crowded with spectators, who came as to a show. Lord Exmouth began to hope that the dey was yet to yield, when three shots were fired from the batteries. They were instantly returned, and a fire commenced, as animated and well supported as was ever witnessed. The British navy, pitched against these iron walls, underwent as hard and doubtful a struggle as it had ever maintained against the strongest array of hostile fleets. The atmosphere was filled with so thick a smoke, as to render it impossible for one ship to discern the position of another. About sunset Admiral Milne communicated that his vessel the Impregnable, had lost 150 killed and wounded, and that he stood in urgent need of a frigate to divert some part of the fire now directed against them. Soon, however, the enemy's efforts began to slacken; the principal batteries were successively silenced; ship after ship caught fire, till the flame spread over the whole fleet, and reached the arsenal; the harbor and bay were illuminated by one mighty and united blaze. At ten o'clock, seven hours after the commencement of this hard combat, the destruction of the Algerine naval force was complete; but as some distant batteries still kept up a harassing fire, Lord Exmouth gave the signal to steer out into the bay, which was speedily accomplished.

Next morning Lord Exmouth, confident that the dey was now sufficiently humbled, sent a letter, in which, after enumerating the heavy wrongs which had called forth this signal chastisement, he repeated the moderate terms already offered, adding, that in the event of their being now accepted, three guns should be fired as a signal. This letter was sent in the same boat as the day before, with instructions to wait three hours. As soon as the English boat was seen, another came out having on board the captain of a frigate, who received the letter and intimated that there

was no doubt of its terms being complied with; pretending even that, had a little longer time been allowed the day before, the conflict would have been unnecessary. Accordingly, in an hour and a half three shots were fired, and a boat immediately came out, on board of which were the captain of the port and the Swedish consul. All the demands were granted, and the dey in vain attempted, on various pretexts, to evade or delay the execution. The captives, to the number of 1083, were set at liberty; ransoms amounting to 382,500 dollars were repaid to Sicily and Sardinia; the consul was liberated, and received a compensation for the insults he had endured; in fine, a treaty was signed, by which the dey bound himself to discontinue the practice of Christian slavery, and hereafter to treat prisoners of war according to the established practice of civilized nations.

In this desperate contest the English lost 128 killed and 690 wounded, the Dutch 13 killed and 52 wounded. Lord Exmouth received two slight hurts, and his clothes were cut with several balls. The enemy lost four frigates, five large corvettes, and thirty gunboats. All their arsenals were consumed, and their principal batteries reduced to a state of ruin. The city was also greatly injured, Salame having counted no less than thirty shots which had passed through the walls of the consul's house.

The Algerines, notwithstanding this severe and merited chastisement, did not long adhere to sentiments of moderation. No time was lost, and no effort spared to place the city in a more formidable state of defence than ever; and they considered themselves again in a condition to set even the great powers at defiance. Annoyances were begun against the French trade; and the consul having made remonstrances on the subject, was grossly insulted. France then declared war, and sent a fleet against Algiers; but the fortifications on the sea-side were so strong, that for more than a year her ships could only prolong an ineffective blockade.

At length war on a great scale was resolved on. A large fleet under Admiral Duperre, and a land force of upwards 30,000 men under General Bourmont, then minister at war, sailed from Toulon in the end of May, 1830. After some delay in the bay of Palma in Majorca, this armament reached the coast of Africa, and the troops began to land on the morning of the 14th of June, upon the western side of the peninsula of Sidi Ferruch, in the bay of Torre Chica. The disembarkation began at a quarter past four, and continued till twelve. The Algerines at first showed only flying parties of horse, which retreated before the fire of two steam-vessels. Afterwards they opened a somewhat brisk fire from several batteries, which having kept up for several hours, not without some loss, on the part of the French, they retreated.

The army continued for some days landing their provisions and stores, with only slight annoyance from flying troops of cavalry. On the 19th, however, the Turkish troops in Algiers being reinforced by the contingents of the beys of Constantine, Oran, and Titterie, a general attack was made with a force of 40,000 or 50,000 men. They advanced, outflanking the French army, and charged with such impetuosity as to penetrate the line at several points. After a very obstinate conflict they were compelled to retreat, and their camp was taken and plundered. The French admit a loss of 60 killed and 450 wounded; and the son of the commander-in-chief died of his wounds.

The Algerine troops renewed their attacks on the 24th and 25th, when, after hard combats, they were again repulsed. The French then advanced upon Algiers; on the 29th the trenches were opened, and at four in the morning on the 4th of July the batteries began their fire, which was returned with much vigor. At ten the fort called Emperor, being no longer defensible, was blown up by the enemy, with a tremendous explosion. The French commander took possession of its ruins, where he received a flag of truce: be-



fore the close of the day a treaty was concluded for the entire surrender of Algiers; and next day, 5th of July, the French flag waved on its forts. Twelve ships of war, 1500 brass cannon, and £2,028,500 sterling, came into the hands of the conquerors. The Turkish troops were permitted to go wherever they pleased, provided they left Algiers; and the bey chose Naples for his place of retirement, while most of the soldiers desired to be landed in Asia Minor.

The capture of Algiers was celebrated in France with great demonstrations of joy. This was the first military exploit of any brilliancy of which France could boast since the downfall of Napoleon. General Bourmont was raised to the rank of marshal, and Admiral Duperre was promoted to the peerage. The ministry had hoped by this war to render themselves popular with a people so enthusiastically fond of military glory, and to divert the public attention from their mal-administration. But three weeks after the capture of Algiers, the revolution of 1830 dethroned the elder branch of the house of Bourbon, and placed the crown on the head of the Duke of Orleans. On receiving intelligence of this event, the army in Algiers declared in favor of the revolutionists. General Clausel was appointed to succeed Marshal Bourmont, with instructions to reduce to obedience all the provinces dependent on Algiers, and to promote commerce and agriculture by encouraging the settlement of European emigrants. The new governor found himself placed in circumstances requiring the greatest prudence, both in his intercourse with the natives, and in his military operations. The French army, which had not been there three months, was already reduced, by the loss of 15,000 men, killed, wounded, or sick; and from the unsettled state of the country at home, the French government was unable to render him any efficient assistance. The conquerors, instead of attempting to gain the good will of the natives, had destroyed a number of their mosques, seized upon lands set apart for re-

ligious purposes, and attempted to introduce their own forms and usages in the place of those of the country,—the consequence of which was that the natives imbibed the greatest abhorrence of their oppressors, whom they looked upon as the enemies of God and their prophet. General Clausel incensed them still more by seizing upon the possessions of the dey, the beys, and the expelled Turks, in direct violation of the conditions on which the capital had been surrendered. Colonists, however, now began to arrive from Europe, particularly from France and Germany, and a model farm was laid out in the vicinity of Algiers for the purpose of instructing the inhabitants in the arts of cultivation. Bona was taken possession of, and an incursion made into the southern province of Titterie, when the troops of the bey were defeated, and Mediah taken. The beys of Titterie and Oran were deposed; the former being sent to France, and a pension of 12,000 francs granted him; and the latter to Alexandria. Clausel established tributary rulers in the provinces, and actively assisted them when attacked by the hostile Arabs, while he severely punished those who were faithless in their engagements to him. Still the war continued. Mediah was evacuated, and Oran abandoned. The French were incessantly harassed by irruptions of hordes of the Arabs, so that no Frenchman was safe even in the vicinity of the town, and little reliance could be placed on the fidelity of the beys who governed the provinces. In these circumstances a corps of irregular Arab troops was organized; and Clausel entered into an engagement with the bey of Tunis, by which the provinces of Constantine and Oran were transferred to two brothers of the latter, on condition of their paying an annual tribute of a million of francs, and of their doing all in their power to promote the settlement of the French in the country. The French government, however, refused to sanction this treaty, on the ground that the governor had exceeded his powers. General Berthezene was now appointed com-

mander-in-chief of the troops, although Clausel was still allowed to retain the title of governor of the colony. The warlike operations were continued during the ensuing spring and summer (1831), and several expeditions were made into the interior, to chastise the hostile tribes; but on the approach of the French troops, these wild hordes deserted their villages, dispersed themselves over the country, and again collecting, hung upon the rear of the army on its return.

In one of these expeditions (in June, 1836,) the French having gone to assist the new bey of Mediah whom the inhabitants refused to acknowledge, were attacked in their retreat by a numerous army of nomad tribes, which engaged them in incessant skirmishes, in which a great number of the French were slain. It was no longer possible to keep Benda and Mediah in subjection, and the newly-installed bey was obliged to take refuge in Algiers. In October, Bona was surrounded and taken by the Kabyles. There was now no safety but in the town of Algiers; and the government found itself compelled, at the same time, to support the emigrants who had settled there. Agriculture was consequently neglected; and it was necessary to send to France for a supply of provisions, and for fresh troops.

The French government now determined to try the effect of a change in the administration of the colony, and entrusted the civil and military jurisdictions to distinct officers. Accordingly, in the end of the year 1831, Savary, Duke of Rovigo, was sent out as governor with an additional force of 16,000 men, and Baron Pichon was placed at the head of the civil administration of the colony; but in consequence of the conflicts between the two powers, they were both afterwards united in the hands of the governor. The determination of the French government to retain permanent possession of Algiers was now no longer doubtful. The new governor, the Duke of Rovigo, did not disdain to have recourse to fraud and cruelty for the accomplishment of his purpose.

Among his exploits was the extirpation of an Arab tribe, on account of a robbery committed by them, when not only the men, but the women and children were massacred in the night time; as were also two Arab chiefs, whom he had enticed into his power by a written assurance of safety. These proceedings still farther exasperated the natives, and those tribes which had hitherto remained quiet now embraced the cause of their countrymen.

About this time Abd-el-Kader first appears as an opponent to the French. For fourteen years, this chief, with a few nomadic Arab tribes, kept in check the forces of one of the most powerful nations in the world. His father, a marabout of the tribe of Hachem, had collected a few of the hostile tribes, and attacked and taken possession of Oran. On this the tribes wished to acknowledge him as their chief; but this, on account of his great age, he declined in favor of his son Abd-el-Kader, who, he said, united in himself all the qualities of intelligence, activity, valor and piety, necessary to insure success; farther adding, that in his journey to Mecca, an old *fakir* had predicted that his son would one day become sultan of the Arabs. Abd-el-Kader was born about the beginning of 1807, at the *ghetna* of his father, in the vicinity of Mascara. The *Ghetna* is a seminary where the marabouts instruct the young Arabs in literature, theology and jurisprudence. Abd-el-Kader early distinguished himself in these branches, and soon acquired great reputation among his countrymen for his learning. Nor did he neglect those manly exercises for which the Arabs are distinguished, but was remarkable for his skill in horsemanship, and in throwing the lance and wielding the yatagan. He made two pilgrimages to Mecca in company with his father, once when only a child, and again in 1828, by which he obtained the title of *Hadji*. On his return he married a female whom he tenderly loved, and by whom he has two sons. He also visited Egypt, for the purpose of observing the civilization



which had been introduced there under Mahomet Ali. At the time that his father was proclaimed emir, he was living in obscurity, distinguished by the austerity of his manners, his piety, and his zeal in observing all the precepts of the Koran. Having resolved to devote himself to the defence of his country, he, by great exertions, collected an army of 10,000 horsemen, with whom, accompanied by his father, he marched to attack the town of Oran, which had been taken possession of by the French. They arrived before the town about the middle of May, 1832; but after continuing their attack for three days with great bravery, they were repulsed with considerable loss.

In this first essay of Abd-el-Kader as a soldier, he is said to have conducted himself with extraordinary bravery. He several times threw himself into the thickest of the fight, to teach the Arabs not to dread the fire of the artillery. This enterprise was followed by a series of contests more or less severe between the parties, without any permanent or decided advantage being gained by either. In March, 1833, the Duke of Rovigo was obliged, on account of his declining health, to return to France, and General Avizard was appointed interim governor; but the latter dying shortly afterwards, General Voirol was nominated his successor. Abd-el-Kader was still extending his influence more and more widely among the Arab tribes, and now resolved to subdue the whole province of Mascara. He accordingly marched to Tlemecen, which at that time was in the possession of two separate factions; the Turks occupying the citadel, and the Moors the rest of the town. Abd-el-Kader began by attacking the Moors, whose chief soon took to flight, and the inhabitants surrendered the town. He treated them with great kindness, and set a new chief over them; but he was not equally successful with the Turks, who refused to surrender; and not having been able to force the citadel, he returned to Mascara, where he heard with great grief of the death of his father. The

French now considered it their interest to offer the emir conditions of peace. A treaty was accordingly concluded with him by General Desmichels, governor of Oran; one of the conditions of which was, that the emir was to have a monopoly of the trade with the French in corn. This part of the treaty General Desmichels at first endeavored to keep secret from the government; but they soon heard of it, from the disputes which arose, and the general was consequently removed from his post. Towards the end of 1834, Drouet Count d'Erlon was appointed governor-general of the colony; and under him were appointed a commander of the troops, a commander of the naval forces, and several other officers. Tribunals of justice were also established, by which both French and natives were allowed to enjoy their respective laws. From the tranquil state of the country at this time, the new governor was enabled to devote his attention to its improvement. The French soon became jealous of the power of the emir; and on the pretence that he had been encroaching on their territory, General Trezel, who had succeeded Desmichels in the governorship of Oran, was sent out against him with a considerable force. The two armies met at the River Macta, where the French army was routed with great slaughter on the 28th of June, 1835. On the news of this defeat the government resolved effectually to humble Abd-el-Kader, and sent Marshal Clausel to Algiers for that purpose, where he arrived in August, 1835. On the 26th of November following, he set out, at the head of 11,000 men, for Mascara, which he reached on the 6th of the following month. On his arrival, finding the town totally deserted, he destroyed it, and afterwards returned to Algiers, persuading himself, if we may judge from his bulletins, that he had extirpated the Arab power. Some time after this the emir attacked General d'Arlanges and a company of 3000 men, on the Tafna. The contest was continued for some time with great vigor, but the French troops were at length

put to flight. On this General Bugeaud was commissioned to put down the emir either by hostile or pacific measures. Conciliatory means having failed, he attacked the Arabs at the pass of Sikak, on the 6th of July, 1836, and gained a complete victory over them; but not having sufficiently followed up this advantage, the emir in a few months had so far recovered himself that the French were fain to conclude a treaty with him, even on terms very advantageous to the Arabs. By the terms of this treaty, Abd-el-Kader was allowed to retain possession of those parts of country that were already in subjection to him, with liberty to purchase from the French such military stores as he required; while on his side he was bound to acknowledge the sovereignty of France, and to deliver for the use of the French army a stipulated quantity of provisions. This treaty was concluded on the 30th of May, 1837. Previous to this, however, Marshal Clausel made an unsuccessful attack upon Constantine. He arrived before the town after a very fatiguing march on the 21st of November, 1836, with a force of about 9000 men. After several unsuccessful attacks upon the town, he was obliged to retreat. In this expedition he lost a great number of soldiers through exhaustion and disease; and this failure occasioned his recall from his government. His successor, General Damremont, arrived on the 3d of April, 1837; and after subjecting some tribes of the Kabyles who had revolted, he directed his attention to the capture of Constantine—for which purpose he collected a force of 12,000 men, partly Europeans and partly natives. With this army he arrived before the town on the 6th of October without encountering any opposition on his march. The town was defended by 6000 or 7000 men, chiefly Kabyles, under the command of Ben Aissa, the deputy of the bey. After a very gallant defence, the town was taken by storm on the 13th of that month by General Vallée, General Damremont having been killed by a cannon ball on the preceding day. On

the capture of the city, the neighboring tribes hastened to make their submission to the conquerors; and a strong garrison being left to defend the town, the army retraced its steps to Bona, where it arrived on the 3d of November. As a reward for his services, General Vallée was made a marshal, and appointed governor-general of the colony. Disputes with the emir as to the boundaries of his territory were very frequent, until at length war was again declared between the parties. The French have endeavored to fix upon the emir the infringement of both these treaties; but the truth seems to be, that it was occasioned by their jealousy of his growing power; and even some of themselves admit that he can be accused of no breach of faith, and that, in both instances, the formal violation of the treaties was by the French. The emir, like a good general, had employed those intervals of peace in extending his influence among his subjects, chastising those tribes that refused to acknowledge him, and treating those who submitted to his authority with the greatest kindness. He set rulers and chiefs on whom he could depend over the divisions and subdivisions of his territory, and bestowed the greatest attention on the military training of his subjects.

The immediate cause of the war on this occasion was the marching of an armed force of French troops through the emir's territory. This the latter looked upon as an infringement of the treaty, and consequently declared war. On the 14th of December, 1839, he fell upon the French troops in the plain of Metidja, and routing them with great slaughter, took and destroyed their settlements. He even advanced as far as the very walls of Algiers, and soon reduced their possessions to the fortified places which they occupied. On this the French army in Africa was augmented, and numerous skirmishes took place without any decisive results to either party, the only thing worthy of notice being the gallant and successful defence, for four days, of Fort Mazagran,



near Mostagan, by a garrison of 123 men, against from 12,000 to 13,000 of the enemy. The campaign was opened on the part of the French, on the 25th of April, 1840, when they set out with a considerable force to take possession of the towns of Mediah and Milianah. Although successful, the permanent results of this expedition were comparatively trifling. The garrisons left behind found themselves so surrounded by enemies that they could not trust themselves without their walls; and even when the French arms were successful at a distance, no one could consider himself secure immediately without the walls of Algiers. The French government being dissatisfied with Marshal Vallée's want of success, appointed General Bugeaud as his successor. The new governor-general arrived at Algiers on the 22d of February, 1841. On opening the campaign his first object was to provision Mediah and Milianah. Having accomplished this, he next marched at the head of 11,000 men to Jekedemt, the principal stronghold of Abd-el-Kader. When he arrived there on the 25th of May, he found it abandoned by its inhabitants, on which he ordered it to be destroyed, and the citadel, which had been built by the emir to be blown up. From hence the general went to Mascara, which he entered on the 30th of the month. In October following he set out for Laida, the only remaining stronghold in the possession of the emir, which he took, and entirely demolished. These misfortunes of the emir caused numerous defections among his subjects; none of them now offered any opposition to the French, and several of them became their allies. The region towards the borders of Morocco being still unsubdued, an expedition was sent into that territory in January, 1842. On the 30th of that month they took the town of Tlemecen, and ten days afterwards the fort of Tafrua, which they demolished. The troops of Abd-el-Kader having been almost entirely destroyed by so many misfortunes, he was obliged to take refuge in Morocco, and most of his subject tribes

now submitted to the French. But Abd-el-Kader was not yet overcome; he appeared again with a small force, and going from tribe to tribe, exhorted them, by all they held dear and sacred, to bestir themselves, and by one vigorous effort to drive the invaders out of their country. By these means he was able to raise a considerable force, and he made up for the want of troops by the rapidity of his movements. He suddenly made an attack upon one of the French territories, when he was supposed to be in quite a contrary direction, and even advanced to within a short distance of Mascara. An army was accordingly sent out against him, which advanced south as far as the sources of the Taguin, but without coming up to the enemy. On their retreat, however, a conflict took place at Isna, in which the Arabs were defeated, and the emir himself narrowly escaped being taken prisoner. On this the French troops returned to Mascara, in the end of November, 1842. The emir now stirred up the Kabyles of Bougie to make an attack upon Cherchell. In this however they were baffled by the energetic proceedings of General Bugeaud, who did not hesitate to go in the middle of winter to the mountainous regions of the Jurjura to quell this insurrection. Though the colony was now in a comparatively quiet and secure state, this had only been accomplished at a vast expenditure of money, amounting to not less than £60,000,000 sterling, and at a great sacrifice of human life, of which we may in some measure judge from the fact that, in the month of September, independently of the lives lost, out of 80,000 men; as many as 24,000 were lying in the hospitals. It is unnecessary to follow out the remaining struggles of the emir in Algiers. His forces were now so reduced that he could not cope with the French in the open field, though he did not cease to harass them by incursions into their territories.

The emir was at length reduced to such straits that he agreed to deliver himself up to the French on receiving a promise of safe-

ty, and of being allowed to retire to Alexandria or to St. Jean d'Acre. Notwithstanding this promise, which was given by General Lamoriciere, and ratified by the governor of the colony, the Duke d'Aumale, son of Louis Phillippe, he and his suite were embarked at Oran for Toulon, where he arrived on the 29th of January, 1848. From Toulon the emir was removed first to the chateau of Paris, and afterwards (in November) to the chateau of Amboise, near Boise, where, till very recently, he was detained a prisoner. The emir, in December, 1852, left France for Broussa, where he lived in retirement, and it is said devoted his time chiefly to reading the Koran and religious exercises.

Since the removal of Abd-el-Kader from Algiers the French power may be said to be established in the country, but even now skirmishes are not unfrequent with some of the more unsettled tribes. This possession has as yet turned out to be anything but a profitable speculation for France, and although it has been lately much improved, it is doubtful if, for many years to come, it will compensate for the immense sums of money and the loss of life that it has occasioned to that country.

The ancient history of TRIPOLI has already been alluded to in the notice of Cyrenaica. In mediæval and modern times it has passed

through a number of vicissitudes. In the twelfth century it was possessed for a short time by Roger, of Sicily, but was soon regained by the Saracens, who retained it till its conquest by the Spaniards in 1510. Charles V. gave Tripoli, along with Malta, to the Knights of St. John, in 1530, but in 1551 Simon Basha conquered it for the Sultan Solymán, and then first it became a Turkish Pashalic. Its history since that time presents no events of importance. The government is an unlimited despotism, exercised by a pasha, who pays a tribute to the Porte, and is supported by a regular Turkish force of 5,000 men.

TUNIS forms a province of the Ottoman Empire, but is virtually independent. After the fall of Carthage the Romans built another city near the site of the modern city of Tunis. When this was destroyed by the Saracens, Tunis rose in importance, and soon became one of the largest cities of Africa. The Normans, of Sicily, held it for a time, but they were driven out by Abdalmamun, of Morocco. In 1530 it was taken by Charles V. in his African campaign. In 1574 the Sultan Salim reduced it to subjection to the Ottoman Porte. It was first governed by a pasha, but subsequently the people obtained permission to elect a bey. For a long time Tunis was notorious for piracy, but the efforts of the foreign powers to suppress it were at last successful.



## CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

THE Cape was discovered by Bartholomew Diaz, the Portuguese navigator, in 1493, who first landed at Algoa Bay, having, after exploring the west coast, been driven out to sea by a storm, and thus accidentally doubling the Cape which he saw on his way back, giving it the name of the Cape of Storms. The king of Portugal, however, gave it the more auspicious name it still bears, as its discovery afforded a hope of a new and easier way of reaching India, the great object of all the maritime expeditions of that age.

The great navigator Vasco de Gama doubled the Cape in 1497, and carried the Portuguese flag into the Indian seas. His countrymen, however, attracted by the riches of the East, made no permanent settlement at the Cape, although they frequently touched there on the voyage to India. But the Dutch, who, on the decline of the Portuguese power, established themselves in the East, early saw the importance of the place as a station where their vessels might take in water and provisions. They did not, however, colonize it till 1650, when the Dutch East India Company directed San Van Riebeeck, with a small party of colonists, to form a settlement there. The country was at that time inhabited by a people called Quaiquaë, but to whom the Dutch seem to have given the name of Hottentots. The Riebeeck settlers had at first great difficulties and hardship to endure, and their territory did not extend beyond a few miles round the site of the

present Cape Town, where they first fixed their abode. They gradually, however, extended their limits, by driving the natives back or reducing them to serfdom. These colonists, although under Dutch authority, were not wholly of that nation, but consisted partly of persons of various nations, especially Germans and Flemings, with a few Poles and Portuguese. They were for the most part people of low station or indifferent character; there was, however, a small number of a higher class, from whom was selected a council to assist the governor. About the year 1686 the European population was increased by a number of the French refugees who left their country on the revocation of the edict of Nantes.

In 1795 the colonists, having imbibed the revolutionary principles then prevailing in Europe, attempted to throw off the yoke of the Dutch, upon which the British sent a fleet to support the authority of the Prince of Orange, and took possession of the country and his name. As, however, it was evident that Holland would not be able to hold it, and that at a general peace it would be made over to England, it was ruled by British governors till the year 1802, when, at the peace of Amiens, it was again restored to Holland. In 1806, on renewal of the war, it was again taken by the British under Sir David Baird, and has since remained in their possession, having been finally ceded by the king of the Netherlands at the peace of 1815.

The first of the Kafir wars took place in 1811-12; the second in 1819, when the boundary of the colony was extended to the Keiskamma. The third occurred in 1835, under Sir Benjamin D'Urban, when the boundary was advanced to the Kei; but on the recall of that officer, the country between the Kei and Keiskamma rivers was restored to the Kafirs. The fourth Kafir war took place in 1846, and, after being conducted by governors Maitland and Pottinger, it was terminated by Sir Harry Smith in 1848. The fifth war broke out at the end of 1850, and after being for some time carried on by Governor Sir H. Smith, it was conducted in 1852 by Governor Cathcart.

In 1820, Scottish emigrants, to the number of 5000, arrived at Algoa Bay, and laid the foundation of the settlements on the eastern frontier which have since become the most thriving part of the colony, and includes the important town of Graham's Town and Port Elizabeth.

In 1834 the great measure of slave emancipation took effect in Cape Colony, and has been of immense service in raising the character and condition of the Hottentots and other races before held in bondage. These people keep the anniversary of this great event as a holiday, which they enjoy in pleasure parties and innocent amusements. We have more than once been present on these occasions, and have had pleasure to observe, by their sober and orderly conduct, that they knew how to enjoy without abusing the blessings of freedom.

In 1835-6 a large number of the Dutch boers resolved to free themselves from the British government by removing with their families beyond the limits of the colony. With this object they sold their farms, mostly at a great sacrifice, and crossed the Orange River into the territories chiefly inhabited by tribes of the Kafir race. After meeting with great hardships and varied success in their contests with the natives, a part of their number, under one Peter Retief, crossed the Drackenberg Mountains and took possession

of the district of Natal, where they established a republican government, and maintained their ground against powerful nations of Zulu Kafirs till 1842, when they were forced to yield to the authority of the British government, which took possession of Natal.

The boers beyond the Orange River and west of the Drackenbergs still, however, retained a sort of independence till 1848, when, in consequence of the lawless state of the country, and the solicitation of part of the inhabitants, the governor, Sir Harry Smith, declared the supremacy of the crown over the territory, which was thenceforth called the Orange River Sovereignty. Shortly after this, in consequence, as it is alleged, of certain acts of the British government in Natal, Andrew Pretorius, an intelligent boer of that district, crossed the Drackenberg Mountains with his followers, and after being joined on the western side by large numbers of disaffected boers, he raised the standard of rebellion. Upon this the governor, Sir H. Smith, crossed the Orange River at the head of a detachment of troops, and encountered and defeated the rebels in a short but brilliant skirmish at Boem Plaats. After this Pretorius and the most disaffected part of the boers retreated to beyond the Vaal River (the northern limit of the sovereignty), where they established a government of their own. They were subsequently, in 1852, absolved from their allegiance to the British crown by treaty with the governors and her Majesty's commissioners for settling frontier affairs.

In 1853-54, in consequence of the troubled state of the Orange River Sovereignty, and the difficulty of maintaining with becoming dignity the authority of her Majesty there, it was resolved to abandon the country to the settlers, mostly Dutch boers. This was carried into effect by a special commissioner, Sir George Clerk, K.C.B., sent from England for the purpose; and the country, under the name of the Orange Free State, is constituted a republic, with a president at the head, assisted or controlled by an assembly called



the Volksraad (people's councils), elected by nearly universal suffrage.

After the government had felt itself compelled to discontinue the sending of convicts to New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, the subject of transportation became one of great difficulty, more especially at a time when an unusually large number of prisoners was on its hands in consequence of the prosecution arising out of the disturbed state of Ireland. Under these circumstances an order in council was passed in 1848, under authority of the Act 5th Geo. IV., authorizing the secretary of state to send certain convicts to such colonies as he might think proper. A circular was sent by Earl Grey, then colonial secretary, to the governor of the Cape (among other colonial governors), requesting him to ascertain the feelings of colonists regarding the reception of a certain class of convicts. Unfortunately, owing to some misunderstanding, a vessel, the Neptune, was despatched to the Cape before the opinion of the colonists had been received, having on board nearly three hundred convicts, among whom were John Mitchell, and his colleagues. When the news reached the Cape that this vessel was on her way, the people of the colony became violently excited; and, goaded to fury by the inflammatory articles in the local newspapers, and guided by a few demagogues, they established what was called the *Anti-Convict Association*, by which they bound themselves by a pledge to cease from all intercourse of every kind with persons in any way connected "with the landing, supplying, or employing convicts." People who refused to take this

pledge were also subjected to great annoyance and petty persecutions. The banks, the government contractors, and a large number of the farmers and dealers about Cape Town were thus pledged. On the 19th of September, 1849, the Neptune arrived in Simon's Bay; and when the intelligence reached Cape Town, the people assembled in vast masses, and their behavior was violent and outrageous in the extreme. The governor, after adopting several resolutions, and again abandoning them under the pressure of popular agitation, agreed not to land the convicts, but to keep them on board ship in Simon's Bay till he received orders to send them elsewhere. Even this concession did not satisfy any but a small number of more moderate men. The mass of the population, under the guidance or domination of a few agitators, continued to do all in their power to prevent the convicts and all the officers of the government from obtaining supplies. Tradesmen and others were prohibited from selling to the proscribed class even the commonest necessities of life. When the home government became aware of the state of affairs it immediately sent orders directing the Neptune to proceed to Van Diemen's Land, and the agitation ceased.

This agitation did not, however, pass away without important results, since it led to another agitation, the object of which was to obtain a free representative government for the colony. This concession, which had been previously promised by Lord Grey, was granted by her Majesty's government; and, in 1853, a constitution was established of almost unexampled liberality.

# EUROPE.

## A GENERAL VIEW.

ON a first view Europe appears to be less favored by nature than the other quarters of the globe over which it has attained so great an ascendancy. It is much smaller in extent; its rocky and mountainous surface does not admit of those noble rivers, like inland seas, which lay open the remotest regions of Asia and America to the commerce of the world. Its vegetable productions are neither so various nor so exuberant; and it is poorly supplied with the precious metals, and with many of those commodities on which mankind set the greatest value. On the other hand, the climate of Europe, if it nourishes a less luxuriant vegetation is of an equal and temperate kind, well adapted to preserve the human frame in that state of health and vigor which fits it for labor, and promotes the development of the intellectual and moral powers. The mountains that intersect its surface are barriers which enabled infant communities to protect themselves from violence, and to lay the foundation of arts, knowledge and civilization. If it has few navigable rivers, its inland seas and bays are, from their position and extent, the finest in the world, and have been the means of creating and nourishing that commercial spirit which has been one great source of its improvement. Though comparatively deficient in gold and silver, it is abundantly supplied with those useful metals and minerals which minister still more essentially to the wants of civilized life. Its apparent defects have become the source of real benefits, and the foundation of its grandeur. The disadvantage of its soil and climate have excited the industry of its inhabitants, giving them clear ideas of property, kindled a resolute spirit to defend their rights, and called into existence that skill and enterprise and those innumerable arts and inventions, which have enabled the inhabitants of this apparently barren and rocky promontory to command the riches and luxuries of all the most favored regions of the globe. It is only in Europe that knowledge and the arts seem to be indigenous. Though they have appeared at times among some of the nations of Asia, they have either stopped short after advancing a few steps, or they have speedily retrograded and perished, like something foreign to the genius of the people. In Europe, on the contrary, they have sprung up at distant periods, and in a variety of situations; they have risen spontaneously and rapidly, and declined slowly; and when they disappeared, it was evident they were but crushed for the time by external violence, to rise again when the pressure had subsided. It is only in Europe, and among colonies of Europeans, that the powers of the human mind, breaking through the slavish attachment to ancient usages and institutions, have developed that principle of progressive improvement of which it is impossible to calculate the final results. The rudest tribe in Europe, in which this principle has taken root, has a certain source of superiority over the most



improved nations of Asia and Africa, where society remains perfectly stationary. If these nations are ever destined to advance in civilization, they must borrow from Europe those arts which she has invented, and which belong to civilized life in every climate. But the tenacious adherence of rude nations to the customs and superstitions of their ancestors, will not allow us to hope that the benefits of civilization will be rapidly diffused in this way. It is more probable that colonies from the older states of Europe will multiply as the population becomes more and more redundant; and that these colonies will carry the arts and knowledge, the language and manners, of Europe with them, to the other quarters of the world. From prejudices on both sides, it is found that two races, in very different stages of civilization, do not really amalgamate; and it is therefore probable that the feebleness of these countries, like the American Indians, will be gradually displaced by the continual encroachments of the more energetic races of Europe.

Europe is bounded on the N. and W. by the Arctic and Atlantic Oceans; on the S. by the Mediterranean, the Black Sea, and Mount Caucasus; on the E. by the Caspian Sea, the river Ural, and the Uralian Mountains. The greatest length of the continent is from Cape St. Vincent to the Sea of Kara, in the direction of N.E. and S.W., and is 3490 English miles. Its greatest extent from N. to S. is from Cape Matapan to Cape North, 2420 miles. The superficies of Europe, including the Azores, Iceland, Nova Zembla, and all its other islands, is 3,775,429 English, or 2,800,000 geographical square miles; and the length of its coast line is about 16,000 miles.

The climate of Europe is distinguished by two peculiarities. It enjoys a higher mean temperature than any of the other great divisions of the world in the corresponding latitudes; and it is not subject to such violent extremes of heat and cold. These advantages it owes chiefly to its numerous seas,

inland bays, and lakes, which render its temperature similar to that of islands; and partly also, according to Humboldt, to its situation at the western extremity of the greatest range of dry land on the surface of the globe; the western sides of all continents being warmer than the eastern. Europe lies almost entirely within the temperate zone, not more than one-fourteenth part of its surface being within the arctic circle. Only a very small part of it is uninhabitable from cold, and it nowhere suffers much from excessive heat.

The mountains of Europe are more numerous in proportion to its extent than those of the other great continents, but they are of less elevation than the mountains of America and Asia. The highest and the most extensive chains in Europe run generally in the direction of east and west, and are placed near its southern shores. The central mass of the Alps, with which all the other mountains in the south of Europe are connected, forms the summit of the continent, and determines the position of the surface and the courses of most of the rivers.

The principal mass of the Alps extends in a semicircle from Nice, on the shores of the Mediterranean, to Trieste, on the Adriatic, a distance of 550 miles. Southward of Mont Blanc the Alps consist of a single chain, with many lateral branches, which lie chiefly on the west side; but immediately to the eastward of Mont Blanc the principal chain divides into two, which inclose the sources of the Rhone. These meet again at St. Gothard, and on the east side of it part into three chains, one of which loses itself in Bavaria, another in Austria near Vienna, and the third terminates near Trieste. A lateral chain of no great elevation passes eastward, and connects the Alps with the mountains of European Turkey. Smaller branches connect the Alps with the Bohemian and Carpathian Mountains on the north, with the Vosges and Cevennes on the west, and, through the latter, with the Pyrenees. The Apennines are but a prolongation of the

Alps on the south. Mont Blanc, the loftiest of the Alps, and the highest mountain in Europe, has an elevation of 15,680 English feet; and Monte Rosa, the Jungfrau, the Schreckhorn, and several other summits, approach to this height. The elevation of the chain diminishes towards both extremities. In general, the steepest sides, are turned towards Italy, and the lateral and subordinate branches are most numerous, and extend farthest, on the opposite side.

The chain of the Pyrenees, which is next to the Alps in elevation, runs in the direction of east and west. Its length is about 240 miles; but, if we include the Cantabrian Mountains, which continue in the same line without interruption, the whole length will be about 500 miles. Mont Perdu rises to the height of 11,270 feet. The south side of the Pyrenees is rugged and precipitous; but on the north there is a gradual descent to the plains of France by a series of parallel ridges diminishing in height. The Cantabrian Mountains are lower than the Pyrenees, and present their steepest sides to the north. There are four other chains of mountains in Spain, all running in a direction approaching to east and west, and all connected with one another and with the Pyrenees. The highest of these is the Sierra Nevada, the southmost, one of whose summits rise to the height of 11,660 feet. The lower limit of perpetual snow on the Pyrenees is at the height of 8960 feet. The red pine grows at the height of 7480 feet, which is about 700 feet higher than any species of trees on the Alps.

The Apennines form an uninterrupted chain 750 miles in length, extending from the south-west termination of the Alps near Nice to the Straits of Messina. The most considerable elevations are about the middle of the chain, where Il Gransasso rises to the height of 9570 feet.

The Carpathian and Sudetic Mountains, with the Erzgebirge and Boehmerwald, may be considered as forming one continued chain, the length of which, from the point

where it strikes the Danube in Hungary, to the point where it strikes the same river in Bavaria, is about 1200 miles, exclusive of the transverse branches which separate Moravia from Bohemia and Hungary. The declivities of this long range of mountains are steepest on the south side. The elevations are lowest on the west, and generally increase as we advance eastward, till we come to the sources of the Theiss in the north of Hungary, after which they again decline. The Fichtelberg, at the westmost point of the chain, is 4030 feet high: Schnekoppe, the highest of the Sudetic Mountains, is 5280 feet, and Lomnitz in Hungary, the loftiest of the whole range, is 8460 feet. None of these mountains rise to the region of perpetual snow, the lower limit of which, according to Wahlenberg, is about sixty feet above the summit of Lomnitz. Corn and fruit trees are said to grow at a greater height upon the Carpathians than upon the Alps, the latter are two degrees farther south.

The chain of the Dovrefeld, Dofrines, or great Scandinavian Alps, is about 1000 miles in length, and has a general elevation of from 3000 to 6000 feet. The altitude of Skagstlos Find, the highest mountain of the chain, is 8400 feet. These mountains consist almost entirely of the older rocks, and present their steepest sides to the west.

The Urals, or Uralian Mountains, which form the north-eastern boundary of Europe, extend from N. to S. through 20° latitude, with a breadth of about forty miles. They rise very imperceptibly from the plains on both sides, and, where they crossed by the road from Moscow to Siberia, the ascent and descent are so nearly imperceptible that, were it not for the precipitous banks alongside of them, the traveller would hardly suppose he was crossing a range of hills. The general elevation of that part of the range seems not to exceed 1350 feet, and the base on which it rests is itself 900 feet above the level of the sea. The Urals are rich in minerals, especially in gold and platina, but



these are found in most abundance on the eastern or Asiatic side of the range. The mountains of Nova Zembla may be considered as a prolongation of the Urals. Their principal summit is Glassowsky, which has an elevation of about 2500 feet above the level of the sea.

The great range of Caucasus, which is now assumed to be the south-eastern boundary of Europe, extends in a north-westerly and south-easterly direction along the north-east coast of the Black Sea, and across the isthmus, terminating with a series of low hills in the peninsular promontory of Abcheron on the W. side of the Caspian Sea, along which its diverging branches form a large *Daghestan*, or hill country. The length of the principal chain is about 700 miles, with a breadth varying from about 60 to 140. The loftiest summits are found near the middle part of the chain, and are covered with perpetual snow. Elburz, the highest peak, has an elevation of 17,796 feet. The mountains of the Crimea, though separated from the Caucasus by the strait of Yenikaleh, and the alluvial delta of the river Kuban, would seem to be a prolongation of the chain, separated by some volcanic convulsion. This, however, may be considered doubtful, as there are no ignigenous rocks at all in the Crimea, so far at least as yet known, while granite is to be found in the Caucasus. Many parts of the range are exceedingly craggy and precipitous; but, in other places, are found level plains and very beautiful and fertile valleys.

A long mountain range extends in an irregular curve from the Adriatic to the Black Sea, in the latter of which it terminates with Emineh Burun, or Cape Hæmus. The western portion, however, of the range properly belongs to the Dinaric Alps; and the Turkish Balkans (ancient Hæmus) begins near the sources of the river Lepentz, a point from which two great ranges diverge, one to the south, forming the ancient Pindus, while the Hæmus or Balkan range extends eastward, with a general elevation of less than

5000 feet, though a few of its summits reach the limit of perpetual snow; and the Tchar-dagh, the culminating point, rises about 9700 feet. The range is broken through by numerous ravines, deep and narrow, and of the most terrific appearance; but there are also several practicable passes. The range is well wooded, and believed to be rich in minerals. Near the east end a minor range, called the Little Balkan, diverges in a south-easterly direction, and, running parallel to the shores of the Black Sea, terminates near the Bosphorus. From the Tchar-dagh the Pindus extends southwards, dividing Albania from Rumelia, and forming a long range of wild hill-country with many lofty summits. To the south, it is connected with the mountains of Greece, which divide that country into a number of valleys and promontories.

Besides the Alps, which form its south-eastern border, and the Pyrenees, which divide France from Spain, there are in France several mountain ranges of considerable elevation. The Cevennes, the Forez, and the mountains of Auvergne, form together a group that divides the low country on the Mediterranean and the basin of the Rhone from the plains that extend westward to the Atlantic Ocean and the Bay of Biscay. The elevation of most of the summits is only between 3000 and 5000 feet; but in Auvergne, the Plomb-de-Cantal rises to 6093 feet, and the Puy-de-Sancy to 6221. Between France and Switzerland the range of Jura has nearly the same elevation; and further north the range of the Vosges divides the basin of the Rhine from that of the Moselle, but it is comparatively low, its summits ranging from about 1400 feet to 4000, and the loftiest rising only to 4693 feet above the level of the sea. From the plateau of Langres, in the department of the Haute Marne, a ridge of high ground, scarcely rising into hills, proceeds westward, between the Seine and the Loire, terminating in Finistere, while other ridges extend northwards into Belgium, separating the valleys of the Moselle, the Meuse, and the Marne.

The mountains of Britain are comparatively insignificant. They extend in a long range, or series of ranges, with many divergencies and interruptions, along the west side of the island, about 630 miles in length; but it is only in Wales and the north-western parts of England and Scotland that they attain an elevation comparable to that of even the lowest of the continental ranges we have mentioned. Snowden, on Caernarvonshire, the highest mountain in Wales, rises only to 3570 feet; Helvellyn and Scafell, in Cumberland, to 3055 and 3166 feet; Ben Nevis and Ben Muck-Dhui, in Scotland, to 4370 and 4390.

The Pyrenees, the Cevennes, Forez, Vosges, Jura, Alps, Apennines, Bohemian and Hercynian Mountains in Germany, Carpathians, and the Balkans, form together, as we have seen, a long range of high ground, inclosing many elevated valleys, and leaving between them and the shores of the Mediterranean Sea only a series of long narrow stripes of lowland. To the northward, however, Europe sinks into an immense plain, which extends all the way from the German Ocean and the North Sea to the Ural and Caucasian Mountains, and the shores of the Caspian and Black Seas. This plain would seem to have formed, since the commencement of the tertiary period of geology, though perhaps not all at the same time, the bed of the sea; for it is everywhere covered with tertiary formations and marine drift, and contains the fossil remains of animals that could only have lived in salt water. It includes the whole basins of the Baltic and White Seas; and the Scandinavian mountains would seem to have formed a large island bordering on the N. W. The south-western portion of the plain is traversed by large rivers that flow northwards from the Alps, and the Bohemian and Sudetic Mountains, which form the watershed between it and the basins of the Danube, the Rhone, and the Po; but eastward the watershed between the Baltic and the Caspian and Black Seas, only a few hundred feet in elevation, may be traced from a spur

of the Carpathians, near the source of the Dneister, through the Russian provinces of Volhynia, Grodno, Minsk, Smolensk, Bialistock, Pskov, Twer, Novgorod (where it forms a sort of plateau, and rises into the Valdai Hills, the highest of which is only 1370 feet above the level of the Baltic Sea), and Vologda, to the Ural Mountains at the sources of the Petchora. The northern slope, forming the basin of the White Sea, possesses a barren soil and a cold climate, and towards the north stretches out into immense plains, covered with moss, marshy in summer, frozen in winter, only interrupted with a few rocky ridges. The southern slope improves in quality as it advances southward, and the middle region is a country of great fertility; but farther south this fertile region is separated from the Black Sea and the Caspian by the *steppes*, the surface of the higher portion of which is generally only about 200 feet above the level of the sea, though towards the Caspian it sinks much lower. Throughout the whole space occupied by the higher steppes, which extend westward from the Don and the Manytsh, along the Sea of Azof and the Black Sea, including three-fourths of the Crimea, and crossing the Dnieper westward along its right bank, till they meet the outskirts of the fertile regions of Little Russia, there is nothing to be seen but a coarse, rank grass, except in the hollows along the river banks, which produce a finer vegetation. The soil of the lower steppes, which extend along the Caspian Sea from the river Ural to the foot of the Caucasus, with a breadth of from 250 to 300 miles, is covered with a fine sand mixed with shells, producing no trees or shrubs, but only at certain seasons a scanty grass. It is everywhere strongly impregnated with salt, as if the region had recently been, what there is every reason to believe it was, the bed of a sea.

Europe contains several volcanic regions, in some of which the volcanic agency is still active, while in others it has been long quiescent at least, if not extinct. A volcanic belt is believed to extend through Central



Asia, and Asia Minor, the Archipelago, Greece, Naples, Sicily, the southern parts of Spain and Portugal to the Azores. In the Archipelago, the island of Santorin has been the grand centre of volcanic action for the last 2000 years; and the neighboring island of Milo is also a volcano of recent aspect, though the epochs of its eruption is not known. On the eastern shore of Sicily rises the stupendous cone of Etna or Mongibello, to the height of 10,873 feet, composed entirely of volcanic products, and known to have been in activity for nearly 2500 years. To the northward of Etna, the islands of Stromboli, Vulcano, and Vulcanello, in the Lipari group, are still active, throwing out continually both fire and smoke. To the south-west of Sicily the island of Pantellaria is entirely volcanic, and covered with prodigious quantities of lava, pumice, and scoriæ. Livy mentions that an island was said to have risen out of the sea near Sicily in the year 183 B.C., and in A.D. 1831 a volcanic island actually rose from the sea, between Sciacca and Pantellaria, but soon disappeared, being washed away by the waves. On the shore of the Gulf of Naples stands Mount Vesuvius, a volcano in constant activity; while to the westward of that city there is a volcanic region, including the island of Ischia, where the fire has been quiescent since the sixteenth century. Further north, round Rome, there are several extinct volcanic craters, most of which are now filled with water, forming so many beautiful though unwholesome lakes. Near the coast of Valencia, in Spain, the islands of Columbretes are the remnants of an extinct crater, and the traces of another volcanic region are to be found near Olot in Catalonia. The Azores (if they should be reckoned to Europe) are all apparently of volcanic origin, but contain no active volcanoes. Along the whole line of this volcanic belt, earthquakes are frequent and destructive. On each side of the line of greatest commotion there are parallel belts of country where the shocks are less violent. At a still greater distance, as far as the foot

of the Alps, there are spaces where the shocks are rarer and much feebler. Beyond these limits again all the countries of western Europe are liable to slight tremors, at distant intervals of time; but these may be considered as mere vibrations. Shocks of this kind have been felt in England, Scotland, northern France, and Germany, particularly during the tremendous earthquake that destroyed Lisbon in 1755.

Far to the north-west of the mainland of Europe, the island of Iceland forms a volcanic region apart. The whole island appears to be of volcanic formation; there are several volcanoes still in full activity, and in the interior there are vast tracts covered with lava, scoriæ, and volcanic sand. From the beginning of the twelfth century there is clear evidence that, during the whole period, there has never been an interval of more than forty, and very rarely one of twenty years, without either an eruption or a great earthquake. Some eruptions of Mount Hecla have lasted six years without intermission; but from 1783 that volcano remained quiescent till 1845, when it broke out anew. Earthquakes have often shaken the whole island at once, causing great changes in the interior; and new islands have often been thrown up near the coasts. In the intervals between eruptions, innumerable hot springs gave vent to subterranean heat, and solfataras discharge copious streams of inflammable matter. In the south-western part of the island, nearly a hundred intermittent springs of steam and boiling water, the celebrated Geysers, are said to be found within a circle of two miles. The island of Jan Mayen, between Iceland and Spitzbergen, contains an active volcano; and the mountain of Sarytcheff, in the northern island of Nova Zembla, is the most northern volcano at present known.

Europe is well watered with rivers, but they are mere brooks compared with the mighty streams of Asia and America, and, from the unevenness of the surface, afford in general no great extent of inland naviga-

tion. The Danube, the largest river that is entirely in Europe, is about 1500 miles in length, and drains an area of 370,000 square miles.

The islands of Europe, including Nova Zembla and Iceland, occupy a space equal to 280,000 square miles, or one eleventh part of the surface of the continent; and of this space the area of the British isles amounts to rather less than one half. The Black Sea is the only large sea connected with Europe in which there are no islands worthy of notice.

The Mediterranean, the noblest inland sea in the world, forms the southern boundary of Europe, separating it from Africa, and partly also from Asia. It may be considered as the bottom of a vast basin formed by the Pyrenees, Alps, Balkans, Taurus, Libanus, and Atlas. These mountains are everywhere near its shores, which are consequently narrow and much inclined. Hence there are no such extensive plains as Hungary or Poland near the coast of this sea, and hence also no very large rivers fall into it except the Nile; and altogether it receives a smaller quantity of water from rivers than the Black Sea or the Baltic, though six times larger than either. Its length is about 2360 miles, its breadth is extremely various, and its surface something less than a third part of the continent of Europe. It is generally of great depth; and its numerous islands, which have uniformly a rocky surface, appear to be the summits of marine mountains.

The Baltic, the greatest inland sea that is entirely in Europe, is about 1200 miles long, of very unequal breadth, and presents a surface of 175,000 square miles exclusive of islands. The country round the Baltic is much more level than round the Mediterranean; lakes are numerous in the low grounds, from the want of declivity; the sea itself is comparatively shallow, and receiving a much greater quantity of river water, it is much less salt. The commerce of the Baltic is annually interrupted by the ice, which endures for months in the Gulfs of

Bothnia and Finland. The whole of this inland sea has sometimes been frozen over for a short time, but this is of rare occurrence.

The Black Sea, which belongs only partly to Europe, is 700 miles long and 380 miles broad, and including the Sea of Azof, presents a surface almost of the same magnitude as that of the Baltic. It derives four-fifths of its water from Europe, and is curiously distinguished from the other seas of this quarter of the globe, by its being almost totally destitute of islands.

The White Sea is 450 miles in length, of a very irregular figure, and occupies a space equal to 35,000 square miles. It receives some considerable rivers, but is frozen during six months of the year.

The lakes of Europe are numerous, and are of two kinds; those which lie in cavities at the foot of high mountains, and which are generally deep, such as the lakes in the Alps, on the east side of the Norwegian mountains, and among the mountains of England and Scotland; and those which are formed in level countries for the want of sufficient declivity to carry off the water, such as the lakes in Finland, Poland, and Brandenburg. Four-fifths of the lakes of Europe are in the country round the Baltic.

The soil of Europe has not the extreme of luxuriance or sterility which belong to the soil of the other great continents. If it does not yield the rich fruits of tropical climates, it is not deformed by burning sands like Africa, or by pestilent swamps like America. It does not pour forth its riches spontaneously, but, soliciting the care and the labor of man, it requites his industry with what is necessary to supply his wants; and, by exercising and sharpening his powers of mind, has given birth to those arts which place the productions of the most favored climates at his disposal. Many of the plants which have been domesticated in Europe are natives of distant countries. The vine, the olive, and the mulberry, are said to have been brought from Syria by the Greeks; and the Arabians introduced cotton; maize was received from



the Indian tribes of America; the walnut and peach came from Persia; the apricot from Armenia; and the sugar-cane and orange from China. There are not very many plants belonging to the tropical regions that absolutely refuse to grow in Europe, but an enlightened economy finds other productions more profitable. Besides sugar and cotton, the banana, the orange, citron, fig, pomegranate, and date grow in the south of Europe. But the more delicate fruits are confined to southern latitudes, and disappear one by one as we advance northward. And it is worthy of remark that the zones in which they grow generally follow the lines of equal summer heat, and run obliquely across the continent in the direction of south-west and north-east. If a line be drawn on the map from Brest to Königsberg, skirting the southern shores of the English channel and the Baltic, the zones that limit the growth of different plants will run nearly parallel with this line. This holds generally in the south and middle of Europe; but in the extreme northern parts, and especially with regard to plants that require a moderate heat continued for a considerable time, the lines that limit the growth of certain vegetables seem to follow a different course, and decline toward the south as we advance eastward, in consequence of the increasing severity and length of the winter. It is scarcely necessary to say that the zones traced as proper from different planets, only mark the limits within which their cultivation is found advantageous. Most of them will grow beyond these limits; but they either require some peculiar advantages of soil and situation, or they are less profitable than other kinds of produce.

Europe, in proportion to its extent, is probably richer in mineral wealth than the other quarters of the globe. It contains all the metals except platina: and though it affords gold and silver only in limited quantities, iron, copper, lead, with coal and salt, commodities of greater value to society, are abundantly and widely distributed. The

mountains, consisting of primary and transition rocks, are the great depositaries of these mineral treasures.

Europe is peopled by several very distinct races of men, distinct in respect of physiological characteristics, as well as of language. It would be quite out of place here, however, to discuss the principles of anthropology, ethnology, glossology, and comparative philology, or any of the important questions respecting the origin and affinities of nations, that have occupied the attention of the cultivators of these branches of science; we shall simply state what we believe to have been the results of their researches, with respect to the people and languages of Europe. It has been inferred, chiefly from sepulchral remains, that at some very remote epoch the western parts of Europe were possessed by a people of a low degree of intellectual and social development, and it is supposed that they probably belonged to the same family of nations as the Iberians of Spain, or to a family of which the Laps of Scandinavia are the modern representatives. The Iberians seem to have possessed, at one time, the whole of the Spanish peninsula, and even to have extended beyond the Pyrenees, far into France if not over the whole territory, and even into Italy and the islands of Corsica, Sardinia, and Sicily; but whether they belonged to the same family as the Laps, or were rather connected with the Berbers of Africa, is a point not yet, and perhaps not easily to be, determined. The Basques, who live in Biscay, Navarre, and the adjoining parts of France, and call themselves Euscaldunac, are believed to be the remains of this once great nation. At a very early epoch, which cannot be determined, these aboriginal races were intruded upon by the people of the Gaelic, Celtic, or Keltic stock, who acquired possession of all France, Britain and Ireland, and subsequently penetrated into Spain, where they mingled with the Iberians, and produced the Celtiberians, and also into Italy, the northern part of which was called from them, *Jisalpine Gaul*, and so on to the

head of the Adriatic Sea. Afterwards another people of kindred lineage, but speaking a language considerably different, and known as the Cimbric, Kymraic, Cumbrians, or Cambrian race, acquired possession of the north of France, of all the southern parts of Britain, and of the eastern maritime lowlands of Scotland, as far north at least as the river Spey, leaving the older Celts in possession of the north-western Highlands and Islands of Scotland, and of all Ireland, and the southern and south-eastern parts of France. They seem likewise to have extended themselves along the German shores of the North Sea, as far as Jutland. The Iberians, the Kelts, and the Kymri, were the races that possessed the south-western countries of Europe at the dawn of history.

The north-east of Europe is the native seat of the Ugrian races, now best represented by the Finns; and people of this stock seem to have possessed the northern and north-eastern parts of Europe in the earliest times, extending from the shores of the Arctic Ocean and the White Sea, to the shores of the Euxine, and to have been the original Skuthians, whom we miscall Scythians; for though the name of Cud, Scud, Czud, or Tschude, by which these people have been long known, and which is believed by Schaffarick to be the original of the Greek *σκυθοι*, is not a native name, but only applied to them by the Slavonians, yet the Sarmatians of old were themselves Slavonians, and the Greeks may have borrowed the name from them, and then in their ignorance applied it without distinction of races on all the people that lived to the north and east of the Black Sea. Jakob Grimm, prefers a Gothic etymology for *Skuthoi*, and supposes it to have been borrowed by the Greeks from the people of Thrace, who vaguely applied it to all the people farther north. At an early, but unknown epoch, Sarmatians, the ancestors of the modern Slavonic races, settled in the countries that lie to the north of the Black Sea, and seem to have pressed themselves gradually north-eastward upon the Ugrians, till

they have nearly dispossessed them altogether of their country, while the Ugrians were pressed back in the same way from the south-east by Turkish and Tartar races. The modern Ugrian races are the Laps of Scandinavia, the Finns, and the Samoyeds and some other tribes of Russia, and the Majjars of Hungary.

Between the Sarmatians and the Skuthians of the east, and the Kelts and Kimbers of the west, the Gothic and Germanic races are found, at the dawn of history, pressing southward like a wedge; but where they came from, and how they found themselves on the shores of the Baltic at that epoch, it would be vain to inquire. They seem, however, to have been very early divided into two great branches, one of which proceeded northwards to the conquest of Scandinavia, while the other directed their efforts southwards and westwards, till they became known to the Romans by the name of Germans. In the later times of the Roman empire, branches of this family were also in possession of Moesia, and other countries to the north-west of the Black Sea, from which they have now entirely disappeared. From the northern branch of the Germanic race are descended the modern Swedes, Danes, Norwegians, and the natives of Iceland and the Faroe Islands; from the southern branch, the modern *Deutsch*, both high and low, or all the Deutsch inhabitants of Germany, Switzerland, France and the Netherlands, and the English, and Lowland Scots, though the latter are indeed largely intermixed with Gothic, Celtic, and Cambro-British blood.

The south-eastern peninsula of Europe is found possessed, at the earliest epoch, by races of unknown origin and lineage, who became in time the well-known Hellenes, or Greeks; and at an epoch at least as early, the neighboring peninsula of Italy was possessed by races who seem to have gradually coalesced into *Latins* and *Romans*. With the conquests of the latter people, the Latin language was spread over Italy, France, and Spain, where it seems to have almost entire-



ly superseded the aboriginal tongues, and laid the foundations of the modern languages of those countries. The Romans, after having brought all the nations of Italy, France and Spain under subjection to their empire, were in their turn invaded and overthrown by the northern nations, various tribes of whom under the name of Heruli, Ostro-Goths, Longobards, and others, penetrated into and settled in Italy; while Suevians and Visi-Goths settled in Spain, Franks and Burgundians in Gaul, Angles, Saxons, Jutes, and Frisians in Britain. In the first three of these countries, Italy, Spain, and France, so far were the invaders from extirpating the natives, that, on the contrary, they seem to have mixed freely with them, and to have rather adopted the language they found prevailing than imposed their own. At this day, indeed, the great bulk of the French people are believed to be of Keltic descent, and to retain the physical and mental characteristics of the Gauls, though most of them have entirely lost their ancestral language. In Britain the invaders seem to have preponderated over the natives, and entirely changed the language of the country, driving the unmixed natives into Wales, Cornwall, and Cumberland; and it is only in Wales that the Cambro-British language still lives. In the eleventh century, England was invaded by a host of Normans and French; and from the gradual mixture of these with the Anglo-Saxons have been formed the modern English nation and language. Two or three centuries after settling in Spain, the Goths were dispossessed of that kingdom by Mohammedan invaders from Africa, a remnant of them taking refuge among the mountains of Asturias. In the course of seven centuries the descendants of these refugees recovered their lost possessions; and to have the blue blood of the Goths pure in his veins, is the proudest distinction of a Spaniard; so many of the nation being contaminated by the black (Moorish, not negro) blood of Africa. These pure Goths, however, are only the mixed descendants of Iberians,

Celts, Carthaginians, Numidians, Romans, Suevians, Goths, and Vandals, from the last of whom the province of Andalusia (Vandalusia) takes its name.

The ancient inhabitants of the south-east of Europe are now represented by the Greeks, Albanians, and Wallachians. The Greeks not only occupy the new kingdom of Greece and the Ionian Islands, but are also spread over the provinces of Turkey and the adjoining parts of Russia and Austria. They have preserved the language and much of the character of the ancient Greeks. The Albanians, called also Arnauts and Skiptars, are believed to be the descendants of the ancient inhabitants of Albania, though mixed with Slavonic blood. The Wallachians, who possess Wallachia and Moldavia, and the adjoining parts of Hungary, Transylvania, and Bulgaria, and speak a Roman language, are probably the descendants of the ancient Dacians, intermixed with a numerous Roman colony, which had been settled among them. Towards the end of the ninth century an Ugrian race settled in the ancient Pannonia, where they are now known by the name of Majyars in Hungary, and Szeklers in Transylvania.

The Tartars, who are spread over the south-eastern provinces of Russia, are believed to be the descendants of the Turkish portion of the armies of Zengis Khan, who invaded Europe in the thirteenth century, and whose successors domineered over the Muscovite Russians till the end of the fifteenth. In the sixteenth century they were dispossessed of their Kingdoms of Kazan and Astrakhan, and subdued by the Muscovites, and their numbers are now very small in comparison with those of the ruling race. The Osmanli, or Ottoman Turks, a more important branch of the same family, first came into Europe in the fourteenth century, their third Sultan, Amurath, or Morad I. who reigned from 1368 to 1389, having then possessed himself of all Thrace or Rumelia, and established his seat of government at Adrianople. In 1452, the Sultan Mohammed II., got pos

session by conquest of Constantinople, which has been ever since, not only the capital of Turkey, but also the metropolis of Islam, or the Mohammedan world. Since their great defeat at Vienna in 1683, the Turkish power has been declining, and to all appearance it will soon be swept out of Europe altogether. The Ottomans consider Asia Minor, or Anatolia, to be the home of their race, and seem quite prepared to cede Rumelia to whoever is able to take it. The Dobrudji (or Dobrudshee) Turks, a numerous tribe distinct from the Osmanli, possess the north-eastern corner of Bulgaria, between Shumla, the Danube, and the Black Sea. The total number of Mussulmans in European Turkey is estimated at about four and a half millions; but of the Ottoman Turks themselves the number is variously estimated between 700,000 and 2,100,000. The Turks seem to have come originally from Central Asia, and to have been of the Mongolian or yellow race of mankind. They seem, however, to have mingled freely with all the western nations among whom their conquests carried them, and from the intermixture has sprung a race who are but little different from natives of Caucasian origin. Some ethnographers, in consequence, believe them to have been even originally Caucasian; but it is certain that many Turks, even in Europe, still exhibit the strongest Mongolian forms and features, and that phenomenon seems to us to indicate that these are pure Turks, of the original stock, while their Caucasian brethren are of mixed descent.

With respect to physical characteristics, it may be said generally that the nations of the south-west and south, as French, Italian, Spaniards, Greeks, are melanous, or dark-complexioned, while the Gothic and German races are generally xanthous, or fair-complexioned, with blue or gray eyes, and fair hair. The former are lively and energetic, more imaginative and inventive than the northern races, but less persevering, and the more southern portions of them, indeed, fonder of idleness than of work. They are likewise

more temperate in eating and drinking than the northerns, but more passionate and vindictive. The northerns, on the other hand, though less imaginative and inventive, are more thoughtful, serious, and persevering, and more addicted to pursuits that exercise the understanding than to those that merely amuse the fancy; but they are less temperate in eating and drinking, which may be ascribed to the influence of the colder climates under which they live. The Slavonic, Turkish, and Tartar races are all melanous, or dark, and, as compared with the western nations, still in a lower degree of civilization, and intellectual and industrial development. "In regard to physical form," says Dr. Latham, "the Ugrians are light-haired rather than dark; many of them are red haired." Scheffer, however, in his *History of Lapland*, says, that though the young women are indifferently handsome and of a clear skin, most of the men are swarthy, and the hair of both sexes is generally black and hard, very seldom yellow. Professor Berghaus says, that the skin of the Laps is yellow-brown, and they have brown hair and brown eyes; and that the hair of the Finns is sometimes black, sometimes blond, yellow-brown, or red, the face dirty brown, and the eyes gray.

With the trifling exception of a comparatively few Mohammedans, Jews, and heathens, the nations of Europe are professors of Christianity, and Europe collectively is distinguished from the realms of Islam by the title of Christendom. These professors, however, are divided into three great classes or churches, which not only hold no intercommunion, but are deadly rivals, conceiving it to be their duty to labor for the conversion at least, if not always avowedly for the extirpation, of each other. These are the Roman Catholic and the Protestant churches in Western Europe, and the Orthodox Greek church which domineers over the eastern half of the Continent. In the Roman Catholic and the Greek churches no differences of opinion, and consequently no sects, are permitted; but the Protestant church is di-



vided into a multitude of rival sects, distinguished from each other by every variety of opinion respecting doctrine and discipline, and forms of worship. Some of these sects have been constituted into established national churches; but even these have been compelled, by the spirit of the age and the force of circumstances, to become tolerant, though the *odium theologicum* still occasionally shows itself, with all its proverbial bitterness.

The Roman Catholic or Latin church acknowledges the Pope or bishop of Rome as its spiritual sovereign, and the clergy are still numerous and wealthy. This church includes within its pale France, Belgium, Poland, Italy, Spain, and Portugal, and the greater part of the people of Ireland, and of the Austrian empire, about a half of the Prussians, Swiss, and Germans, and considerable numbers in Great Britain and the Netherlands.

The Greek church does not acknowledge the Pope; and though the Patriarch of Constantinople claims, as he once enjoyed, the same spiritual supremacy, his authority is now restricted to the limits of the Ottoman empire. The dominion of the church, indeed, extends over all the eastern half of Europe, including the Christian subjects of Russia, Turkey, and Greece, and a considerable number in Austria; but the Russians are subject to the authority of the Holy Synod of the Russian empire, of which the Czar is the spiritual as well as the temporal head; and in the new kingdom of Greece a similar Holy Synod has been constituted, with the king for its head. In Russia, dissent from the doctrines of the church is barely tolerated, yet there are within its limits various sectaries, all comprehended under the general name of *Raskolniks*, and frequently subjected to treatment little short of persecution.

The principal sectaries of the Protestant church are distinguished as Lutherans, Calvinists, and Arminians. Lutheranism prevails in Prussia, Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Hanover, Saxony, Wirtemberg, and some others of the smaller German states, and in

the Baltic provinces of Russia. It reckons also many members in Hungary and other provinces of Austria. The Lutherans do not absolutely condemn a hierarchy, but they do not admit the divine institution of the order of bishops. Their bishops therefore are generally no more than the name implies, mere superintendents or inspectors of their respective dioceses. Their prelates are in all cases subject to the political sovereigns of the respective states, who are recognised as heads of the church. In Sweden, however, the Lutheran prelates form one of the four orders of the legislature. In Denmark, Norway, and Iceland, they have no prerogatives that can give them political influence. In Calvinistic churches the government is strictly republican, and they reject any other headship than that of Christ. Calvinism prevails in England, Scotland, Holland, the Swiss cantons of Bern, Basel, Zurich, Vaud, and Geneva, the Duchy of Nassau, the principalities of Electoral Hesse, Anhalt, and Lippe, in Germany, the departments of the Gard, Ardeche, Drôme, Lot-et-Garonne, and others in France, Hungary, Transylvania, and the military borders of Austria; and Calvinists are also numerous in Prussia. In Scotland and Holland the national churches are Calvinistic. In Great Britain generally the Calvinists are divided into two great classes, *Presbyterians* and *Congregationalists*, the former being governed in spiritual matters by local, provincial, and general councils, called kirk-sessions, presbyteries, synods, and general assemblies; in the latter, each congregation assuming the full status of a church, and exercising supreme ecclesiastical authority over its members. There is however, substantially, little difference between the two classes in this respect; for the Presbyterians claim and exercise the right of seceding and constituting new churches as often as occasion requires, so that even in the pre-eminently Presbyterian Scotland (to say nothing at present of England and Ireland, and America) there have been existing at one time so many as six or seven separate

and jealously rival Presbyterian churches; and there has been found no practical limit to the increase of their number by secession or disruption, so that even one minister and his congregation may legitimately constitute themselves into a Presbyterian church. Calvinists arrogate to themselves and their doctrines exclusively the titles of *Evangelical* and *Orthodox*.

The *Arminians* are opposed to Calvinists in respect of five points of doctrine, zealously held fast by the latter; and Arminian doctrine is now very prevalent among Protestants, especially in Holland and England, but Arminians nowhere form distinct acknowledged churches.

The name of *Episcopalians* is given to a numerous body of Protestants, who, in addition to the leading doctrines of Protestantism, maintain the divine origin and institution of episcopacy, and the unbroken transmission from the apostles of the "holy orders" of the clergy. To this class belongs the Established Church of England and Ireland, whose doctrines are contained in thirty-nine articles, sanctioned by act of parliament, and which are understood to have been a compromise between conflicting opinions, so that all might be brought within the pale of the church. In its forms of worship this church has retained so much of the Romish liturgy, priestly costume, and ceremonies, as seemed consistent with scriptural principles. It has also retained the hierarchy, only substituting the king or queen regnant as the spiritual head of the church, instead of the pope. Its archbishops and bishops are lords of parliament, and appointed by the Crown. In respect, however, of both doctrine and ceremonies, the members of the United Church of England and Ireland are very much divided among themselves, the great body being Arminian, while a smaller fraction profess to be evangelical, and not a few seem verging to popery. Episcopalians are somewhat numerous in Scotland, but the majority of them constitute a church of their own, quite independent of that of England.

Methodists are likewise a very numerous and influential body, particularly in England, and are under the spiritual authority of a "Conference," constituted only by their clergy, to the absolute exclusion of lay members. They are divided, however, like other sects; the bulk of them, called Wesleyan, being Arminians, and a smaller body, the followers of Whitefield, being Calvinists. Each of these, however, is divided into several bodies, forming so many separate churches, ruled by conferences of their own.

In 1817, the Lutherans and the Calvinists in the duchy of Nassau were united into one body, under the name of the *Evangelical Church*. Similar unions have since taken place in Paris, Frankfort, Prussia, Bavaria, Baden, Hesse, Anhalt-Bernburg, Waldeck, and other parts of Germany. But this union having been effected in most of these places by the influence of the civil authority, amounting almost to compulsion, is believed to be neither very sincere, nor likely to last.

But the task would be endless to mention in detail all the varieties of Protestant sects and churches.

*Islam* or *Mohammedanism*, is the religion professed by all the Ottoman and other Turks and Tartars in the Russian and Turkish empires, who are all *Soonee*, or orthodox; and those of Russia are under the spiritual charge of two grand muftis, one of whom resides at Kazan, and the other at Simferopol in the Crimea. Those of Turkey acknowledge the supremacy of the Sultan, as the representative and caliph, or vicergerent of their prophet, and, as such, the spiritual head of their religion; but under the Sultan the management of the Mohammedan church and its spiritual concerns is delegated to the Grand Mufti, or Sheikh-ul-Islam, who resides at Constantinople, and is also the chief of the *Ulema*, or body of the clergy and lawyers of the empire. *Judaism* is, of course, the religion of the Jews who are scattered over Europe. The great bulk are Talmudists, or receivers of all the traditions that have accumulated for ages, and almost overwhelmed



and superseded the law as delivered by Moses ; but they have no general head, either spiritual or temporal, no sacrifices, no temple, and no altar. They are waiting in patient expectation of the coming Messiah, their prophetic king, who is to gather them from their long dispersion, and land them again in triumph to Jerusalem, loaded with the spoils of the Gentiles. A small body of Jews or Israelites, who reject the Talmud

and traditions, and acknowledge only the law itself, are known by the name of Karaites, and have their headquarters in the Crimea. A few *heathens* are still to be found among the Ugrian tribes on the shores of the Frozen Ocean, and among the Kalmucks and other Mongols in the south-east of Russia, on the shores of the Caspian Sea, and among the tribes of the Caucasus.

## G R E E C E .

THE celebrated peninsula of Greece, was smaller in extent than most of the States of the American Union; its greatest width from Acarnania on the western coast to Marathon, in Attica, being only one hundred and eighty miles, and its greatest length not more than two hundred and fifty. This narrow surface was divided into seventeen independent states.

The name of Greece was never used by the inhabitants. They named their country *Hellas*, and themselves *Hellenes*. The Romans were the first to give them the appellation of Greeks, and to call their land Greece; but the origin of the name is now lost. The word *Hellas* signified at first only a small district in Thessaly, the original abode of the *Hellenes*. The people, afterwards, spread themselves over the whole of the peninsula, bearing with them the name of their first settlement. The rude tribes of Epirus were not reckoned among the *Hellenes*, and the northern borders of *Hellas* proper was a line drawn from the Ambracian gulf to the mouth of the river *Peneus*. The name *Hellas* was also extended to the colonies of the Greeks in other lands.

Midway between the Ionian and *Ægean* Seas the chain of mountains which forms the upper boundary of Greece, is intersected at right angles by the long and lofty range of *Pindus*, forming a ridge through the peninsula from north to south, like the *Apennines* in Italy. From Mount *Pindus* two branches stretch toward the eastern sea, run-

ning parallel to each other at the distance of sixty miles, and enclosing the plain of Thessaly, the largest and most fertile in Greece. *Pindus* forms the boundary between Thessaly and Epirus. Epirus contains no level country like the Thessalian plain, but is covered by rugged mountains, among which the *Achelous*, the largest river in Greece, flows to the Corinthian Gulf. Two opposite gulfs, the Ambracian and Malian, contract the land between them into a kind of isthmus, separating the mainland of Thessaly and Epirus from Central Greece; which again may be divided into halves, the eastern containing the States of Doris, Phocis, Locris, Bœotia, Attica and Megaris, and the western comprising Ozolian Locris, *Ætolia* and Acarnania. A little way from the southern border of Thessaly there is a mountain in the range of *Pindus*, called Mount *Tymphrestus*, from which different ridges branch off in all directions, forming barriers across the northern frontier of Central Greece, which they enclose so completely, that the only access from this side is through the famous pass of *Thermopylæ*.

South of *Tymphrestus*, the chain of *Pindus* is divided into two great branches, which no longer bear the name of the parent stem. The one to the south-east takes successively the famous names of *Parnassus*, *Helicon*, *Cithæron* and *Hymettus*, and finally reaches the sea at *Sunium*, the extremity of Attica; while the other running in an opposite direction, with the appellations of *Corax*, and the



Ozolian mountains, strikes the entrance of the Corinthian Gulf. In the highlands, between Parnassus and Œta, lies the plain of Doris, the home of the Dorians. The greater part of Phocis is covered by Parnassus itself, which rises to 8,000 feet. Bœotia extends from the Eubœan to the gulf of Corinth, but on either coast it is shut in by lofty hills, on the south by the chain of Helicon, the fabled abode of the Muses, and the north by the Locrian mountains. Attica has the form of a triangle, two of its sides being washed by the sea, while its base, across which run the mountain range of Cithæron and Parnes, is united to the land. Cithæron, prolonged toward the south-west forms the rugged state of Megaris, and then, after rising into the Geranean mountains, the chain sinks downward to the isthmus of Corinth, which separates Central Greece from the Peloponnesus. The districts of the western half of Central Greece are all wild and mountainous, and until a late period in Grecian history, were the haunts of rude tribes of robbers. The isthmus which connects the Peloponnesus with the main land is so narrow, that the ancients considered the peninsula as an island, and gave it the name of the island of Pelops, or Peloponnesus. Its form was compared to the leaf of the plane-tree, or the vine, and its modern name, the Morea, is derived from the resemblance in outline to a mulberry leaf.

The mountains of the Peloponnesus all branch out from a kind of ring in the centre of the country. In this circle lies Arcadia. The other chief divisions were Achaia, Argolis, Laconia, Messenia and Elis. Achaia lies north of Arcadia, between the mountains and the Corinthian Gulf. The plains and valleys which are left between its numerous hills are very fertile. Argolis is a collective term for a number of independent states, of which the most important were Corinth, Sicyon and Argos. Laconia and Messenia occupied the whole south of Peloponnesus from sea to sea. They were separated by the lofty range of Taygetus, which

terminated in the promontory of Tænarum. Along the eastern side of Laconia extended the chain of Mount Parnon, and in the valley between these ran the Eurotas, on the bank of which was situated the town of Sparta. Elis lay between the Arcadian mountains and the Ionian Sea. In its centre is the plain of Olympia, where the celebrated games took place.

The numerous islands which surround the shores of Greece, were occupied in historical times by the Grecian race.

The physical features of the country exercised an important influence on the destinies of the people. The nature of the land, composed of small plains surrounded by limestone mountains, or open only to the sea, tended to produce that large number of small and independent tribes, shut off completely from each other, which constitutes the most remarkable phenomena of Grecian history. Not only did this mountainous nature of the country preserve each state from the attacks of the others, but it also served to defend the whole of Greece from foreign invasion; for the narrow passes of Tempe and Thermopylæ, and Cithæron, could easily be defended by a resolute band of men against a large army. But while these Grecian states were thus separated by mountains, nearly all of them had ready intercourse with each other, and with the rest of the world, by sea. The extent of the sea-coast, formed by the gulfs and bays, running far into the land, forms one of the most striking peculiarities of the map of Greece. Arcadia is almost the only political division that did not possess some territory on the coast.

The sea and the mountains have always been the most powerful instruments in moulding the intellectual character of a people, and it happens very rarely that their influence is thus combined in one nation. The Greeks thus united the rugged endurance and love of freedom of the mountaineers, to the daring adventurousness of a maritime people. The poetical beauty of the Grecian mountains

has often called forth the admiration of travellers. Their craggy, broken forms and rich silvery color give to the landscape a peculiar charm, and justify the description of the poet Gray, when he speaks of Greece as a land—

“Where each old poetic mountain  
Inspiration breathes around.”

The beauty of the scenery is still farther enhanced by the gorgeous atmosphere in which every object is bathed. To a native of the northern latitudes of Europe nothing is more striking than the transparent clearness of the air and the brilliant coloring of the sky. When Euripides represents the Athenians as

“Ever delicately marching  
Through most pellucid air,”

he is guilty of no poetical exaggeration, and the violet-color which the Roman poet assigned to the hills of Hymettus is literally true.

Greece is deficient in a regular supply of water. During the autumn and winter the heavy rains fill the crevices of the hills, and torrents rush down the river beds, but in the summer the channels are almost dry, and the largest rivers are little more than brooks. The chief productions of Greece were wheat, barley, flax, wine and oil. The hills afforded pasturage for cattle, and in ancient times were thickly wooded, though they are now quite bare. There were rich veins of marble, admirable for the architect and the sculptor, in almost every part of Greece. Laurium, in Attica, yielded a considerable quantity of silver, but otherwise Greece was poor in the precious metals.

The climate must have been more healthy formerly than it is at present. The malaria, which now poisons the air in the summer months, could not have existed to the same extent when the land was more densely peopled, and more thoroughly cultivated. Owing to the great variation of the surface of Greece, the climate varies most remarkably in different parts. At the same time

that the rigor of winter may be experienced in the highlands of Mantinea, the genial warmth of spring is felt in the plains of Argos and Laconia, and farther down the heat of summer in the lowlands at the head of the Messenian gulf. It was to this difference of climate that the ancients attributed the various characters of the natives of each district; thus the heavy fogs of Bœotia were held responsible for the dullness of the inhabitants, while the subtle and restless Athenians owed their intellectual activity to the dry clear air of Attica.

The early history of Greece is veiled in great obscurity; facts are mingled with fable to such a degree that it is impossible to separate them, and till we come to the period of the first Olympiad, in the year 776 B.C., there are no contemporary documents, which are the only basis of historic certainty. Before this time, every thing is vague, and even for two centuries afterward we meet with only a few isolated events, and a continuous narrative is wholly wanting. But even the first mythical legends must not be passed over entirely; for the traditions of a people are always worthy of record, and they are particularly so in the case of the Greeks, whose legends moulded their faith and influenced their conduct down to the latest times.

Few nations have paid more attention to their genealogy than the Greeks. They all considered themselves the children of a common father, in whose name they gloried as a symbol of fraternity. This ancestor was Hellen, and from him they derived their name. Hellen had three sons, Dorus, Xuthus, and Æolus. Dorus and Æolus gave their names to the Dorians and Æolians; and Xuthus, with his two sons, Ion and Achæus, became the forefather of the Ionians and Achæans. It was the usual practice of the ancient nations of the world to invent fictitious personages to explain names whose origin was lost in obscurity; and thus the myth of Hellen and his sons was established by the Greeks to account for their common title of Hellenes. Although



they never had any actual existence, their history may be regarded as the traditional history of their supposed descendants, so that when we are told that Hellen reigned in the south of Thessaly, near the foot of Mt. Othrys, we may believe that the Greeks regarded this region as the first home of their race. Æolus succeeded his father as king of Hellas in Thessaly, but his children occupied a great part of central Greece. The Æolians were the most widely diffused of all the descendants of Hellen. Many of their towns, such as Corinth and Iolcus, were situated on the coast, and the worship of Neptune prevailed among them. The Achæans appear in the latter part of the Heroic age as the most warlike of the Grecian races. They are represented as inhabiting the original abode of the Hellenes in Thessaly, and the cities of Mycenæ, Argos, and Sparta, in the Peloponnesus. The most distinguished heroes in the Trojan war were Achæans; and from the celebrity of the race, Homer frequently gives their name to the whole body of the Greeks.

The Dorians and Ionians figure less conspicuously in the ancient legends, although they afterwards became, as the Spartans and Athenians, the two dominant races of Greece. At this time, the Dorians were confined to the small mountainous district named after them, and the Ionians were principally in Attica, and along the narrow slips of coast in the south of Peloponnesus, known as Achaia.

Such is the early tradition of the Greeks, respecting the diffusion of their race; but historical investigation goes farther back, and rests upon surer ground. Now the most certain means of tracing the origin of a people is through their language. The Greek language is a member of that family to which modern scholars have given the name of Indo-European. The various nations which speak these tongues were originally one people, inhabiting the high table land of Central Asia. At one period, long antecedent to all profane history, they issued from their prime-

val seats, and scattered themselves over a considerable portion of Asia and Europe. In Asia, the Ancient Hindoos, who spoke Sanscrit, and the Medes and Persians, whose language was the ancient Zend, were the two chief branches of this people. In Europe the Germans, Pelasgians, Slavonians, and Kelts were the four principal divisions. The Greeks derived their origin from the Pelasgians, whom they themselves represented as the most ancient inhabitants of their land, whose primitive name is said to have been Pelasgia. The Pelasgians were also spread over the Italian Peninsula, and thus the Pelasgic language formed the basis of the Latin as well as the Greek.

Of the Pelasgians little is known; they were not barbarians; they tilled the ground and built walled cities. Their religion was essentially the same as the Greeks. The Pelasgians were divided into several tribes, such as the Hellenes, Leleges, Caucones, and others. In what respects the Hellenes were superior we do not know; but they appear in the dawn of history as the dominant race in Greece. The rest of the Pelasgians gradually disappeared before them or were incorporated with them; their dialect of the Pelasgic tongue became the established language of Greece, and their worship of the Olympian Jove gradually supplanted the more ancient worship of the Dodonean God.

There was a time when the Greeks believed that Attica, and Greece in general, had received the first elements of civilization from Egypt. These traditions must, however, be considered, for the most part, as owing to the philosophical speculations of a later age, which loved to represent an imaginary progress in society from the time when man fed on acorns and ran wild in the woods, to the time when they became united into political communities and owned the supremacy of law and reason. The Greeks who visited Egypt were impressed with the monuments of the ancient dynasties, that even then, five and six centuries before the Christian era, were venerable with age; and

the Egyptian priests took advantage of this impression to induce the strangers to believe that all civilization and religion and arts came from the land of the Nile. Two only of these legends deserve notice. Athens was believed to have been founded by Cecrops, an Egyptian, who also introduced the custom of marriage, and religious rites and ceremonies. The citadel of Athens always bore the name of Cecropia. In like manner, the city of Argos is said to have been founded by another Egyptian, Danaus, and hence was derived the Homeric appellation of Danai.

Another colony not less celebrated, and whose origin is as credible as those just mentioned, was that led by Pelops from Asia, and gave the name to the Peloponnesus. Pelops is said to have been the son of Tantalus, a Phrygian king. He brought with him great wealth, and became king of Mycenæ, and the founder of a house, celebrated in the heroic age of Greece. With regard to Cadmus and his Phœnician colony, the case is different; for we have positive evidence that the Phœnicians settled in the Grecian islands, and it is only natural to suppose that they may have reached the main land. Whatever the truth of the legend of Cadmus may be, there is no doubt that the Greeks derived their alphabet from Phœnicia.

With these exceptions, the Oriental nations left no permanent traces of their settlements in Greece, and the population remained essentially Grecian, uncontaminated by any foreign element.

The legends of the Heroic age belong more properly to mythology than to history; yet so much importance was attached to them among the Greeks, and they figure to so great an extent in their literature, that any historical notice of Greece would be incomplete without them. According to mythical chronology this period occupies about two hundred years, from the first appearance of the Hellenes in Thessaly to the return of the Greeks from Troy. Three heroes stand forth beyond the others; Hercules, the na-

tional hero of Hellas; Theseus, the hero of Attica; and Minos, king of Crete, the founder of Grecian law and civilization.

Of all the Heroic dynasties, that of Danaus, king of Argos, was the most celebrated. In the fifth generation it is personified in Danæ, the daughter of Acrisius, whom Jove wooed in a shower of gold, and by her became the father of Perseus, the slayer of Medusa. Perseus was the progenitor of Hercules, being the great grandfather both of his mother Alcmena, and her husband Amphitryon. According to the legend, Jove fell in love with Alcmena, and assumed the form of Amphitryon, in whose place he became the father of Hercules. To his son, thus begotten, Jove intended to award the kingdom of Argos; but the anger of Juno, raised up an opponent in the person of Eurystheus, another descendant of Perseus, and at his bidding the greatest of heroes achieved his twelve wonderful exploits, which filled the world with his fame. He was, however, doomed to expiate the human weakness from which even his tremendous power and courage could not save him. He slew his friend and companion Iphitus, the son of Eurystus, in a fit of uncontrollable anger, was seized with illness, and afterwards became the slave of the Lydian queen Omphale, devoting himself to effeminate occupations, and degrading his noble soul in luxury and wantonness. At a subsequent period another crime produced his death. His wife Dejanira, incited by jealousy, at his rape of Iole, the daughter of Eurystus, sends him the fatal shirt of Nessus the centaur, which had been poisoned with the blood of its wearer. Hercules, unable to endure the torture, repairs to Mount Ceta, the scene of his apotheosis. While he lies upon the funeral pyre, erected for him by his son Hyllus, a cloud descends amid thunder and lightning, and bears him off to Olympus, where he takes his place among the gods, receiving Hebe the daughter of Juno in marriage.

Theseus, the second great hero, belonged to the regal line of Athens, which as we



have seen was said to have been founded by the Egyptian Cecrops.

The list of the successors of Cecrops down to Theseus is a mere compilation, in which some of the names appear to have been invented merely to fill up a gap; others are purely mythical, and not one can safely be pronounced historical. In the reign of Erechtheus, the Athenians are said to have been involved in a war with the Thracian Eumolpus, who had established himself as sovereign at Eleusis. Erechtheus fell in battle, whereupon Eleusis concluded a treaty, in which it acknowledged the supremacy of Athens. Erechtheus was succeeded by a second Cecrops, who left his throne to his son Pandion. This last king was expelled from Attica, but found a place of refuge in Megara, where he married the king's daughter, and succeeded him on the throne. He there became the father of four sons, the eldest of whom, Ægeus, on his father's death, entered Attica at the head of an army, and recovered his patrimony. For a long time he remained childless, until some mysterious oracle led him to Troezen, where he became, by Æthra, the father of Theseus, the greatest hero in Athenian story. Theseus spent the first years of his life at Troezen, and then repaired to Athens to claim Ægeus for his father, who recognized him by certain tokens, and by his valor. This Theseus, whom some writers regard as the real founder of the Athenian state, is to Athens what Hercules is to Greece in general. All the deeds and exploits which are ascribed to him cannot have been accomplished by one man, but are probably representations of what was done in the course of several generations, or even centuries. But the life of Theseus may be regarded as composed of three main acts—his journey from Troezen to Athens, his victory over the Minotaur, and the political reforms which he is said to have effected in Attica. On his way to Athens from Troezen, he cleared the wild roads which were infested by monsters and savage men, who by their robberies had almost broken off all

communication between Attica and Troezen. Amid the greatest difficulties he forced his way to his father. After being recognized by him, and purified from all his bloodshed, he went to Crete to deliver Athens from a disgraceful tribute of boys and maidens, who had to be sent annually to Minos, king of Crete, and were devoured by a monster called Minotaur. Ariadne the daughter of Minos, became enamored of Theseus, and supplied him with a clue to trace the windings of the labyrinth in which the Minotaur was concealed. He thus succeeded in killing him and finding his way out again. But a greater misfortune was awaiting him, for when he returned to Athens, with the young men and maidens, whom he had delivered, he forgot in his exultation to change the black sail which the vessel usually carried on this melancholy voyage, for a white one, which had been agreed upon as the signal of his success, and Ægeus who was watching from a lofty promontory on the shore, thinking in consequence that his son was dead, threw himself into the sea, which from this occurrence derived its name.

Passing over a variety of other legends, we shall proceed to consider the political institutions ascribed to Theseus. Attica is said originally to have been divided into a number of small independent states, which, under Cecrops, formed a confederacy among themselves against the inroads of foreign enemies. On that occasion, Attica is reported to have been divided into twelve districts, and Athens, under the name of Cecropia, was probably at the head of this league. Besides this division into twelve districts, another is mentioned, according to which the whole country was divided into four tribes, which at different times had different names. The latest of these are ascribed to Ion, the reported founder of the Ionian race, who is said to have called the four tribes after his four sons, Teleontes, Hopletes, Ægicores, and Egades. Some of these names are descriptive of occupations, while others are of uncertain import. These four tribes seem to

have been so many distinct communities, separated by descent, situation, pursuits, and religion, yet still connected by affinities of blood and language, and the occasional need of mutual assistance. Their ultimate union with Athens, as their natural head and center, is generally described as the work of Theseus, who is thus regarded as the founder of the national unity, and of the future greatness of Athens. The legend represents him as having thus forever put an end to the discord and hostility which had until then prevented the inhabitants of Attica from considering themselves as one people. On that occasion, probably, the greater part of the nobles removed to Athens, which had become the seat of government, and they there occupied the same position and rank which they had formerly occupied in their respective districts. The union was cemented by religion and the institution of national solemnities, which were periodically celebrated, such as the *Synœcia* and *Panathenæa*, in honor of the tutelary divinity, *Athena*, or *Minerva*. The city of Athens, which until then had occupied little more than the *Cecropian* rock, was enlarged by the formation of new habitations at the foot of and around the rock.

The constitution which Theseus is said to have given to his countrymen remained for many centuries after him rigidly aristocratical; and he is said to have promised all the nobles an equal share in the government, reserving for himself only the command in war and the administration of justice. Although the later Greeks were fond of describing Theseus as the founder of their democratic institutions, it is quite clear that his object was to institute a gradation of ranks, and a proportionate distribution of power. Accordingly he distributed the people into three classes, the nobles, husbandmen, and artisans; the first of these possessed all the political power and influence, and the right of interpreting the laws, both human and divine. The king himself was only the first among his equals, and the four kings of the

ancient tribes were his perpetual assessors or colleagues. The people of Athens, that is, the *demos*, had, no doubt, the right of meeting, but they do not appear to have exercised any political influence; and the first internal struggles of which we hear at Athens were not between the king and the people, but between the king and the nobles. Theseus is said to have been compelled by a conspiracy of the nobles to go into exile with his family, and to leave the throne to *Menestheus*, a descendant of the ancient kings. Theseus is said to have died in the island of *Seyros*.

*Minos*, king of *Crete*, appears, like Theseus, as the representative of an historical and civil state of life. To him was attributed the sovereignty of the sea, and it is said that he received the laws of *Crete* from *Jove*.

Turning aside from the individual exploits of the countless heroes of mythology, and regarding only the greater enterprises in which they appear arrayed against each other in combined force, we shall notice only three expeditions more famous than the others. These are the *Voyage of the Argonauts*, the *Seven against Thebes*, and the *Siege of Troy*.

The *Æolians* take the chief part in the *Voyage of the Argonauts*. *Pelias*, a descendant of *Æolus*, had deprived his half-brother *Æson* of his dominion over the kingdom of *Iolcus* in *Thessaly*. When *Jason*, son of *Æson*, had grown up to manhood, he appeared before his uncle and demanded back his throne. *Æson* consented on condition that *Jason* should first bring the golden fleece from *Æa*, a region in the farthest East, ruled by *Ætes*, offspring of the *Sungod*. Here it was preserved in the grove of *Mars*, suspended upon a tree, and under the guardianship of a sleepless dragon. The *Argo*, a ship built for the expedition, gave its name to the adventurers, who, guided by *Jason*, left the harbor of *Iolcus*, in quest of the golden fleece. The expedition comprised the most famous heroes of the age. *Hercules* and *Theseus* are reported to have been en-







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rolled among the number, as well as some of the chiefs who fought at Troy. The exploits of Jason read something like the labors of Hercules, for when he came to *Æa*, after encountering and escaping many wonderful dangers on the way, King *Ætes* agreed to yield the golden fleece if he should first perform the tasks he imposed. He was to yoke two brazen-footed, fire-breathing bulls, and after ploughing a field with them, to sow in the furrows the teeth of the dragon which *Cadmus* had slain, and after this to destroy the warriors who would rise up. All this he accomplished by the help of *Medea*, the daughter of *Ætes*; and having by her aid obtained the golden fleece, he returned to *Iolcus* with *Medea* as his wife.

The city of *Thebes* was always one of the most celebrated in Greece, but it was particularly renowned in the heroic age as the seat of an ill-fated line, whose tragic story furnished many an incident to the ancient dramatists.

*Laius*, the king of *Thebes*, was forbidden by the oracle of the gods to have any offspring, with the assurance that if he disregarded the injunction, he should fall a victim to his own son. In defiance of the decrees of fate he begat *Œdipus*, but as soon as he was born he was ordered to be exposed to death, hung by the feet to a tree. His life, however, was preserved, and he was taken to *Corinth* where he was brought up by King *Polybus*. As he grew older, he felt the shame of his unknown origin, and went to *Delphi* to inquire of the oracle about his family and birth. He received the answer never to return to his own country, unless he would slay his father and commit incest with his mother. He thereupon, imagining that *Polybus* was his father, took the opposite road and returned to *Thebes*. Here he met his father *Laius* in a narrow road, and a quarrel arising, he slew him in a fit of anger. There was at this time in the land of *Thebes* a half-human monster called the *Sphinx*; it asked a riddle of every one that came in its way, and if the answer was not right, it de-

stroyed the unfortunate guesser. No one hitherto, had been able to solve the problem, and after the death of *Laius*, the hand of the Queen *Jocasta* was offered as a reward to any one who would free the country from this scourge. *Œdipus* proved more successful than those who had gone before, and gave the right answer to the monster, which immediately threw itself off a precipice, in vexation at the discovery of its secret. Thus he obtained *Jocasta* for his wife, and the second part of the decree of the oracle was fulfilled. He had four children from this incestuous union. The angry gods, outraged at this iniquity, sent a dreadful plague, and the people in consternation ran to the oracle, who required the banishment of the murderer of *Laius*. The search after the criminal brought the whole chain of frightful accidents to light. *Jocasta* killed herself, and *Œdipus*, in his remorse, put out his eyes. His sons, *Eteocles* and *Polynices*, then drove him out of *Thebes*, whereupon he pronounced on them a dreadful curse, which did not linger for fulfillment.

The brothers fight with each other for the sole possession of the kingdom, and *Polynices* was compelled to seek aid from King *Adrastus* of *Argos*. Five other warriors joined them and formed the celebrated league of the "Seven against *Thebes*." In the contest that ensued, all of them were killed except *Adrastus*. *Eteocles* and *Polynices* slew each other. The descendants of the princes afterwards engaged in a second war against *Thebes*, and succeeded in taking and destroying the city and scattering the inhabitants. This struggle was known in mythology as the War of the *Epigoni*, or offspring.

The siege of *Troy* immediately followed. It originated in *Sparta*. *Paris*, the son of *Priam*, the king of *Troy*, being at the court of *Menelaus*, king of *Sparta*, became enamored of *Helen* his wife, and carried her away in defiance of the laws of hospitality. The quarrel is taken up by all the princes of Greece, they declare war against *Troy*, and choosing *Agamemnon* for their leader, they

sail for Troy in nearly twelve hundred ships. All the most illustrious heroes of this period of Grecian story are in the expedition. Achilles, the son of Peleus, the king of Phthiotis in Thessaly, the head of the Myrmidons, the most courageous and beautiful of the Greeks, and the subtle and crafty Ithacan Ulysses; Diomedes, king of Argos, whose father Tydeus, one of the Epigoni, was slain at Thebes, and the Pythian Nestor, wisest of counsellors, and the Telamonian Ajax, and Idomeneus, the grandson of Minos, the hero of Crete. These are a few of the Grecian chiefs. On the Trojan side, there is Hector, the son of Priam, a renowned warrior, and the goddess-born Æneas, son of Anchises and Venus, the future founder of the great Italian nation. The war lasts for ten years. Only the last is described in the *Iliad*, which does not, however, terminate with the fall of Troy, but with the death of Hector, who is slain by Achilles. The final destruction of the city is not brought about by the valor of the Greeks, but by the craft of Ulysses, who by means of the famous stratagem of the Trojan horse, introduces his men into the city, and with fire and sword wreaks a dreadful vengeance for the rape of Helen upon the fated Ilium.

The return of the warriors to their homes forms the subject of many poems and tragedies. Many of the leaders find that in their absence others have taken possession of their palaces, and sometimes also of their wives. The *Odyssey* describes the adventures of Ulysses, before he reached his home in Ithaca.

The only history of the Trojan war is the *Iliad* of Homer. As in Homer we do not meet merely with a poet of the first class, but with the oldest records, after the books of Moses, that have exercised a permanent influence on the civilization of the West, we will, therefore, before entering upon the authentic period of Grecian history, give a short notice of the Homeric poems and their authorship. The life of Homer is involved in the greatest obscurity, and presents nothing but

a group of very vague traditions. In his day there were no biographers, and the earliest accounts of him belong to a period more than 300 years after the time in which he was supposed to have lived. His birth-place was unknown to the Greeks, and seven different cities claimed that honor. Sifting out all these legends, and retaining only those statements that seem most probable, we may conclude that Homer was born in Smyrna, and died in Ios, one of the Cyclades of the Archipelago; and this we can say is the utmost that can be known of the father of epic poesy in Greece. The other events of his life, as given by the longer biographies, are fictions, invented, many of them, with the plain purpose of giving an historical existence to certain of the characters in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. That, like all minstrels, Homer was given to wander about from place to place in the exercise of his vocation, is probable enough without any voucher, and appears quite certain from the extensive and accurate geographical information displayed in his works, but the details of his travels could not be retained in the memory of any one man, and what we have of them bear the most conspicuous marks of a vulgar forgery. The usual story of his being blind would be probable enough, were its origin not so plain in the appearance of a blind poet in the *Odyssey*, and in the famous Hymn to Apollo, anciently attributed to him. The age in which Homer lived is equally uncertain. Herodotus placed him about four hundred years before himself, that is about 850 B. C. Aristotle makes the birth of Homer contemporary with the great Ionic emigration (1044 B. C.); and Dionysius of Samos throws him back as far as the Trojan war. We may easily reject the last of these dates, for such an extensive collection of legends as that in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* requires time to grow, so that the poet must have lived a long time after the events which he described. On the other hand we cannot place him later than the period indicated by Herodotus, as the ignorance of the Greeks themselves



show him to have lived in a very early age. This is all that can be said about the poet, and it is so little and unsatisfactory, that some German critics, foremost among whom Wolf, have even disputed the existence of such a man as Homer, and consider the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* to have been the work of various rhapsodists, whose names were soon forgotten, and in later days the myth of the blind bard of Asia Minor was invented to account for the unknown authorship of the poems, in the same manner as Hellen was set up to prove the nationality of the Grecian race. They found their argument chiefly on the impossibility of such a long poem being repeated and handed down for so many centuries, from mouth to mouth; for the period to which they are ascribed is probably before the general use of writing; and they also point out many discrepancies and contradictions in the poem. The opinions of these Germans, who certainly show some strong arguments, were taken up by other European scholars, but of late years there has been a slight reaction, and at present the two parties are almost equally divided.

Whatever was their origin or history, there is no doubt, however, of the influence which they exercised over the national mind. Homer was the Greek bible, and was guarded with all the care and piety with which Christians cherish that book. The Greek writers always refer to Homer, as if his verses were in the mouths of the people, and their works are filled with quotations. Such was the importance that was attributed to the Homeric poems that the preservation and correction of their text was an object of care to Grecian rulers. Solon turned his attention to regulating their recitation at the public games, and the first collection and arrangement in proper order was executed under the direct superintendence of Pisistratus, the tyrant of Athens. In the days of the Ptolemies there was an association of learned critics and commentators, who made it their special duty to collate the manuscripts and guard against interpolations or changes.

As authorities on historical events, it is impossible to attach much weight to the writings of Homer; but as affording a faithful representation of the manners, and conditions, and sentiments of the Heroic age, they are alone and unapproachable, and whether they are the production of one or of half a hundred minstrels, they are equally inspired by the breath of a great poetic soul, and that soul the highest life of the Greek people, at one of the most poetic periods of its existence.

Greek history properly commences with the first Olympiad, 776 B. C. At this period the greater part of the Peloponnesus was in the possession of the Dorians, and the Greeks had established themselves all over the adjacent shores of Asia Minor. The details of the emigration of the Dorians into the peninsula are very obscure. It is said to have taken place twenty years after the expulsion of the ancient Boeotians by the Thessalians, in 1124 B. C. The earliest ascertained seat of the Dorians was the district of Mount Olympus. But, either from a restless and wandering disposition, or impelled by the pressure of some northern hordes, they seem to have migrated from this district into Crete, that is, from one end of the Grecian world to the other; thus presenting a striking anomaly in the history of the ancient colonies. The earliest trace of this circumstance is found in the *Odyssey*, where it is mentioned that the "thrice divided" Dorians formed part of the population of Crete. Though originally inhabiting a mountainous region, they appear, in the course of time, to have become, as it were, the Normans of Greece, and to have sought settlements wherever they could find them. But the most important, and the most fertile in consequences, of all the migrations, of the Grecian races, and that which continued even to the latest period to exert its influence upon the Greek character, was the expeditions of the Dorians into the Peloponnesus, where they were called the Doric race. The traditionary name of the expedition in question is "the

return of the descendants of Hercules." The children of that hero had made many attempts to conquer and regain the kingdom which had been taken from their ancestor by Eurystheus, but thus far, their expeditions had failed. In the last conflict, Hyllus, the son of Hercules had been killed by Echemus of Tegea, and the Heraclidae had been forced to swear not to renew their invasion for a hundred years. This compact was now at end, as the time had expired, and with the aid of the Dorians, the great grandsons of Hercules set out on this celebrated expedition. In process of time, successive conquests were effected by them in the Peloponnesus, until the whole of that country was at length subdued and occupied by the Dorians. Argos was captured by this people; Sicyon was conquered from Argos, Phlius from Sicyon, and Cleonæ from Argos. The Dorians expelled the Ionians from Epidaurus, and afterwards reduced Ægina and Trœzen; they appear also to have made themselves masters of Corinth and Megara; and, under Aristodemus, they conquered Laconia, which soon afterwards rose into great importance among the states of Greece. In due time, Doric colonies from Argos, Epidaurus, and Trœzen established themselves on the south-west coast of Asia Minor; and other colonies of the same race also settled in different parts of the same country, where, at a very early period, we find them forming a league against the Ionians, whom they had either encroached upon or expelled. In fact, there is nothing so remarkable in the history of this remarkable race as its extraordinary propagation and diffusion. In course of time it spread itself on all sides, from Greece to Asia Minor, Byzantium, Syracuse, and the country which sweeps round the Gulf of Tarentum, including the territory afterwards known by the name of Magna Græcia, with Crotona, Locri and Lyctus, to say nothing of Chalcis, Solium, Ambracia, Anactorium, Leucadia, Coreyra, Epidamnus, Apollonia, Potidæa, Chalcedon, Trogilus, Thapsos, Selinus, and other places

which it conquered or colonized. It is remarkable that, wherever any portion of Doric invaders or settlers proceeded, they not only carried along with them, but gave a permanent ascendancy to the peculiarities and characteristics of their race. Their religion, their laws, their literature, their manners, and, in short, all that distinguished them as a separate people, appear to have taken root wherever they pitched their tents; and it is by the vestiges which still remain of their migrations, settlements, and power, that we are enabled to trace with some degree of certainty events which either took place before the commencement of authentic history, or in regard to which history, tradition, and even fable, are alike silent.

At the period of the first Olympiad, Sparta was only the second power in the Peloponnesus, and its territory did not extend much beyond the narrow valley of the Eurotas. The Argolians then held the brightest place in the Doric League. In Argos was the most favored shrine of the Pythian Apollo, the tutelary divinity of the Dorians. The importance of Argolis appears in the history of Phidon, whose career may be placed about the 8th Olympiad. He was one of the Heraclidae, and inherited the throne of Argos. He did not, however, rest contented with the limited sovereignty which his ancestors had exercised, but soon broke through all restrictions, and made himself absolute ruler, or tyrant. With this power in his hands he regained the ancient control which his country had held over the other Doric states of the Peloponnesus, but which at that time had somewhat fallen. He is also reported to have extended his claims to every city that the descendants of Hercules had founded. His fame as a conqueror became so great that the Pisatans appealed to him to settle their dispute with the Eleans, about the celebration of the Olympic games. Phidon availed himself of this opportunity which came in so fortunately for his ambitious designs, and siding with the Pisatans, he declared that the celebration of



the Olympian games properly belonged to him, as the descendant of their founder, Hercules. He thereupon went with his army to Olympia, and drove out the Eleans, and held the games with the assistance of the Pisatans. The Eleans now obtained the alliance of the Spartans, with whom they renewed the struggle, and finally succeeded in breaking up the power of Phidon, and regaining the supremacy at Olympia. Nothing further is known of the history of Phidon, as the details of his death are lost. Many improvements were introduced into Greece by him, especially the use of gold and silver coins, and of regular weights and measures.

After the decline of Argolis, Sparta assumed the first place in the Peloponnesus; and, it may be said, that for some time the history of Laconia is that of the Peloponnesus, as that of Athens, includes the whole of Central Greece.

Lacedæmon, a son of Jupiter and Taygeta, with his wife Sparta, daughter of Eurotas, are represented as founding and giving their names to the kingdom and city. The country was then ruled in succession by twelve of their descendants, until the line became extinct. Of these monarchs the most famous in the legends were Hyacinthus, who having been accidentally killed by Apollo, was changed into the flower that bears his name; Castor and Pollux, who were raised to heaven, and became special patrons of the city; their sister Helen and her husband Menelaus, whose story forms the theme of the early epic songs. On the failure of the original dynasty, Orestes the son of Agamemnon was raised to the throne; and in the reign of his son and successor, Tisamenes, is said to have occurred the invasion of the country by the Heraclidæ. These, as has been seen, vanquished the Spartan monarch, and divided among them the richest parts of the peninsula. The country of Laconia, of which Sparta was the capital, fell to the share of Aristodemus, one of the three leaders of the conquerors; but as he died before the conquest was complete, his twin-sons, Eurys-

thenes and Procles, were appointed joint kings, and from them the double line of Spartan sovereigns is said to have been descended, there being always on the throne at the same time an Eurysthenid and a Proclid king.

Before the Dorian invasion, Laconia, with the rest of southern Greece, was inhabited by Achæans. Of these some left the country and established themselves in the land to which they gave their name along the south shore of the Corinthian Gulf; but a considerable number seem to have remained in the country in a state of subjection to the Dorians. These were known by the name of Pericæci, or provincials; and they enjoyed personal liberty, but had no political privileges. Below them was another class, the Helots or slaves, whose origin is not very certainly known, and who cultivated the lands of the Dorians or true Spartans, who were thus left at leisure for the noble employments of government and war. Thus the ruling power was entirely in the hands of the Dorian race; and the institutions and character of the people were entirely Dorian. The first great event in Spartan history is the legislation of Lycurgus in the 9th century, B. C. While it is impossible to believe that such a system as prevailed in Sparta could have been the work of one man, and not rather the gradual result of time and circumstances, it is not on that account necessary to deny altogether that Lycurgus was a real personage. The more probable opinion seems to be, that as a long time must have elapsed before the commotions raised by the Dorian invasion had subsided, and many dissensions and abuses may have crept in, the legislator's work was to rectify these, and restore the constitution according to the ancient Dorian laws and customs. From this period onwards the history of Greece consists mainly of a narrative of the gradual rise of Sparta to a supremacy at first over the Dorians in the south, and then over the whole of Greece; then of the more sudden rise of her rival, Athens, and her long con-

test with Sparta; and finally, of the wars between Sparta and Thebes, and the final subjection of the whole of Greece to Philip of Macedon.

After the internal confusion had been rectified, and the government firmly established, the energies of Sparta began to find vent in foreign conquests. Their arms were at first directed against Argos and Arcadia; but a more tempting, as well as an easier prey was to be found in the rich land of Messenia, where the arts of peace were more flourishing than those of war. Private feuds and border forays gave a cause or a pretext to the first Messenian war, which was begun in 745 B. C. by the sudden invasion of the country by the Spartans. They took by surprise the fortress of Amphea near the border, from which they made inroads into the very heart of the country. The Messenians for a time did not venture to meet them in the open field, but remaining in their impregnable strongholds, confined their efforts to retaliations on the Spartan territory. At length they changed their tactics, and instead of scattering their forces all over the country, concentrated them in the stronghold of Ithome, so as to protect all the country behind it. This policy proved for a long time successful, though the Messenians never gained any decided advantage; but at length, in 723, they were driven from Ithome, and thus the war ended by the total reduction of Messenia under the Spartan power. A few of the principal men left the country, while the bulk of the people were reduced to a condition similar to that of the Helots. For thirty-eight years the Messenians remained subject to their conquerors, but in 685 they made an attempt to regain their liberty under a noble of the name of Aristomenes, and thus began the second Messenian war. The valor of this leader in his first engagement so alarmed the Spartans, that they sought the advice of the Delphic god, by whom they were directed to seek for an Athenian counsellor. They obtained the assistance of Tyrtæus, traditionally repre-

sented as a lame schoolmaster, and he animated the Spartan courage by those warlike songs of which there are still some fragments extant. Notwithstanding this assistance, Aristomenes gained a great victory at Stenyclerus, which for a time cleared his country from the Spartans. But the Messenians were obliged at last to have recourse to their former tactics, and this time they chose as their stronghold Eira in the extreme north of the country. For a long time they contrived, by means of the able conduct and valiant exploits of their chieftain, to hold out against the Spartans; but at last, in 668, the fortress was taken, its defenders being allowed to retire into Arcadia. Thus ended the second Messenian war, leaving Sparta in full possession of the whole of Laconia and Messenia. Nor were the Spartans slow in pushing their aggressions in other directions, though they nowhere met with such complete success as in Messenia. Tegea in Arcadia, with which they had long carried on hostilities, was in 545 forced to acknowledge their supremacy, and the district of Cynuria, near the Laconian border, was conquered from Argos. Sparta thus gradually rose to a lofty position; and in the time of Cræsus was acknowledged to be the most powerful of the Grecian states. Another war with Argos about 525 B. C. terminated likewise in favor of the Spartans. At the instigation of the Delphic oracle, the Spartans under Cleomenes invaded Attica in 510, and expelled from Athens Hippias, the last of the Pisis-tratidæ. They afterwards interfered under the same leader in support of the aristocratic against the democratic party; but after holding the acropolis for some time, Cleomenes was forced ignominiously to retreat. An attempt which he made immediately after to restore the aristocratic party, and another, somewhat later, to reinstate Hippias as tyrant, proved utter failures. The circumstances will be narrated when we come to speak of Athens.

Before we go on to narrate the events of the famous Persian war, which involved the



whole of Greece, it is necessary to give some account of the rise and progress of Athens, and to take a passing view of the condition of the other states.

In the Heroic age they were all monarchies, ruled, for the most part, by kings claiming descent from Jove; but soon after the period of the first Olympiad, the veneration for the heaven-born dynasties appears to lose its influence, and we find that all the governments but that of Sparta have become republican in form. The assembly of the chiefs was more powerful than the sovereign, and they sometimes at the death of the hereditary ruler placed one of their own number on the throne, instead of his son. In time this election by the Council of the Nobles, became the regular mode of choosing a magistrate, who held the place of king, and bore the name of *Prýtanis*, or president. This form of republicanism was an oligarchy, or government of the few, for as yet a democracy, or government of the people, was unknown. The arrogant exercise of power by these oligarchs, soon excited the ill-will of the lower classes, who were not represented at all in public affairs, but the change in government did not come from them, but from usurpers called Tyrants who possessed themselves of absolute power and ruled by their own will. These despots appeared in most of the Grecian cities about the seventh century, B. C. They generally obtained their power by working on the discontent of the people, and inciting them to overthrow the oligarchies. Besides these there were a few dictators, whose authority was voluntarily entrusted to them by the citizens for a limited time.

The arbitrary rule of these tyrants was usually most severe, and as the idea of the supreme power of a single man was repulsive to the feelings of the Greeks, the despot often fell a victim to the assassin, who, in this cause, was regarded as the liberator of his country. Many of the tyrants were displaced by the Spartans, whose oligarchical government looked with hatred upon any

infraction of the ancient order of things. The history of Athens forms one of the most striking examples of the rise and fall of the various Grecian systems, but the history of the Bacchiadæ and the despots of Corinth is so celebrated that it must not be passed over entirely.

The Bacchiadæ were the nobles who formed the Corinthian oligarchy. This oligarchy was overthrown by Cypselus, whose mother herself was one of the Bacchiadæ, who had married out of her own class. Before the birth of Cypselus, an oracle prophesied that her offspring would be fatal to the oligarchical government. The Bacchiadæ, thereupon endeavored to put him out of the way, but he was concealed by his mother in a chest, and his life was saved. As soon as he became a man he appeared as the defender of the people, and with their support he drove the nobles out, and made himself the absolute ruler. He held the throne for about thirty years, and was then succeeded by Periander, his son. Periander began to rule with a mild and beneficent sway, yet soon adopted a vigorous system of despotism. His first measure was to ensure internal peace by shutting up the clubs, common tables, and other scenes of political discussion; by removing or strictly watching all the citizens of high birth and influence, and by prohibiting all that wasteful extravagance which might result in wanton misconduct or factious poverty. Then, in order to strengthen his power, he enrolled an army, equipped a fleet, and entered into leagues with both Grecian tyrants and barbarian kings; at the same time it was his care to adorn his capital with magnificent architecture, and to grace his court with men of philosophy and letters. The last days of Periander were clouded with domestic misfortune. His wife Melissa died in consequence of a blow which he had given her in a fit of jealous rage. His younger son, Lycophron was assassinated by the Coreyrans while residing among that people. The only member of the family that was left was his idiot son Cypselus. Overwhelmed by these

calamities, Periander died at the age of eighty, after a reign of forty years. He is said by his biographer, Diogenes Laertius, to have left behind him a didactic poem, which consisted of moral and political precepts, and amounted to two thousand verses. In consequence, probably, of this work, some have ranked him among the seven sages of Greece. His successor, Psammetichus, is said to have been deposed by the Lacedæmonians. The oligarchical government was then restored, and Corinth joined the Peloponnesian league. The history of the other states of Southern Greece is essentially the same, the nobles after a time regaining the power of which they had been deprived by the tyrants, and restoring the old system upon a former basis.

Passing now to Central Greece we come to the maritime city of Athens, which is already rising to the power and glory that made its name almost the synonym of Greece.

The history of Attica, like that of nearly every state of Greece, is almost entirely mythical down to the beginning of the Olympiads—that is, down to the year B.C. 776. All that is related concerning the period previous to that era, consists partly of fiction and partly of tradition, which no doubt have a certain historical foundation, but have been so much modified and embellished by poets and later writers that it is now impossible to say what is historical and what is not. As regards chronology, in particular, it is useless to attempt to fix the exact date of any event before the commencement of the Olympiads. As, however, the legends of early Attic history are frequently alluded to by poets and other writers, they cannot be altogether passed over in any account of the history of Attica.

Ogyges had the reputation of being the first king of Attica; and ancient chronologers even undertook to fix the date of his reign, which has been variously set down at 150 and 200 years before the arrival of Cecrops. But we have no assurance that even

the name of Ogyges was known to the older Grecian authors; and if anything can be gathered from the traditions concerning this fabulous personage, reported by late writers, it is, that at some very remote period, a flood, having desolated the rich fields of Bœotia, over which he reigned, drove many of the inhabitants to establish themselves in the adjoining district of Attica, which, though hilly, rocky, and little fruitful, was yet judged preferable to a plain country, surrounded on all sides by mountain tracts, and consequently exposed to a recurrence of the calamity by which so many of them had been overwhelmed. We may therefore safely consign this legendary monarch to that primitive obscurity in which his existence, his origin, and his achievements, are equally involved.

The legend of Cecrops has already been alluded to, and the story of his successor, Theseus, has been noticed while speaking of the Heroic age. Theseus was followed by Menestheus who reigned twenty-four years. He lost his life at the siege of Troy, and was succeeded by Demophon, one of the sons of Theseus by Phædra, who was likewise present at the siege, but had the good fortune to return in safety. Demophon was succeeded by his son or brother Oxyntes, who again was succeeded by his son Apydes; and this last was murdered by a natural brother of the name of Thymœtes. But the bastard usurper discovered many base qualities unworthy of the station he had assumed, and was at last deposed by his subjects on account of the flagrant cowardice he had displayed on a critical occasion.

Thymœtes was appropriately succeeded by a foreign adventurer called Melanthus, who, after a long reign of thirty-seven years, left the kingdom to his son Codrus. The latter reigned twenty-one years, during which period the Dorians and Heracleidæ had regained all Peloponnesus, and were upon the point of invading Attica. Codrus, being informed that the oracle had promised them victory provided they did not kill the king



of the Athenians, immediately came to the resolution to die for his country. Disguising himself, therefore, as a peasant, he went into the enemy's camp, and having quarrelled with some of the common soldiers, was killed in a brawl. On the morrow the Athenians, knowing what had happened, sent to demand the body of their king, at which the invaders were so terrified that they decamped without striking a blow.

Upon the death of Codrus, a dispute among his sons concerning the succession furnished the nobles with a pretence for ridding themselves of their kings, and changing the monarchical into a republican form of government. It was highly improbable, they said, that they should ever again have so good a king as Codrus; and, to prevent their having a worse, they resolved to have none. That they might not, however, appear ungrateful to the family of Codrus, they made his son Medon their supreme magistrate, with the title of archon; an office which was afterwards rendered decennial, but nevertheless continued in the family of Codrus. But the extinction of the Medontidæ having at last left the nobles without restraint, they not only made this office annual, but at the same time created nine archons. By the latter expedient they provided against the exorbitant power of a single person, as by the former they took away all apprehensions of the archons having time to establish themselves, so as to be able to change the constitution. In a word, they now attained what they had long sought after, namely, rendering the supreme magistracy accessible to all the nobles. The name of the first of these nine annual archons was, like that of the consuls at Rome, used to mark the year in which any event happened. The second bore the title of king, and represented the former kings in their capacity of high priest of the nation.

There has been handed down to us an enumeration of these archons for upwards of six centuries, beginning with Creon, who lived in 682 B.C., and coming down to He-

rodes, who lived only sixty years prior to the Christian era. The first archon of whom we hear anything really worthy of notice was Draco. He governed Athens in the year 624 B.C., when he promulgated his written laws; but although his name is very frequently mentioned in history, no connected account can be found either of the law-giver or of his institutions. We only know generally that his laws were excessively severe, awarding punishment of death for the smallest offences no less than for the most heinous crimes; and that, as Demades remarked of them, they seemed to have been written with blood. For this extraordinary and indiscriminating severity he gave no other reason, than that the smallest faults appeared to him to be worthy of death, and that he could find no higher punishment for the greatest. He was far advanced in years when he legislated for Athens; and he appears to have endeavored to act as a mediator between the people and the oppressive nobles. His laws were called sanctions. The Athenians, however, soon grew weary both of the sanctions and their author; upon which Draco was obliged to retire to Ægina, where he was received in the most flattering manner. But the favor of the inhabitants of this place proved more fatal to him than the hatred of the Athenians; on coming one day into the theatre, the audience, to evince their regard for the exiled legislator, are said to have thrown their cloaks upon him, and fairly stifled the old man to death with their kindness.

Not long after the expulsion of Draco, we find the republic engaged in a war with the Mitylenians about the city Sigeum, situated near the mouth of the river Scamander. The Athenian army was commanded by Phrynon, and that of the Mitylenians by Pittacus, one of the seven sages of Greece; but the generals, thinking the honor of their respective countries concerned, and being at the same time desirous to spare the effusion of blood, agreed to settle the dispute by a single combat. They met accordingly; but the sage,

trusting more to cunning than to courage, concealed behind his shield a net, wherewith he suddenly entangled his antagonist, and easily slew him. This, however, not putting an end to the war, Periander of Corinth interposed; and both parties having submitted to his arbitration, he decreed that Sigeum should belong to the Athenians.

About seven years after the Mitylenian war, 612 B.C., a conspiracy was entered into by Cylon, son-in-law of Theagenes, prince of Megara, for the purpose of seizing on the sovereignty of Athens. The people would have readily submitted to his rule to escape from the oppression of the many nobles. But having consulted the Delphic oracles as to the most proper time, and received directions to make the attempt while the citizens of Athens were engaged in celebrating the great festival of Zeus, Cylon and his associates made themselves masters of the citadel by a *coup-de-main*, at the time when the greater part of the citizens had repaired to Elis to witness the celebration of the Olympic games. But being instantly besieged by Megacles, who was at that time archon, and soon reduced to great distress from want of water, the chief conspirator and his brother contrived to effect their escape; upon which the remainder fled for safety to the temple of Athena, where they were barbarously massacred by order of Megacles, in virtue of one of those sophistical quibbles by means of which men sometimes reconcile their minds to the perpetration of the foulest and bloodiest deeds.

At this period of confusion the Megarians attacked and took both Nisæa and Salamis. The former was a place of little or no importance to any, and the latter one of the very greatest in every view; but so completely were the Athenians routed in every attempt to retake it, that a law was at last passed, declaring it capital for any one to propose the recovery of Salamis. About the same time the city was disturbed by reports of frightful appearances, and filled with superstitious fears, for it was believed that the

crime of Megacles was the cause of all disasters. The oracle at Delphi was therefore consulted, and an answer returned that the city must be purified by certain expiatory rites. This was accordingly done under the superintendence of one Epimenides, a Cretan, who prescribed the sacrifice of white and black sheep, and also caused many temples and chapels to be erected, including one dedicated to Contumely, and another to Impudence! This man, after looking wistfully for a long time to the port of Munychia, spoke as follows to those that were near him: "How blind is man to the future! For, did the Athenians know what mischief will one day be derived to them from this place, they would eat it with their teeth." This prediction was thought to have been accomplished 270 years after, when Antipater constrained the Athenians to admit a Macedonian garrison into that place.

About 604 years B.C., Solon, the famed Athenian legislator, began to show himself to his countrymen. He is said to have been lineally descended from Codrus, but left by his father in circumstances rather necessitous, which obliged him to apply himself to merchandise. From the first he appeared in the character of a patriot. The shameful decree, that none under pain of death should propose the recovery of Salamis, grieved him so much, that having composed an elegy such as he thought calculated to inflame the minds of the people, he ran into the market-place as if he had been insane, repeating his verses. A crowd soon collected around the pretended madman; his kinsman Pisistratus mingled with the people, and observing them moved with Solon's words, agreed to second the patriotic poet with all the eloquence he was master of; and at length they prevailed so far as to have the law rescinded, war declared against the people of Megara, and an expedition immediately fitted out for the recovery of Salamis; which was ultimately effected by a stratagem more creditable to the ingenuity than the bravery of the Athenians.



The success of this enterprise at once established the reputation of Solon; who, on his return to Athens, was greatly honored by the people, and soon afforded them another occasion of admiring that wisdom for which they had already given him credit. The inhabitants of Cirrha, a town situated in the Bay of Corinth, having repeatedly committed acts of extortion and violence against pilgrims proceeding to Delphi, at last besieged the capital itself, with a view of making themselves masters of the treasures contained in the temple of Apollo. Advice of this intended sacrilege having been sent to the Amphictyons, Solon advised that the matter should be universally resented, and that all the states should join in punishing the Cirrhæans, and in saving the Delphic oracle. This suggestion was adopted, and a general war against Cirrha declared, B.C. 594. Cleisthenes, prince of Sicyon, commanded in chief, and the Athenian contingent was under the orders of Alcmaeon. Solon accompanied the expedition as assistant or counsellor to Cleisthenes, and under his direction the war was conducted to a prosperous issue. According to Pausanias the city was reduced by a singular stratagem, said to have been invented by Solon. He caused the river Pleistus, which flowed through Cirrha, to be turned into another channel, hoping thereby to distress the inhabitants for want of water; but finding they had many wells within the city, and were not to be reduced by that means, he caused a vast quantity of roots of hellebore to be thrown into the river, which was then suffered to return into its former bed. The inhabitants, overjoyed at the sight of running water, came in troops to drink of it; the consequence of which was, that an epidemic flux ensued, and the citizens being no longer able to defend the walls, the town was easily captured. This, as far as we know, is the only instance on record of a town taken by physic.

On his return to Athens after the hellebore achievement, Solon found things again in the utmost confusion. The remnant of Cy-

lon's faction gave out that all sorts of misfortunes had befallen the republic on account of the impiety of Megacles and his followers; and this clamor was heightened by the retaking of Salamis about the same time by the Megarians. Solon interposed, and persuading those who were styled "execrable" to abide the trial, three hundred persons were chosen to judge them. The issue was, that the whole of Megacles' party who were alive were sent into perpetual exile, and the bones of such as had died were dug up and sent beyond the limits of their country. But although this decision restored tranquillity for the time, the people were still divided into three factions, contending about the proper form of government. These were called the Diacrii, Pediei, and Parali; the first of whom, consisting of the inhabitants of the hilly country, declared for democracy; the second, dwelling in the low country, and far more opulent than the former, were in favor of an oligarchy, wishing to keep the government in their own hands; whilst the third party, who inhabited the sea-coast, were people of moderate principles, and therefore friendly to a mixed government. But besides these agitations, disturbances of a much more serious character arose, in consequence of the lamentable condition to which the people or Demos had been reduced, in consequence of the severity of the law of debt. According to Plutarch, the poor, having become indebted to the rich, either tilled their grounds and paid them the sixth part of the produce, or pledged their persons for their debts, so that many were made slaves at home, and not a few sold as such into foreign countries; while some were even obliged to sell their children to pay their debts, and others in despair quitted Attica altogether. The greater part, however, were for throwing off the yoke, and began to look about for a leader, openly declaring that they intended to change the form of government, to introduce a more equitable distribution of power, and to modify the law of debt.

In this extremity the eyes of all were turned to Solon, and some were for offering him the sovereignty at once; but, perceiving the intentions of these misjudging persons, he refused the sovereignty tendered to him, and preferring the substance to the shadow, quietly took upon himself, without any pomp or pageantry, the unqualified exercise of the supreme authority of the state, in all its branches, and wielded it with an absolutism which would have been intolerable, had it not been conferred upon him by the unanimous consent of the people. He was chosen archon (594 B.C.) without having recourse to the ballot, an anomaly of which there is no other example; and, after his election, he proved the wisdom of the choice by disappointing the interested expectations of all parties. It was a fundamental maxim with Solon, that those laws will be best observed which power and justice equally support. Hence, wherever he found the old constitution in any measure consonant to justice, he refused to make any alteration at all, and was at extraordinary pains to show the reason of such changes as were actually introduced. In a word, being a consummate judge of mankind generally, and, above all, thoroughly conversant with the character of his countrymen, he sought to rule only by showing the people that it was their interest to obey, and contented himself with giving them such institutions as they were prepared to receive, instead of forcing upon them those which might be esteemed theoretically the most perfect. Hence, to one who inquired whether he had given the Athenians the best laws in his power, he replied, "I have established the best which they could receive."

With reference to the main cause of discontent, namely, the oppressed state of the meaner class, Solon removed it by a scheme which he called *seisachtheia*, or discharge. Ancient authors, however, are not agreed as to the precise nature of this contrivance. Some say that he cancelled all debts then in existence and prohibited the seizure of any

man's person in default of payment of a debt for the future; whilst others affirm that the poor were relieved, not by cancelling the debts, but by lowering the interest, and increasing the value of money, so that a mina, which before was equal to seventy-three drachmas only, was by him made equal to a hundred. The more probable opinion is, that the *seisachtheia* was a general disburdening ordinance, which relieved the debtor partly by a reduction of the rate of interest, and partly by lowering the standard of the coinage, whereby a debtor saved more than twenty-five per cent. in every payment. He also released the mortgaged lands from their encumbrances, and restored them to their owners. He then abolished the cruel law, by which a creditor might enslave his debtor, and restored to freedom those who were pining in bondage. These may seem measures of extreme violence; but it must be borne in mind that the whole people had conferred upon him unlimited power, on the understanding that they would acquiesce in his legislative regulations.

But in the midst of all the glory which Solon acquired by these measures, an accident occurred which for a time clouded his reputation, and almost entirely ruined his schemes. Having, it seems, consulted Conon, Clinias and Hipponicus, three of his friends, on an oration he had prepared with a view to engage the people's consent to the *seisachtheia*, these worthies, thus apprized of the contemplated measure, availed themselves of their knowledge to borrow large sums of money before the law was promulgated, with the intention to take advantage of its provisions, and refuse to repay the lenders. We cannot wonder that Solon himself was at first believed to have been cognizant of the scheme, and a partner in this fraudulent adventure. But, happily for his credit, these suspicions were obliterated when it was discovered that the lawgiver was a creditor to a large extent, and likely to become a considerable loser by the operation of his own law. His friends, however,



never recovered their credit, but were ever afterwards stigmatized with the opprobrious appellation of *chreiocopidæ* or *debt-sinkers*.

Solon now set himself to the arduous task of compiling a body of laws for the people of Attica; and having at last completed his task in the best manner he could, or at least in the best manner that the character of the people would admit, he caused them to be duly ratified, and declared to be in force for a century from the date of their publication. Those which related to private actions were preserved on parallelograms of wood, with cases which reached from the ground, and turned upon a pin like a wheel, whence the appellation of *axones*; and were placed, first in the Acropolis, and afterwards in the Prytaneium, that all the subjects of the state might have access to consult them whenever they chose. Such as concerned public institutions and sacrifices were inscribed on triangular tablets of stone called *xyrbeis*. The Athenian magistrates were sworn to observe both. With regard to the *axones*, or *jus privatum* of Solon, our information is exceedingly imperfect; but if it be true that the decemviral constitutions at Rome were principally borrowed from this portion of his code, the fragments which remain of these celebrated laws are certainly calculated to give us no mean idea of his fitness for the task which circumstances as well as inclination had induced him to undertake. Nor will our opinion of the legislator be lowered by attending to his system of public law; concerning which more exact details have been preserved, and some account will be given when we come to speak of the Athenian government. We may, however, here remark in general, that Solon had abolished the ancient aristocratic government, in which all rights and privileges had been determined by birth, and that he substituted a timocracy, that is, a form of government in which a man's property forms the standard by which his rights and duties are determined.

After the promulgation of his code, Solon

found himself obliged to leave Athens, to avoid being continually teased for explanations and emendations of his laws. He therefore pretended an inclination to merchandize, and obtained leave to withdraw himself for ten years, in the hope that during his absence his laws would grow familiar to the people. From Athens he accordingly travelled into Egypt, where he is said to have conversed with Psamenophis of Heliopolis and Sesonchis of Sais, the most learned priests of that age, from whom he learned the situation of the island Atlantis, and wrote an account of it in verse, which Plato afterwards continued. Leaving Egypt, he is reported to have visited Cyprus, where he was well received by one of the petty kings, and assisted in the foundation of a new city, the site of which he had pointed out, and which, out of gratitude to the Athenian legislator, was called Soli.

But while Solon was thus travelling in quest of wisdom, his countrymen were again divided into three factions. Lycurgus was at the head of what may be called the country party; Megacles the son of Alcmaeon swayed those who lived on the sea-coast; and Peisistratus appeared as the champion of the *demos*, under the pretence of protecting them from tyranny, but in reality with the view of seizing on the sovereignty for himself. In the midst of all this confusion the legislator returned about 562 B.C. Each of the factions affected to receive him with the deepest reverence and respect, beseeching him to resume his authority, and compose the disorders to which they themselves had given birth. But Solon declined this hollow invitation, on the ground that his age rendered him unable to speak and act as formerly for the good of his country; he sent, however, for the chiefs of each party, and entreated them in the most pathetic manner not to ruin their common parent, but to prefer the public good to their own private interest; sound advice, doubtless, but entirely thrown away on those to whom it was administered.

Peisistratus, who of all the chiefs had unquestionably the least intention of following Solon's advice, appeared to be the most affected with his discourses; but perceiving that he affected popularity by all possible methods, Solon easily penetrated into his design of assuming the sovereign power. This he spoke of privately to Peisistratus himself; but as he saw his admonitions had no effect, he unveiled the designs of this ambitious chief, that the public might be on their guard against him and his artful machinations. But all the wise discourses of Solon were lost upon the Athenians. Peisistratus had got the lower class entirely at his devotion, and therefore resolved to cheat them out of the liberty which they were incapable of appreciating. With this view he wounded himself, then drove into the market-place, and there showed his bleeding body, imploring the protection of the people against those whom his kindness to them had rendered his implacable enemies. It was for being their declared friend, he said, that he had thus suffered. They saw it was no longer safe for a man to be a friend to the people; they saw it was no longer safe for a man to live in Attica, unless they would take him under that protection which he implored. A crowd was instantly collected, Solon amongst the rest, who, suspecting the deceit, openly taxed Peisistratus with his perfidious conduct; but to no purpose. A general assembly of the people was summoned, wherein it was moved that Peisistratus should have a guard. Solon alone had resolution enough to oppose this measure, the richer Athenians remaining silent through fear of the multitude, which implicitly followed Peisistratus, and applauded everything he said. A guard of 400 men was then unanimously decreed to Peisistratus; and with this inconsiderable body he managed, partly by stratagem and partly by force, to possess himself of the supreme power B.C. 560. Solon inveighed bitterly against the meanness of his countrymen, in thus tamely surrendering their liberties, and

attempted to rouse them to take up arms in defence of the constitution and the laws; but finding his efforts unavailing, he withdrew, remarking that he had done his utmost for his country. He submitted to the tyranny of Peisistratus merely because he had no choice between a tyranny and anarchy.

Peisistratus, having thus obtained the sovereignty, did not overturn the laws of Solon, but on the contrary used his power with the greatest moderation, and even courted the friendship and asked the advice of Solon. It was not in the nature of things, however, that the Athenians could long remain satisfied with this form of government. On the usurpation of Peisistratus, Megacles and his family had retired from Athens, ostensibly in order to save their own lives; but having entered into a treaty with Lycurgus, whom they bought, along with his party, into a scheme for deposing the usurper, they concerted matters so skillfully, that Peisistratus was soon after obliged to withdraw from the city; and, on his departure, the Athenians ordered his goods to be confiscated. But Megacles had no sooner succeeded in his project against Peisistratus, than finding his ally Lycurgus intractable, he changed sides, and began to plot the return of the very man whom he had just succeeded in expelling as a tyrant and usurper. This counter project was at length effected by means of a trick worthy of the parties engaged in this little political drama. Having found out a woman of the name of Phya, of a mean family and fortune, but of great stature and very handsome person, they dressed her in armor, placed her in a chariot, and having disposed things so as to make her appear to the utmost advantage, they conducted her towards the city, sending heralds before, with orders to address the people in the following terms: "Give a kind reception, O Athenians, to Peisistratus, who is so much honored above all other men by Athena that she herself condescends to bring him back to the citadel." The report being universally spread that Athena was bringing back Peisistratus,



and the ignorant multitude believing this woman to be the goddess, addressed their prayers to her, and received Peisistratus with the utmost joy. When he had recovered the sovereignty, Peisistratus married the daughter of Megacles, in fulfillment of a stipulation made between them to that effect, and also gave the mock goddess as a wife to his son Hipparchus. This last statement renders the whole story, which in itself is extremely childish, altogether improbable.

Peisistratus did not long enjoy the authority to which he had been thus restored. He had indeed married the daughter of Megacles according to treaty; but having children by a former marriage, and remembering that the whole family of Megacles were execrated by the Athenians, he thought it expedient to suffer his new spouse to remain in a state of perpetual widowhood. This the lady bore patiently for some time; but at last acquainting her mother with the state in which she was compelled to live, the affront was highly resented; and Megacles immediately entered into a treaty with the malcontents. Peisistratus, apprised of this step on the part of his father-in-law, and perceiving that a new storm was gathering, voluntarily quitted Athens and retired to Eretria; where, having consulted with his sons, he resolved to reduce Athens, and repossess himself of power by force of arms. With this view he applied to several of the Greek states, including that of Thebes, which furnished him with the troops he desired; and at the head of a considerable force he returned to Attica; reduced Marathon, the inhabitants of which had taken no measures for their defence; surprised and routed the republican forces, which had marched out of Athens to attack him, and finally, after an absence of about ten years, re-established himself in power, by using victory with his accustomed moderation.

Peisistratus being thus reinstated once more in the sovereignty, took a method of securing himself in power directly opposite to that which Theseus had adopted. For,

instead of collecting the inhabitants from the country into towns, as his predecessor had done, Peisistratus made them retire from the towns into the country, in order to apply themselves to agriculture, and thus prevented their meeting together in bodies and caballing against him as they had hitherto been accustomed to do. By this means also the territory of Athens was greatly ameliorated, and extensive plantations of olives were reared over all Attica, which had hitherto been not only destitute of corn, but also naked and bleak in appearance from the total want of trees. And had he stopped here it would have been well. But actuated by that partiality for sumptuary laws which seems to have been the foible of nearly all the ancient legislators, he commanded his subjects in the city to wear a kind of sheepskin frock reaching to the knees, and appears to have set great store by this absurd enactment, which was doubtless intended to restore the simplicity of ancient manners. The Athenians, however, vehemently resented this interference with their habits; and so odious did the sheepskin garment become, that in succeeding times the frock or jacket of Peisistratus was a sort of by-word for the badge or garb of slavery. Experience shows that it is comparatively an easy matter to rob men of their liberty, and trample both on their political and civil rights; but an interference with their private habits or the adornment of their persons is almost always dangerous. As prince of Athens, Peisistratus exacted for the service of the state the tenth part of every man's revenue, and even of the fruits of the earth; a heavy tax, undoubtedly, and one which might well justify a little grumbling on the part of those who had to pay it; nor could all the magnificence with which the public revenue was expended reconcile the Athenians to the heavy burdens they were called upon to bear. Indeed they not unnaturally fancied themselves oppressed by tyranny, and indulged in perpetual complaints from the time Peisistratus first ascended the throne

to the day of his death, which happened in 527 B.C., about thirty-three years after he had first assumed the sovereignty, of which period, according to Aristotle, he reigned about seventeen years.

In taking a retrospect, however, of the government and character of this celebrated man, it is impossible to doubt that the one was enlightened and the other humane. The ancient writers are all agreed that he made no change of any consequence in the Athenian constitution. All the laws continued in force; the general assembly, the council of state, the courts of justice, and the magistracies, respectively retained their constitutional powers; and it is known that the usurper himself obeyed a citation from the Areopagus upon a charge of murder. His hand, it is true, lay heavy on the purses of the people in the matter of taxation. But the sums which he raised were religiously expended in the decoration and improvement of the capital, or in works of public utility; and it cannot be questioned that, although he resorted to iniquitous or contemptible expedients to obtain power, he never abused it, either for the gratification of selfishness or revenge. "Take away only his ambition," said Solon; "cure him of the lust of reigning, and there is not a man more naturally disposed to every virtue, nor a better citizen than Peisistratus." He embellished the city with a great variety of edifices; he improved and strengthened its defences; he enlarged and ameliorated its harbors; and by various acts of taste and magnificence, not less than by his attention to the cultivation of the public mind, he may be said to have fixed the muses at Athens. In a word, if he was ambitious he was also enlightened and humane; and, although no one can justify the modes which he took to possess himself of power, his use of it was characterized by a moderation and patriotism which have never as yet been exemplified by any other usurper, ancient or modern; insomuch that, reviewing his character and conduct, we are almost tempted to subscribe to the senti-

ment expressed by the poet Claudian, "*Nunquam gravior extat libertas, quam sub rege pio.*"

Peisistratus left behind him three sons, Hipparchus, Hippias and Thessalus, all men of abilities, who shared the government among them, and behaved for a time with lenity and moderation. But though, by the mildness of their government, the family of the Peisistratidæ seemed to be fully established on the throne of Athens, a conspiracy was unexpectedly formed against the brothers, by which Hipparchus was slain, and Hippias narrowly escaped death. There were at that time living in Athens two young men, called Harmodius and Aristogeiton. The former being remarkable for his personal beauty, was, on that account, it is said, unnaturally beloved by the other, and also by Hipparchus. This was vehemently resented by Aristogeiton, who, in consequence, determined on revenge, which another circumstance contributed to accelerate. Hipparchus, finding that Harmodius endeavored on all occasions to shun him, publicly affronted the youth, by refusing permission to his sister to carry the offering of Athena, as if she had been a person unworthy of that distinction. The two young men, not daring to show any public signs of resentment, consulted privately with their friends, amongst whom it was resolved, that at the approaching festival of the great Panathenæa, when the citizens were allowed to appear in arms, they should attempt to restore Athens to its former liberty; and in this they imagined they would be seconded by the whole body of the people. But when the appointed day arrived, they perceived one of their number talking familiarly with Hippias wherefore, dreading a discovery, they immediately fell upon Hipparchus, and despatched him with many wounds, 514 B.C. In this exploit, however, the people were so far from aiding the conspirators, that they suffered Harmodius to be killed by the guards of Hipparchus; and seizing Aristogeiton, delivered him up to the vengeance of Hippias. But they soon had



reason to change their opinion, and some time afterwards paid the most extravagant honors to the memory of these conspirators, causing their praises to be sung at the great Panathenæa, forbidding any citizen to call a slave by either of their names, and erecting brazen statues to them in the agora or market-place. Several immunities and privileges were also granted to the descendants of these (so-called) patriots, and all possible means were taken to render their memory respected and revered by posterity.

Hippias being now sole master of Athens, and burning to revenge the murder of his brother, began by torturing Aristogeiton, in order to force him to disclose his accomplices. But this proved fatal to his own friends; for Aristogeiton impeaching such only as he knew to be best affected to the government of Hippias, the latter were instantly put to death without further inquiry; and when he had exhausted his list, he at last told Hippias that he now knew of none who deserved to suffer death except the tyrant himself. Hippias next ventured his rage on a woman named Leaina, who had been kept by Aristogeiton, and who was put to the torture; which, however, she had the courage to endure without making any confession. After the conspiracy was thought to be crushed, Hippias set about strengthening his government by every means he could think of. With this view he contracted alliances with foreign princes; he increased his revenues by different expedients; married his only daughter, Archedice, to Æantides, son of Hippocles, tyrant of Lampsacus; and endeavored, by affecting various arts of popularity, to conciliate that public opinion which his excessive severities had so rudely shocked. But all these precautions proved fruitless. The lenity of the government of Peisistratus had alone supported it; and, although Hippias had fewer difficulties to contend with than his father, the vehemence of his resentment on account of his brother's murder betrayed him into courses repugnant alike to sound policy and to the interests of his far-

ily, and at last proved the cause of his expulsion from power in rather less than four years after the death of Hipparchus, 510 B.C. This revolution was principally brought about by the party of the Alcæonidæ, or adherents of Megacles. Hippias retired to Sigeum, an appanage of his family, where he contrived by every means in his power to recover his lost position at Athens, and in the end, seeing that his plans could not succeed, even assisted the Persians in the war against his native city.

After the expulsion of the Peisistratidæ, the Athenians did not long enjoy the tranquillity which they had promised themselves. They became divided into two factions; one of which was headed by Cleisthenes, chief of the Alcæonidæ; and the other by Isagoras, a man of quality, and highly in favor with the Athenian eupatrids, or nobility. Cleisthenes cultivated the people, and endeavored to gain their affection by increasing as much as possible their power; whilst Isagoras perceiving that the popular arts of his rival would secure him an ascendancy, applied to the Lacedæmonians for assistance, at the same time reviving the old story of Megacles's sacrilege, and insisting that Cleisthenes ought to be banished as being of that person's family. Cleomenes, king of Sparta, readily entered into his schemes, and suddenly Cleisthenes, probably dreading the old outcry against his family, withdrew from Athens; and when Cleomenes had entered Athens at the head of an army, the people, being without a leader, were so dismayed, that they allowed the Spartan king to act as if he were absolute master. On arriving at Athens, he condemned to banishment seven hundred families, in addition to those previously sent into exile. And, not content with this, he would have dissolved the senate, and vested the government in the heads of the faction of Isagoras; but happily the Athenians were not yet degraded enough to submit to such humiliation. Taking up arms, they drove the Spartan troops into the citadel, where, after sustaining a short

siege, Cleomenes surrendered, on condition that Isagoras should depart unmolested with Cleomenes and the Lacedæmonian troops; but their adherents were left to the mercy of the people, and put to death. Cleisthenes and the seven hundred exiled families then returned to Athens in triumph. This happened in 508 B.C.

The Spartan king, however, had no sooner withdrawn from Athens, than he formed a strong combination in favor of Isagoras; having engaged the Bœotians to attack Attica on the one side, and the Chalcidians on the other, whilst he at the head of a powerful Spartan army entered the territory of the Eleusis. But this powerful confederacy was quickly dissolved. The Corinthians, who had joined Cleomenes, doubting the justice of their cause, returned home: the rest of his allies likewise began to waver; and his colleague Demaratus, the other king of Sparta, differing in opinion with Cleomenes, the latter was obliged to abandon the enterprise. The Spartans and their allies having withdrawn, the Athenians quickly routed the Bœotians and Chalcidians, and carried off a great number of prisoners, who were afterwards set at liberty on paying a ransom of two minæ a head. The Bœotians, on the other hand, immediately vowed revenge, and engaging on their side the people of Ægina, who had a hereditary hatred to the Athenians, the Æginetans landed a considerable army, and ravaged the coasts of Attica while the Athenians were occupied with the Bœotian war.

In the meanwhile Cleomenes, exasperated by his unsuccessful expedition against Attica, and anxious for an opportunity of effacing the remembrance of his defeat, produced at Sparta certain pretended oracles which he alleged he had found in the citadel of Athens while he was besieged therein, the purport of which was, that Athens would soon become a rival of Sparta. At the same time it was discovered that Cleisthenes had bribed the priestess of Apollo to cause the Lacedæmonians to expel the Peisistratidæ from

Athens; which was sacrificing their best friends to those whom interest necessarily rendered their enemies. This pitiful jugglery had such an effect, that the Spartans, repenting their folly in expelling Hippias, sent for him from Sigeum, in order to restore him to his principality; but the other states refusing to countenance the projected restoration, the Spartans were forced to abandon the enterprise, and Hippias returned to Sigeum to digest his disappointment.

About this period Aristagoras the Milesian having stirred up a revolt in Ionia against the Persian king, applied to the Spartans for assistance; but the Spartan king either felt no sympathy with the Greeks in Asia, who had been subjected by the Persians, or, because the bribes offered by Aristagoras were not large enough, declined to have anything to do with the matter. Aristagoras then proceeded to Athens, where he found willing hearers. The Athenians regarding it as a religious duty to assist their kinsmen and colonists, passed a decree to send a squadron of twenty ships to support them, under the command of Melanthus, a nobleman universally esteemed. This rash action cost the Greeks very dear; for no sooner did the king of Persia hear of the assistance sent from Athens to his rebellious subjects, than he declared himself the sworn enemy of that city, and solemnly besought the deity that he might one day have it in his power to be revenged on them. But besides the displeasure which Darius had conceived against the Athenians on account of the assistance they had afforded the Ionians, he was further encouraged, by the intrigues of the ex-tyrant Hippias, to undertake an expedition against Greece. Immediately on his return from Lacedæmon as above related, Hippias passed over into Asia; proceeded to Artaphernes, governor of the adjacent provinces belonging to the Persian king; and excited him to make war upon his country, promising to do homage to the Persian monarch provided he was restored to the



principality of Athens. Apprised of this step on the part of their late tyrant, the Athenians sent ambassadors to Artaphernes, desiring permission to enjoy their liberty in peace. But the Persians returned for an answer, that if they would have peace with the Great King, they must immediately consent to receive Hippias; and as the Athenians were by no means disposed to purchase the forbearance of the Persian monarch at the price of compliance, they resolved to assist his enemies by every means in their power. This resolution being made known to Darius, he commissioned Mardonius to avenge him of the insults which he thought the Greeks had offered him; but that commander having met with a storm at sea and other accidents, which rendered him unable to do anything, Datis and Artaphernes (the son of the Artaphernes above-mentioned) were commissioned to chastise Grecian insolence and presumption.

War being thus declared, the Persian commanders, fearing again to attempt doubling the promontory of Athos, where their fleet had formerly suffered, drew their forces into the plains of Cilicia, and passing thence, through the Cyclades to Eubœa, directed their course towards Athens. Their instructions were to destroy both Eretria and Athens, and to bring away the people. The first attempt was made on Eretria; and on the approach of the Persian fleet the inhabitants sent to Athens to apply for assistance. Nor did they sue in vain. With a magnanimity almost unparalleled, considering the crisis, the Athenians sent 4000 men to their aid; but unhappily the Eretrians were so greatly divided in opinion, that, though the danger was urgent, nothing could be resolved on. One party was for receiving the Athenian succors into the city; another declared for abandoning the city and retiring into the mountains of Eubœa; whilst a third was base enough to seek to betray their country to the Persians. Matters being in this hopeless state, the Athenian commanders withdrew the auxiliary force, and retiring by

Oropus, escaped the destruction with which they were threatened; whilst Eretria, betrayed into the hands of the Persians, was pillaged and burned, and its inhabitants sold for slaves; a fate which their cowardice and treachery richly merited.

On the tidings of this disaster the Athenians immediately drew together such forces as they could muster, amounting in all to about 10,000 men; and these, with 1000 Plataeans who afterwards joined them, were commanded by ten general officers, with equal power, amongst whom were the illustrious names of Miltiades, Aristides, and Themistocles, men distinguished alike for their valor, their conduct, their patriotism, and their virtue. But it being generally thought that so small a body of troops would be unable to resist the formidable power of the Persians, a messenger was dispatched to Sparta to entreat the immediate assistance of that state. He communicated his business to the senate in the following terms:—"Men of Lacedæmon," said he, "the Athenians desire you to assist them, and not to suffer the most ancient of all the Grecian cities to be enslaved by the barbarians. Eretria is already destroyed, and Greece consequently weakened by the loss of so considerable a place." The assistance was readily granted; but the promised succours arrived too late for the occasion which required them; and, happily for their own glory, the Athenians were obliged to fight without waiting for their arrival. In the memorable engagement on the plains of Marathon, whither Hippias had conducted the Persian host, the latter were defeated with great loss by the Athenian infantry, under the command of Miltiades, and driven to their ships, 490 B. C. They then endeavored to double Cape Sunium (Colonna), in order to surprise Athens before the army could return. But in this they were prevented by Miltiades, who, leaving Aristides with 1000 men to guard the prisoners, returned so expeditiously with the main body, that he reached the temple of Hercules before the

barbarians had time to commence a serious attack on the city. In the meanwhile the virtuous Aristides discharged the trust reposed in him with the strictest integrity. Though there was much gold and silver in the Persian camp, and the tents and ships they had taken were filled with all manner of riches, he not only forbore taking anything for his own use, but exerted himself to the utmost in order to prevent others from appropriating the spoils of the enemy, which were religiously reserved for the public service of the state.

After the victory of Marathon, the inhabitants of Plataea were declared free citizens of Athens, and Miltiades, Themistocles, and Aristides were treated with all possible marks of admiration and respect. Miltiades having now reached the highest pitch of power, demanded of the Athenians a fleet of seventy ships, with which he promised to increase their empire, and the people granted his request without even knowing what expedition he wished to undertake. He first attacked Paros, where he had to avenge some private wrong, but being thwarted by the Persians, and having received a dangerous wound in his knee, he returned to Athens without having accomplished the object for which he had induced the people to fit out the fleet. The ill-feeling thus created led some person of high standing to bring an accusation against him for having deceived the people. He was sentenced to pay a fine of fifty talents, and being unable to pay, he was thrown into prison, in which he soon after died of his wounds. This termination of the career of Miltiades has often been referred to as a proof of the ingratitude of the Athenians. But it must not be forgotten that he had really deceived the people by demanding of them a fleet for the purpose of accomplishing some private object, while he made them believe that he meant to employ it in their service. He appears, in fact, to have attempted to set himself above the laws, and to continue in the free state of Athens the same mode of life which he had led as dy-

nast in the Chersonese. Under these circumstances we may indeed pity him, but cannot admit that he fell an innocent victim to the abuse of popular liberty. His colleague Aristides, by his regulation of the affairs of the Athenian allies, and by the reforms he introduced in the constitution during the period subsequent to the battle of Marathon, gained the highest esteem and respect among his fellow-citizens. Although he was descended from an ancient and noble family, and had been in positions in which he might have acquired great wealth, yet he seems to have lived almost in indigence. Such virtue was at all times extremely uncommon at Athens, and procured for him the honorable surname of the Just. This circumstance, however, made him an object of envy with many, and Themistocles, his most powerful opponent, induced the people to send him into honorable exile by ostracism, an institution by which the Athenians were enabled to rid themselves, for a time, of any man whose influence seemed to endanger the safety of their republican constitution. Such an exile, however, was not connected either with confiscation of property or with disgrace. At his trial Aristides is said to have assisted an illiterate rustic in writing his own name on one of the shells that condemned him. After his removal, Themistocles was in the undivided possession of the popular favor, and exerted all his powers to make Athens a maritime state.

About three years after the banishment of Aristides, Xerxes king of Persia sent to demand of the Greeks earth and water as tokens of submission and homage. But Themistocles, desirous to widen the breach with that monarch, put to death the interpreter for publishing the decree of the king of Persia in the language of the Greeks; and having prevailed with the several states to lay aside their animosities and provide for their common safety, he got himself elected general of the Athenian army.

In the invasion of Xerxes which followed, Sparta played a conspicuous part in the de-



fense; but the celebrated battle of Thermopylæ, which gained for them so much glory, was productive of no good results. The Persians were advancing with an immense force through Macedonia and Thessaly against Greece. The only spot where it could be hoped to make any effectual resistance to their advance was the pass of Thermopylæ between the eastern extremity of Mount Oeta and the Maliac Gulf. To the north-east, the pass expanded into a small plain in which stood the town of Trachis, where Xerxes was encamped during the battle. The force with which Leonidas undertook to defend this pass consisted only of 300 Spartans, 400 Thebans, and from 8000 to 11,000 allies from the other states. Xerxes advancing near the pass, was surprised to find that the Greeks were resolved to dispute his march; for he had always flattered himself that on his approach they would betake themselves to flight and not attempt to oppose his innumerable forces. He accordingly waited four days without undertaking anything, to give them time to retreat. He then ordered them by a herald to deliver up their arms. Leonidas in a style truly laconical, answered, "Come and take them!" Xerxes, transported with rage at this reply, commanded the Medes and Cissians to march against them, seize them alive, and bring them to him in fetters. These troops, unable to break the ranks of the Greeks, soon betook themselves to flight. In their room, Hydanes was ordered to advance with the guard which was called immortal, and consisted of 10,000 chosen men; but when these assailed the Greeks, they succeeded no better than the Medes and Cissians, being obliged to retire with great loss. The next day, the Persians made another attack, but with all their efforts they could not make the Greeks give way, and, on the contrary, were themselves put to a shameful flight. Having lost all hope of forcing his way through troops that were determined to conquer or die, Xerxes was extremely perplexed and doubtful as to what measures he should adopt, when one

Ephialtes, in expectation of a great reward, came to him, and pointed out a circuitous path which led to the rear of the Spartan forces. The king immediately ordered Hydanes, with a select body of Persians, to follow this path by night, and attack the Greeks from behind. The Phocians, who had been set to guard this important route were taken by surprise, and retired with precipitation to the very top of the mountain, and Hydanes, neglecting to pursue them, marched down the mountain with all possible expedition, in order to attack the rear of those who defended the straits. Leonidas, being advised of the treachery of Ephialtes, and perceiving that there was not any longer hope of success, advised his allies to retire, though he conceived that he himself and the Spartans could not with honor retreat. With this advice they all complied except the Thebans, who were detained by Leonidas as hostages, for they were suspected of favoring the Persians, and the Thespians who could not be prevailed upon to abandon Leonidas. Xerxes, after pouring out a libation at the rising of the sun, began to move with the whole body of his army, as he had been advised by Ephialtes. Upon their approach, Leonidas advanced to the broadest part of the pass, and fell upon them with undaunted courage and resolution. Great numbers of the enemy falling into the sea, were drowned; others were trampled under foot by their companions, and very many were killed by the Greeks; who, knowing they could not avoid death upon the arrival of those who were advancing to fall upon their rear, made prodigious efforts of valor. In this action fell the brave Leonidas; whereupon Abrocomes and Hyperanthes, two brothers of Xerxes, advanced to seize his body, and carry it in triumph to Xerxes, but the Lacedæmonians, more eager to defend it than their own lives, repulsed the enemy four times, killed both the princes, with many other commanders of distinction, and rescued the body of their beloved general from the enemy's hands. But in the

meantime, as the troops, guided by Ephialtes, were advancing to attack their rear, the surviving Greeks retired to the narrowest part of the pass, and all drawing together, except the Thebans, who laid down their arms, posted themselves on a piece of rising ground. In this place they made head against the Persians who assaulted them on all sides, till at length, overwhelmed by numbers, they all fell, except one, who escaped to Sparta. Some time after, a monument was erected at Thermopylæ in honor of these brave defenders of Greece, with two inscriptions; the one related that 4000 Greeks fought against 3,000,000 Persians; the other was composed by the poet Simonides, and consisted of these words:—"Go, traveller, and tell the Spartans that we lie here in obedience to their laws."

When the news arrived that the Persians were advancing to invade Greece by the Straits of Thermopylæ, and that with this view they were transporting their forces by sea, Themistocles advised his countrymen to abandon the city, embark on board their galleys, and encounter their enemies while yet at a distance. But this advice being disregarded, Themistocles put himself at the head of the army, and having joined the Lacedæmonians, marched towards Tempe. But intelligence was received that the Straits of Thermopylæ had been forced, and that Bœotia and Thessaly had submitted to the Persians; and the army in consequence returned without attempting anything. In this extremity the oracle at Delphi was consulted by the Athenians, and at first returned a very alarming response, threatening them with total destruction; but after much humiliation, a more favorable answer was obtained, in which, probably by the direction of Themistocles, they were promised safety in *walls of wood*. This being interpreted as a command to abandon Athens, and place all their hopes of safety in their fleet, the greater part began to prepare for embarkation, and money was distributed among them by the council of the Areopagus, to the amount of

eight drachmas a head; but this not proving sufficient, Themistocles publicly gave out that somebody had stolen the shield of Athena, and under pretence of searching for the lost ægis, he seized on all the money he could find. Some, however, still refused to embark, and understanding the oracle in its literal sense, raised fortifications of wood, resolving to wait the arrival of the Persians, and defend themselves to the last.

The Persians having advanced to Athens soon after the inhabitants had deserted it, met with no opposition except from the few who had resolved to remain; and as they would listen to no terms of accommodation, they were put to the sword, and the city utterly destroyed. Xerxes, however, being defeated in a naval engagement at Salamis, 480 B.C., was forced to fly with prodigious loss. Themistocles was for pursuing him and breaking down the bridge of boats which he had thrown over the Hellespont; but this advice being overruled, the crafty Athenian sent a trusty messenger to the king, acquainting him that the Greeks intended breaking down his bridge, and at the same time suggesting the propriety of his making all haste in order to prevent his retreat being cut off. This advice, though misinterpreted by some, was certainly a prudent one; as Xerxes, although he had sustained a defeat, was still at the head of an army capable of destroying all Greece; and had he been driven to despair by finding himself shut up or even too hotly pursued, it is impossible to say what might have been the event. "Make a bridge of gold for a flying enemy," is a rule which the experience of war in all ages has sanctioned.

The defeat of Xerxes at Salamis disposed Mardonius, who had been left to carry on the war by land, rather to treat with the Athenians than to fight them; and with this view he sent Alexander, king of Macedon, to Athens to propose an alliance with the republic, exclusively of the other Grecian states. But this proposal was rejected; in consequence of which Athens was a second time destroyed, and the Athenians were



forced to retire to Salamis. But they were soon freed from the apprehension of final subjugation by the total defeat and death of Mardonius at Plataea, where Aristides and the Athenian troops under his command particularly distinguished themselves. And, by a singular coincidence, on the same day that the battle of Plataea was fought, another division of the Persians was defeated at Mycale in Ionia, where the Athenians also behaved with more signal gallantry than any of the other Greeks. The Persians being thus disposed of, the troops who had fought at Mycale crossed over to the Chersonesus, and laid siege to Sestos, which they at length captured after an obstinate defence by the garrison; a circumstance which appears to have irritated them so much that they put both the commanders to death in the most barbarous manner. One of them, Oibazus, was sacrificed to a Thracian god; whilst the other, Artayctes, was impaled alive, and his son stoned to death before his face, on the absurd pretence that he had rifled the sepulchre of Protesilaus.

After the victories of Plataea and Mycale, in 479 B.C., the Athenians, freed from all apprehension respecting the Persians, began to rebuild their city in a more magnificent manner than ever. Throughout the Persian war, the Athenians had been the most forward in opposing the barbarians; and their generals, Aristides and Cimon, displayed qualities which formed such a strong contrast with the domineering conduct of the Spartan Pausanias and the Spartan harmosts, that, with the exception of the Peloponnesians, nearly all the Greeks were desirous to place themselves under the protection of Athens, which thus acquired the supremacy in Greece. The relations of the allies, and their annual tribute, which was deposited in the temple of Appolo at Delos, was the work of Aristides, in whom all had the fullest confidence. Athens, in return, undertook the duty of protecting her allies against Persia. The constitution of Athens also underwent some changes at this time, which are ascrib-

ed to Aristides. He is said to have removed the barrier which had hitherto separated the highest from the lower classes, by throwing open the archonship and the Areopagus to all the citizens, without any distinction of birth or wealth. This change had been prepared by the circumstances of the time; and the noble exertions of the Athenian citizens had well entitled them to be thus raised to the full enjoyment of the advantages which the state could afford. About the same time Themistocles suggested the necessity of immediately fortifying the city, so as to prevent its being again destroyed whenever the Persians might deem it expedient to invade Greece. The Lacedaemonians disrelished this project exceedingly, and remonstrated against it, upon the hollow ground, that were Athens to be strongly fortified, and the Persians to become possessed of it, it might be impossible ever to dislodge them. The Athenians were not imposed on by this shallow pretence, which was soon changed into a peremptory command not to raise their walls higher; but, considering the great power of Sparta at that time, Themistocles advised the Athenians to temporize, and to assure the Spartan envoys that the work should not be proceeded with until by a special embassy satisfaction had been given to their allies. Being, at his own desire, named ambassador in conjunction with some other Athenians, Themistocles set out alone. Arrived at Sparta, he put off from time to time receiving an audience, on the pretence that his colleagues had not yet joined him; but in the meanwhile the walls of Athens were being built with the utmost expedition, neither houses nor sepulchres being spared for materials, and men, women, children, strangers, citizens, and servants, laboring at the work without intermission. The truth, however, having at length oozed out, Themistocles and his colleagues, who had by this time arrived, were summoned before the ephori, who immediately began to exclaim against the Athenians on account of their breach of compact. But Themistocles stoutly denied

the charge; his colleagues, he said, assured him of the contrary; at all events, it did not become a great state to give heed to vague rumors of this description; and if they had any doubts about the truth of his statement, the proper course would be to send deputies to inquire into the fact of the matter, whilst he should himself remain as a hostage to be answerable for the event. This plausible suggestion being agreed to, Themistocles engaged his associates to advise the Athenians to commit the Spartan ambassadors to safe custody until he should be released. Soon after Aristides and one other Athenian envoy arrived, informing Themistocles that the walls were high enough to stand a siege. Themistocles, accordingly, now dropped the mask, and bade the Spartans in future to treat the Athenians as reasonable men, who knew what they owed to themselves as well as their countrymen. The Spartans with their wonted skill dissembled their vexation, left the Athenians to act as they saw fit, and sent Themistocles back to Athens in safety.

The following year, 478 B.C., Themistocles, observing the inconvenience of the port of Phalerum, formed the resolution of improving the Peiræus, and rendering it the principal harbor of Athens. All the three ports, Phalerum, Munychia, and Peiræus, were fortified by a double range of wall, one on the landside, and the other following the windings of the coast. This wall was sixty feet in height, and of such breadth as to allow two wagons to pass each other. Peiræus now became a town of great importance, being the residence of merchants, sailors, and foreigners, who established themselves in it for purposes of trade and commerce. By these wise and prudent measures, undertaken and carried through with equal energy and address, the naval power of Athens was fixed on a sure basis, and the ascendancy in Grecian politics transferred from the Spartans to the Athenians.

The victory of Salamis and his prudent management of the affairs of Athens had raised Themistocles to a giddy height, which

made him proud, indiscreet, and rapacious, and drew upon him the charge of perfidy, avarice, and cruelty. His acts of selfishness made many persons his enemies, and the Spartans never forgiving him the manner in which he had thwarted their schemes, were ever active in rousing the jealousy and fears of his countrymen. In addition to all this, younger men were rising and taking his place in popular favor. The people accordingly were easily persuaded to consider him a dangerous person, and condemned him to a temporary exile by ostracism. He went to Argos, where he was still residing, 471 B.C., when the condemnation of the Spartan Pausanias for high treason brought ruin upon the head of Themistocles also. The Spartans charging him with being an accomplice of Pausanias, demanded of the Athenians to put him to death. His enemies at Athens rejoiced at this opportunity of crushing him, and officers were sent out to arrest him. But he fled and reached Ephesus in safety. Thence he proceeded to the court of Persia, where, by his prudence and cunning, he soon became a general favorite. King Artaxerxes at length sent him to Western Asia, where he was enabled by the king's munificence to maintain a sort of princely rank. At length, however, he is said to have made away with himself, because he felt unable to fulfill the promises he had made to the king.

But the war with Persia was not yet discontinued, and about the end of the seventy-seventh Olympiad, the Athenians equipped a fleet to relieve certain Greek cities in Asia, subject to the Persians, and gave the command of it to Cimon, the son of Miltiades by a daughter of the king of Thrace. Cimon had already tasted the temper of his countrymen, having been thrown into prison for his father's fine, from which he was released by Callias, whom his sister Elpinice had married on account of his great wealth, procured, it is said, by no very honorable means. But he nevertheless accepted of the command, and gained such immense booty in this expedition, that the Athenians were thereby en-



abled to lay the foundation of that longimural inclosure which united the port to the city; as also to adorn the Agora with palm-trees, and beautify the Academy with delightful walks and fountains. Soon after this expedition, the Persians having invaded the Chersonesus, and made themselves masters of it, with the assistance of the Thracians, Cimon was hastily sent against both. He had only four ships under his command; but with these he captured thirteen of the Persian galleys, and reduced the whole of the Chersonesus; after which he attacked the Thracians, who had made themselves masters of the gold mines situated between the rivers Nessus and Strymon, and speedily obliged them to yield. But Cimon was as wise and politic as he was brave. Many of the Greek states, in virtue of the general tax established by Aristides with the view of providing a fund for the common defence, were bound to furnish men and galleys, as well as to pay for their support. But when they saw themselves exposed to danger from the Persians, most of them evinced an unwillingness to furnish their contingent of men. This exasperated the Athenian generals, who, finding them obstinate in their refusal, were for having immediate recourse to force; but Cimon overruled this proposal, permitted such as were desirous of staying at home to remain, and accepted a sum of money instead of a galley completely manned; by which means he inured the Athenians, whom he took on board his galleys, to hardship and discipline, whilst the allies, who remained at home, became enervated through idleness, and, from being confederates, dwindled into tributaries or subjects.

Cimon had gained great wealth both to the state and to himself; but in his public character he had acted with unimpeached integrity, and as a private citizen he had dedicated his wealth to the most laudable purposes. He had demolished the inclosures about his grounds and gardens, permitting every one to enter and take what fruits they pleased; and he had kept open table, where

both rich and poor were plentifully entertained. If he met a citizen in a tattered suit of clothes, he made some of his attendants exchange with him; or if the quality of the person rendered such a kindness unsuitable, he caused a sum of money to be privately given him. All this excessive liberality, however, was as degrading to the benefactor as to the benefited, and was nothing but the means by which he endeavored to win popularity among the people. The nobles, to whose order Cimon belonged, had lost the power of oppressing the people, and now found it expedient to court them in every possible way, for the purpose of securing to themselves all the power that yet remained to them. Pericles, his great rival, unable to cope with Cimon's profusion, became the author of a series of measures, all of which tended to provide for the subsistence and gratification of the poorer classes at the public expense. The apparent neglect of Cimon in not conquering a district in the north of the *Ægean* was the cause of an accusation against him, in which Pericles was requested to take the lead; but he honorably declined doing so, because in his eyes the charge was unfounded. The result of this trial is not certain; for according to some Cimon was acquitted, while according to others he was sentenced to pay a fine of fifty talents. Soon afterwards, however, the aristocratic party, of which Cimon was the leader, became involved in a serious struggle with the democratic party, led by Pericles: the latter having succeeded in reducing the power of the *Areopagus*, the last stronghold of the aristocracy, it was thought advisable for the public safety, to remove Cimon for a time from Athens by ostracism.

The Athenian power had now risen to such a height that all the states of *Peloponnesus* looked upon the republic with a jealous eye, and were continually watching for opportunities of making war upon it when engaged in troublesome affairs, or hard pressed by other enemies. These attempts, however, so far from lessening, generally contrib

nted to increase the power of the Athenians. But in the year B. C. 458, the republic entered into a war with Sparta, which eventually proved nearly as fatal to the state as to the city. The Spartans had sent a considerable army to assist the Dorians against the Phocians; and on their return commenced intriguing with the aristocratic party at Athens. This led the Athenians to the determination not to wait till it was too late. Having therefore engaged the Argives and Thessalians as confederates, they posted themselves on the isthmus, so that the Spartan army could not return without encountering them. The Athenians and their confederates amounted to 14,000, and the Spartans to 11,500 men. The Lacedæmonian general, however, unwilling to hazard a battle, turned aside to Tanagra, a city of Bœotia, where some of the Athenians who were favorable to aristocracy entered into a correspondence with him. But before their designs were ripe for execution, the Athenian army marched with great expedition to Tanagra, and instantly made arrangements for the attack. They were, however, defeated with great loss, in consequence of the perfidy of the Thessalians, who in the midst of the battle went over to the enemy. Another engagement soon followed, in which both armies suffered so much that they were glad to conclude a short truce, that each might have time to recruit their shattered forces. But the scale of fortune soon turned in favor of the Athenians. The Thebans, who had been deprived of the command of Bœotia on account of their having sided with Xerxes, were now restored to it by the Lacedæmonians. At this the Athenians were so greatly displeased that they sent an army under Myronides the son of Callias into Bœotia to overturn all that had been done. That general was encountered by the Thebans and their allies, who composed a numerous and well-disciplined army; but although the Athenian army was but a handful in comparison to that of their enemies, Myronides gained a victory over the allies, which, in a

purely military point of view, may perhaps be considered as more glorious than either that of Marathon or of Plataea. In those battles they had fought against the effeminate and ill-disciplined troops of Persia; but now they encountered and defeated a superior army composed of the bravest Greeks. After this victory Myronides marched to Tanagra, which he took by storm, and afterwards razed to the ground. He then plundered Bœotia; defeated another army which the Bœotians had drawn together to oppose him; next fell upon the Locrians; and having penetrated into Thessaly, chastised the inhabitants of that country for having revolted from the Athenians; after which he returned to Athens laden alike with riches and with glory.

About this time, 457 B. C., Cimon was recalled from banishment by the will of the people, and soon after fell to his old employment of warring against the Persians; having nothing less in view, according to Plutarch, than the conquest and subjugation of the whole Persian empire. But, however this may be, the great king, finding he could have no rest whilst he continued in a state of hostility with the Athenians, sent instructions to his generals, Artabazus and Megabazus, to conclude, if possible, a treaty of peace; which, after much discussion, was at length effected upon the following conditions: 1. That the Greek cities in Asia should be free, and governed by their own laws. 2. That the Persians should send no army within three days' journey of the sea. 3. That no Persian ship of war should sail between Phaselis in Pamphylia and the Chelidonian islands off the coast of Lycia. Whilst this treaty was pending, Cimon died, B. C. 449, but whether of sickness or of a wound which he had received in battle remains unknown. This so-called peace of Cimon is probably a mere fable, which arose out of the recollection of the glorious exploits of that general. All the subsequent history shows that such a state of things as the terms of this peace imply never existed. The story does not ap-



pear to have assumed a distinct form until the time of the rhetorician Isocrates.

One thing, however, is certain, that after the death of this remarkable personage, the Athenian affairs began to fall into confusion. It was now the misfortune of the republic to be alike hated by her enemies and by her allies; and hence the latter missed no opportunity of throwing off their allegiance when they thought they could do so with impunity. The Megarians, for instance, who had long been under the protection of Athens, thought proper to disclaim all dependence on their ancient protectrix, and to have recourse to Sparta, with which they entered into a strict alliance offensive and defensive. Exasperated at this proceeding, and determined to punish the ingratitude of their former allies, the Athenians ravaged the country of the Megarians, a step which soon brought on a renewal of the Lacedæmonian war, which had been suspended rather than terminated. But Pericles procured the return of the first Lacedæmonian army without bloodshed, by bribing Cleandridas, the young king of Sparta's tutor; and the Lacedæmonians, finding it was not for their interest to carry on the war, concluded a truce or pacification with the Athenians for the period of thirty years, 445 B. c.

It was about 444 B. c., when Pericles had become absolute master of the Athenian destinies, that the most comprehensive and most magnificent schemes of policy that were ever entertained by any heathen statesman began to pass before his mind. The greatness of Athens, he thought, must be made to depend upon the concentrated influence of every excellence. She must be at once a fortress of strength, a city of palaces, an abode of refinement, and a temple of the gods. Her friends must be fascinated by her beauty and attractions; and her enemies must be overawed by her splendor and majesty. Her citizens and dependents must love and admire her as a cherishing and peerless mother; and all Greece must reverence and obey her as a stately mistress and an accom-

plished teacher. The first measure of Pericles for the execution of this great plan was to establish the political superiority of the city. Continuing the Athenian policy of exacting tribute in lieu of military service from the rest of the Hellenic confederacy, he drained the resources of the other Greek cities, and amassed the money within his own. Urging as a plea that Athens, if she protected the independence of Greece, might use this money for any purpose whatever, he employed it in rearing up the fabric of the national strength. A third long wall was built to the Piræus, in order that the communication between the city and its port might be rendered more secure. A fleet of sixty galleys was sent out to the sea for eight months annually, in order that the sailors might be inured to service, and the ships be kept ever ready for action. Several colonies were planted to draw away the surplus population from the city, and to extend the commerce and influence of the state. At the same time, the right of Athens to arbitrate in all important disputes between her subject allies was pertinaciously claimed; so that in 440 B. c. the island of Samos, after a blockade of nine months, was reduced and punished for setting at nought this asserted supremacy. Nor, while Pericles was thus strengthening the outward fortifications, did he neglect to attend to the interior arrangements of the city. He set all the arts into their fullest activity to make it a theatre of beauty, pleasure, and refinement. Solemn festivals and religious pageants were prepared to relieve the attention and fascinate the eye. The great dramas of Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides were employed to stir the imagination and elevate the soul. But it was the illustrious Phidias and his able coadjutors that were specially honored to complete the beautiful and sublime spectacle. At their command the genii of painting and sculpture and architecture were summoned to fabricate a gorgeous crown for this queen of cities. Accordingly, up on the brow of the Acropolis, with wonderful rapidity, were

reared two grand and elegant structures of white marble—the Propylæa, with its lofty porticoes, and the Parthenon, the most exquisite fabric that Grecian genius ever designed. The inner walls of these edifices were crowded all over with painted and sculptured figures; the intermediate ground was studded with statues; and towering over all, and visible to the mariner as he doubled the distant Cape of Sunium, rose the colossal image of Athene Promachos, with shield upraised and javelin balanced, as if in the act of protecting her favorite city, the seat of her worship and her name.

This insignificant contest was almost immediately followed by a war between the Coreyræans and Corinthians, which arose out of the following circumstances. An intestine broil breaking out in the little territory of Epidamnus, a town of Illyricum, founded by the Coreyræans, one party applied for aid to the Illyrians, and the other to the Coreyræans. But the latter having neglected the matter, Corinth was appealed to, as the Coreyræans were originally a colony from that place; and the Corinthians, partly out of pity for the Epidamnians, partly from dislike to the Coreyræans, dispatched a considerable fleet to the assistance of the former, by which means the party which had appealed to Corinth gained the ascendancy.

This being resented by the Coreyræans, they sent a fleet to Epidamnus to support the exiles; but although this fleet began to act offensively on its entering the port, the chief commanders had instructions to propose terms of accommodation. To these, however, the Corinthians refused to accede; and next year the Coreyræans defeated the Corinthians and their allies at sea, took Epidamnus by storm, and wasted the territories of the allies of the Corinthians, 434 B. C. The latter, therefore, began to make great preparations for carrying on the war, and pressed their allies to imitate their example, that they might be in a condition to retrieve the honor they had lost, and to humble the

ungrateful colony which had thus insulted the metropolitan city.

When the Coreyræans became acquainted with these proceedings, they dispatched envoys to Athens to sue for aid; and these were quickly followed by others from Corinth on the same errand. At first the Athenians inclined to favor the Corinthians, but the next day they resolved to support the Coreyræans; contenting themselves, however, with entering into a defensive alliance with that little state, and furnishing the Coreyræans with ten galleys under the command of Lacedæmonius, the son of Cimon. But this determination did not retard the preparations of the Corinthians, who, as soon as the season permitted, sailed for the coast of Coreyra with a fleet of one hundred and fifty ships, under the command of Xenoclide, assisted by four other Corinthian admirals; each squadron of their allies being commanded by an admiral of its own. The Coreyræan and Athenian fleet amounted to 120 sail; but the Athenians had orders to give as little assistance as possible. A brisk action ensued, in which the Coreyræan right wing broke the left of the Corinthian fleet, and drove some of the ships on shore; whilst the Corinthian ships in the right wing defeated the Coreyræan ships opposed to them. Next day preparations were made on both sides for renewing the battle; but twenty ships arriving opportunely from Athens to the assistance of the Coreyræans, turned the scale against the Corinthians, who therefore declined the combat, 432 B. C.

As soon as the Coreyræan war broke out, the Athenians sent orders to the citizens of Potidæa to demolish part of their wall, to send back the magistrates they had received from Corinth, and to give hostages for their own behavior. The Potidæans, however, refused to comply with this demand; upon which the Athenians dispatched a considerable fleet against them under the command of Callias, a man celebrated for his courage; whilst the Corinthians, on the other hand, sent one Aristeus, with a considerable body



of troops, to the assistance of the city. An engagement ensued, in which the Athenians were victorious, but their brave general fell in the action. Phormio, who succeeded to the command on the death of Callias, then invested the city in form, and blockaded its harbor with his fleet; but the Potidæans, dreading the vengeance of the Athenians, made a most obstinate defence, at the same time warmly soliciting the Corinthians to perform their promises, and to engage the rest of the states of Peloponnesus to take part in their quarrel.

Meanwhile the Lacedæmonians having heard the complaints of the Corinthians and other small states of Greece, against the Athenians, sent ambassadors to Athens, to demand reparation for the injuries done to these states, and, in the event of refusal, to denounce war. The terms demanded were, first, that all Athenians who were allied to the family of Megacles should be expelled from Attica; secondly, that the siege of Potidæa should be raised; thirdly, that the inhabitants of Ægina should be left free; and lastly, that a decree prohibiting the Megarians from resorting to the ports and markets of Athens should be revoked, and all the Grecian states under the dominion of Athens set at liberty.

By the persuasion of Pericles, however, these degrading terms were rejected; and while the right arbitrarily claimed by the commonwealth of Sparta to interfere in the concerns of the other Greek states, in the character of a lord-paramount, was peremptorily denied, an accommodation was proposed upon the fair principles of equality and reciprocity. In recommending the measure which he suggested for the adoption of his countrymen, this celebrated statesman argued that whatever the Lacedæmonians might pretend as to the complaints of the allies, the true ground of their resentment was the prosperity of the Athenian republic, which they had always hated, and now sought an opportunity of humbling; and that it must be owing to the Athenians themselves

if this design succeeded, because for many reasons, Athens was better able to engage in a long and expensive war than the Peloponnesians. He then laid before the people an exact account of their circumstances, reminding them that the treasure brought from Delos amounted to no less than 10,000 talents; that although 4000 of these had been expended on the magnificence of their citadel, 6000 still remained in their coffers; that they were also entitled to the subsidies payable by the confederate states; that the statues of their gods, the spoils of the Persians, and other valuable property, were worth immense sums; that many private individuals had amassed vast fortunes; that considering the extent of their trade and commerce, they might calculate upon a certain annual increase of wealth; that they had on foot an army consisting of 12,000 men, besides 17,000 in their colonies and garrisons; that their fleet amounted to 300 sail; and finally, that the Peloponnesians, with whom they might be called to contend, had none of these advantages, and, as compared with the Athenians, were nearly destitute of all those resources which constitute the sinews of war. For these reasons he proposed, as at once the most consistent and most equitable satisfaction that could be given, to reverse the decree against Megara, provided the Lacedæmonians agreed to accede to the principle of reciprocity in favor of the Athenians and their allies; to consent to leave all those states free which were acknowledged as such at the conclusion of the last peace with Sparta, provided the latter state also agreed to give freedom to all the states which were under their dominion; and, finally, to submit to arbitration all disputes which might in future arise between the parties to this arrangement. He concluded by advising them to hazard war in case these terms were rejected; telling them that they should not think they ran that hazard for a trifle, or retain a scruple in their minds as if a small consideration moved them to it, because on this matter depended

their safety, and the reputation of their constancy and resolution. If they yielded in this, the next demand of the Lacedæmonians would be still more extravagant; for having once discovered that the Athenians were to be acted upon by fear, they would thence conclude that nothing could be denied them, whereas a stout resistance in the present case would teach them to treat Athens in future upon terms of reciprocity. His political adversaries, however, taking advantage of the excitement produced by coming hostilities, commenced to assail him. They vented severe criticisms upon his government, charged him with the design of assuming the tyranny, and condemned his defensive attitude towards the hostile Lacedæmonians. The comic poets threw every available scandal at his head, and made him the butt of every species of ridicule. There were some who, not content with attacking him directly, aimed at him indirectly, by assailing his connections and acquaintances. His friend Phidias was arraigned for introducing his portrait on the shield of one of the statues of Minerva, and was thrown into prison, and left there to die. His paramour, the notorious Aspasia, was accused of pandering to his licentiousness, and was only acquitted after he had descended to plead for her life with tears and entreaties. His aged teacher also, Anaxagoras, was charged with overturning the national religion, and was sentenced to pay a fine, and to go into banishment. Yet the great statesman, completely mailed in his own probity, withstood these darts of calumny, and addressed himself to meet the attack of the Peloponnesians, who had now declared war. His tactics were directed by a policy as thorough-going and effective as it was cautious. Knowing that the enemy was superior in land forces, he collected all the movable property of the Athenians within the walls of the city, and contented himself with assuming a defensive attitude towards the advancing invaders.

The firm attitude which Athens assumed on this occasion, under the guidance of her

most illustrious statesman, may be considered as the origin of the Peloponnesian war, which makes so prominent a figure in ancient history. The immediate preliminary to general hostilities, however, was an attempt of the Thebans to surprise Plataea in 431 B.C. With this view they in the depth of night sent 300 men to assist those of the Plataeans whom they had drawn over to their interest, in making themselves masters of the place. But although the design succeeded very well at first,—the Plataeans, who had promised to open the gates, keeping their words exactly, so that they instantly obtained possession of the city,—yet the other party, perceiving the smallness of the number they had to contend with, unanimously rose upon them, killed a great many, and forced the remainder to surrender themselves prisoners of war. The Thebans sent a reinforcement to assist their countrymen, but it arrived too late to be of any service, and the whole were ultimately obliged to withdraw. As soon as the Athenians were apprised of this attempt, they immediately despatched a considerable convoy of provisions to Plataea, together with a numerous body of troops for the purpose of escorting the wives and children of the inhabitants to Athens. This attempt leaving no doubt that all hopes of accommodation were at an end, both parties began to prepare in good earnest for war. Most of the Grecian states inclined to favor the Spartans, partly because the latter assumed the character of deliverers of Greece, and partly also because many of the states either had been, or feared they would be, oppressed by the Athenians. Accordingly, the whole of the Peloponnesians except the Argives and part of the Achaean made common cause with the Spartans; whilst, on the continent of Greece, the Megarians, Phocians, Locrians, Boeotians, Ambraciots, Leucadians, and Anactorians, declared for the Athenians; as also did the Chians, Lesbians, Plataeans, Messenians, Acarnanians, Corcyraeans, Zacynthians, Carians, Dorians, Thracians, and all the Cyclades, excepting Melos



and Thera, together with Eubœa and Samos.

The Peloponnesian war commenced in the year B.C. 431. The Lacedæmonian army, consisting of no less than 60,000 men, assembled on the isthmus, and, after a vain attempt at negotiation, the campaign opened. The Lacedæmonian army was commanded by Archidamus, king of Sparta; that of the Athenians by Pericles, with nine generals under him. Soon after the opening of the campaign, the Spartan force entered Attica and committed horrible ravages; Pericles having no force capable of opposing it, and steadily refusing to engage on disadvantageous terms, although prodigious clamors were in consequence raised against him by his countrymen. The invaders, however, had no great reason to boast of the advantages they had gained; for an Athenian fleet ravaged the coasts of Peloponnesus, whilst another infested the Locrians, expelled the inhabitants of Ægina, and repopled the islands from Athens and Attica. Cephalonia, and some towns in Acarnania and Leucas which had declared for the Lacedæmonians, were also reduced; and in the autumn, when the Peloponnesians had retired, Pericles entered the Megarian territory, which he laid waste with fire and sword, in revenge for the devastation committed in Attica.

But the spring of the second year proved signally disastrous to Athens; for a dreadful plague carried off great numbers of the citizens, whilst the Peloponnesians, under Archidamus, wasted every thing abroad. In the midst of all these calamities, however, the firmness of Pericles remained unshaken; and he would suffer none of his countrymen to stir from the city, either to escape the plague, which committed horrible ravages within the walls, or to assail the enemy, who desolated the country without. He meditated a deeper game, namely, an inroad into the enemy's territory, which in fact had been left completely uncovered by the attack upon Attica. With this view he caused a large fleet to be equipped, on board which he em-

barked 4000 foot and 300 horse, and immediately set sail for Epidaurus. This diversion produced the desired effect, in compelling the enemy to withdraw from Attica; but in other respects the expedition failed on account of the plague, which committed so great havoc among his men, that Pericles brought back to Athens only 1500 of the 4300 composing the expedition. By this disaster the Athenians were thrown into utter despair, and immediately sued for peace; but the Spartans refusing to accede to any terms of accommodation, their despair gave place to fury against their great statesman and commander, whom they dismissed from their service, and amerced in a heavy fine. And, as if this had not been enough, at the same time that Pericles experienced the ingratitude of his country, the plague carried off his children and nearly the whole of his kindred, leaving him almost alone in the world, childless and forsaken. This accumulation of misfortunes preyed deeply on his spirits and overwhelmed him with melancholy, in consequence of which he secluded himself for a time entirely from public view. But through the persuasion of Alcibiades and other friends, he was at length induced to show himself to the people; who, ever inconstant, and generally more prompt to pardon than to condemn, received him with acclamations of joy. The first use Pericles made of his recovered popularity was to procure the repeal of the law which he had himself caused to be enacted, whereby all Athenians of half blood were disfranchised of their natural liberty, and reduced to the state of aliens; a measure which was not altogether disinterested on his part, as he was thereby enabled to enrol in the list of citizens his only remaining son by a Milesian mother, whom the operation of the law in question had of course bastardized. But this was destined to be one of the last public acts of the great Athenian statesman and patriot.

The third year of the Peloponnesian war was chiefly remarkable for the death of

Pericles. About the middle of the year 429 B.C., a slow fever seized him, and he lay down upon his death-bed. As the closing hour drew near, his attendants, thinking him in a stupor, stood round the couch recounting the deeds of the great soul that was preparing to depart. "You have forgotten," muttered he, "my greatest praise: you have not noticed that no fellow-citizen has ever put on mourning on my account." These were the last words of this great Athenian. Plataea was also besieged by Archidamus, but without success; for although the greater part of it had been set on fire, the Plataeans resolved to submit to every extremity rather than abandon the Athenian cause. In the end, therefore, the king of Sparta was obliged to convert the siege into a blockade, and to return to Peloponnesus.

In the following summer the Peloponnesians under Archidamus again invaded Attica, wasting everything with fire and sword; and at the same time the whole island of Lesbos, except the district of Methymna, revolted against the Athenians. In the meanwhile Plataea was strictly blockaded, and its inhabitants being reduced to the greatest extremity from want of provisions, the garrison came to the resolution of forcing a passage through the enemy's lines. When the moment arrived, however, for carrying this design into execution, many of them became intimidated; but the greater number persisted in their resolution, succeeded in their gallant attempt, and above 200 reached Athens in safety.

In the beginning of the fifth year the Peloponnesians sent forty ships to the relief of Mitylene, which the Athenians had invested after the revolt of Lesbos; but this effort proved unavailing, since the place had surrendered before the fleet could come to its assistance. Paches, the Athenian commander, then drove off the Peloponnesian fleet; and returning to Lesbos, sent the Lacedaemonian agent, whom he found in Mitylene, together with a deputation, to Athens. On their arrival the Lacedaemonian

was immediately put to death; and in a general assembly of the people, it was resolved, on the proposal of Cleon, that all the Mitylenians who had attained to manhood should also be put to death, and the women and children sold as slaves. But the next day this cruel decree was revoked, and a galley despatched to countermand the sanguinary order. It arrived just in time to save Mitylene. Only about a thousand of the principal insurgents were put to death; the walls of the city were however demolished, their ships taken away, and their lands divided among the Athenians, who let them again to their former proprietors at a nominal rent. About this time also the Plataeans who had failed in the attempt to break through the enemy's lines surrendered at discretion, and were cruelly put to death by the Lacedaemonians, who sold their women as slaves. The city was soon after razed by the Thebans, who left only an inn to show where it stood; but the fame of Plataea induced Alexander the Great afterwards to rebuild it on a more extensive scale.

In this year also happened the famous sedition of Corecra, proverbial for the horrors with which it was accompanied. We have already seen that the dispute between the Corecraeans and Corinthians was mainly instrumental in bringing on the Peloponnesian war, one of the most protracted and sanguinary contests of ancient times. At the commencement of this struggle a great number of Corecraeans were carried as prisoners to Corinth, where the chief of them were well treated, and the remainder sold as slaves. The motive of this conduct on the part of the Corinthians was a design they had formed of engaging these Corecraeans to influence their countrymen to join the Corinthians and their allies. With this view the latter treated them with all imaginable lenity and tenderness, endeavoring to instil into their minds a hatred of democratic government; after which they were informed that they might obtain their liberty upon condition of exerting their influence at home









in favor of the allies, and to the prejudice of Athens. This the Corcyraeans readily promised and endeavored to perform; and at first the partisans of aristocracy so far prevailed, that, assisted by a Peloponnesian fleet, they murdered such of the opposite party as fell into their hands. But the Athenians having despatched first one fleet and then another to the assistance of their friends, the Peloponnesians were forced to withdraw, leaving the aristocrats at the mercy of the democratic party; who, having thus gained the ascendancy, literally exterminated their antagonists with circumstances of horrible atrocity. Nor was this all. For, the example once set, the several states of Greece in their turn experienced similar commotions, which were invariably fomented by agents of Sparta or of Athens; the former endeavoring to establish an aristocratic and the latter a democratic form of government, wherever their influence happened to prevail.

While the Athenians were thus engaged in a contest in which they were already over-matched, they foolishly rushed into a new one, which in the end proved more disastrous than any in which they had yet embarked. The inhabitants of Sicily were, it seems, divided into two factions; the one called the Doric, at the head of which was Syracuse; the other the Ionic, at the head of which was Leontini. But the Ionic faction finding itself too weak to contend with its rival without foreign aid, sent Gorgias of Leontini, a celebrated orator, sophist and rhetorician, to Athens to apply for assistance; and he by his fine speeches so captivated the multitude, the Great Beast (as the populace were sometimes contemptuously styled in private, by those who did not scruple to pander to their worst passions in public), that they rushed headlong into a war which they were unable to maintain while engaged in a death-struggle with nearly all the states of the Peloponnesus. Accordingly, bewrayed by the wily sophist, and probably enticed by the hope of effecting the conquest of Sicily, they despatched a fleet to the assistance of the Leon-

tines, under the command of Laches and Chabrias; and this had no sooner sailed than another destined for the same service was begun to be fitted out. In the meantime the plague continued its ravages to such an extent that in the course of this year four thousand citizens, and a much larger number of the lower class or people, fell victims to its fury.

The sixth year of the Peloponnesian war was not remarkable for any great exploit. Agis, the son of Archidamus, king of Sparta, assembled an army in order to invade Attica; but was prevented from doing so by earthquakes, which shook almost every part of Greece, and produced general consternation. The next year, however, he entered Attica with his army; whilst the Athenians, on their part, sent a fleet, under the command of Demosthenes, to infest the coasts of Peloponnesus. As this fleet passed the coast of Laconia, the commander observed that the promontory of Pylos, which was joined to the continent by a narrow neck of land, had before it an island about two miles in circumference, which, though barren in itself, nevertheless contained an excellent harbor, sheltered from all winds either by the headland or isle, and capable of admitting the most numerous fleets; circumstances which led him to conclude that a garrison left here would alarm the Peloponnesians, and induce them to think rather of protecting their own country than of invading that of their neighbors. Accordingly, having raised a strong fortification, he established himself in the post, reserving five ships of war for its defence; and ordered the rest of the fleet to proceed to its intended destination. Or the news of this event the Peloponnesian army immediately returned to besiege Pylos, and soon made themselves masters of the harbor, as well as of the island of Sphacteria, which was taken by a chosen body of Spartans. They then made a vigorous attack upon the fort, hoping to carry it before succors could arrive; but Demosthenes and his garrison made an obstinate defence; and

an Athenian fleet arriving in the interval, relieved the besieged from all apprehensions on account of the supèrior force of the enemy. Battle was immediately offered; but as the Peloponnesian fleet declined the challenge, the Athenians sailed boldly into the harbor, and sunk or destroyed most of the enemy's ships, after which they besieged the Spartans in Sphaacteria. Alarmed at finding the war carried into their own territory, the Peloponnesians now began to treat with their enemies; and whilst the negotiations were carrying on at Athens, a cessation of hostilities was agreed to, upon the condition that the Peloponnesians should in the meantime deliver up all their ships, but that in the event of the treaty not taking effect, these should be immediately restored. In as far as regards the negotiations, the Athenians, having heard the propositions of the Spartan plenipotentiaries, were at first strongly inclined to put an end to this ruinous and destructive war, all the evils of which had been so greatly aggravated by the dreadful pestilence which at the same time ravaged the city of Athens and part of the territory of Atticá. But the demagogue Cleon, a fiery and headstrong man, persuaded his countrymen to insist on the most unreasonable terms; and as the confederates were by no means so far reduced as to suffer the Athenians *pacis imponere morem*, to dictate terms of peace, the plenipotentiaries withdrew, and, by doing so, of course put an end to the armistice. The Peloponnesians then demanded the restoration of their vessels, conformably to the stipulation above mentioned; but the Athenians refused to deliver them up, on pretence that the former had violated the truce. Hostilities, therefore, were immediately recommenced on both sides; and the Lacedæmonians attacked the Athenians at Pylos, while the latter attacked the Spartans at Sphaacteria. But the Lacedæmonians, though only a handful of men, and under every imaginable discouragement, defended themselves with so much bravery that the siege

proceeded very slowly; and the people of Athens becoming uneasy at its duration, began to wish they had embraced the offers of the Spartans, and to rail vehemently against Cleon, who had been primarily instrumental in occasioning their rejection. To excuse, himself, however, Cleon affirmed it would be an easy matter for the general of the forces which they were then sending to attack the Spartans in the isle, and reduce them at once. Nicias, who had just been appointed to the command, replied that if Cleon believed he could perform such wonders, he would do well to repair to the scene of action in person. Cleon, compelled to sustain his part, rejoined without hesitation that he was ready to go with all his heart; upon which Nicias caught him at his word, and declared that he had relinquished his command. Startled at this renunciation, the speech-maker protested that he was no general; but Nicias tauntingly assured him that he might some day become one; and the people amused with the controversy, held Cleon to his word. He then advancing, told them he was so little afraid of the enemy, that, with a very inconsiderable force, he would undertake, in conjunction with that already at Pylos, to bring to Athens in twenty days the Spartans who had given them so much trouble. The people laughed at this apparent gasconade; but having furnished him with the troops he desired, he, to the infinite surprise of every one, brought the Spartans prisoners to Athens within the time he had specified.

In the eighth year of the war Nicias reduced the island of Cythera on the coast of Laconia and Thyraea, a frontier territory, which had been given to the Æginetans when expelled from their own country by the Athenians. In Sicily, Hermocrates of Syracuse, having persuaded the inhabitants of the island to adjust their differences, without foreign interference, the Athenian generals returned home; a step which so greatly displeased their countrymen, that two of them were banished, and the third



was sentenced to pay a heavy fine. The Athenians, under the conduct of Hippocrates and Demosthenes, next laid siege to Megara; but Brasidas, a Spartan general, coming to its relief, a battle ensued, which, though indecisive in its result, gave the Lacedæmonian faction an ascendancy in Megara, and forced many who had favored the Athenians to withdraw. In Bœotia some commotions were raised in favor of the Athenians; but their generals, Hippocrates and Demosthenes, being defeated by the Lacedæmonian party, all hopes ceased of the Athenian power being established in this district of Greece.

In the ninth year the Spartans made new proposals of peace, which the Athenians were now more inclined to accept than formerly; and finding their affairs much unsettled by the loss of Amphipolis, which had been reduced by Brasidas, a truce for a year was agreed on, while negotiations were immediately opened for restoring a general peace. But this pacific scheme was soon overthrown by a misunderstanding, arising out of an occurrence purely accidental, and the war was in consequence renewed.

The following year commenced with an attempt by Brasidas upon Potidæa; but this having failed, the Athenians began to recover some courage; and the truce expiring on the day of the Pythian games, Cleon advised the Athenians to send an army under his own command into Thrace. They agreed to this proposal, and immediately fitted out a force, consisting of 1200 foot and 300 horse, all Athenian citizens, embarked on board thirty galleys, of which the demagogue took the command. Brasidas was inferior in numbers to his opponent; but, observing that the Athenian commander was careless, and neglectful of discipline, the Spartan suddenly attacked him, and routed his army with the loss of half its numbers, while that of the assailants amounted to only seven killed and a few wounded. In this encounter, which appears to have been a complete surprise, the commanders on both

sides were slain; and although the Athenians might well spare their general, whom impudence and accident had invested with a military command, the death of their brave leader was a serious loss to the Spartans, who, in fact, lamented him more than the Athenians did the loss of the battle. In consequence of this event, however, the latter were now much more disposed than formerly to listen to terms of accommodation. Amongst the Spartans, too, there was a party, at the head of whom was Plistoanax, their king, who earnestly wished for peace; and as Nicias labored no less assiduously at Athens to bring about this desirable event, a peace was at last, 421 B.C., concluded between the two nations for the period of fifty years. The conditions were, a restitution of places and prisoners on both sides, with the exception of Nisæa, which was to remain in the hands of the Athenians, who had taken it from the Megarians, and of Plataea, which was to continue in possession of the Thebans, who could not possibly give it up without uncovering the whole of their territory. The Bœotians, Corinthians and Megarians, refused to be included in this peace; but the rest of the allies acquiesced; and being accordingly ratified, it received the name of the Nician pacification, from that of the general who had been mainly instrumental in restoring the blessing of peace to his country.

But although peace was nominally established, tranquillity was far from being restored. Dissatisfied with the treaty on various grounds, several states of the Peloponnese, headed by Argos, immediately commenced organizing a new confederacy; even the Lacedæmonians found it impossible to fulfill exactly the stipulations of the agreement; and the town of Amphipolis in particular peremptorily refused to return under the government of Athens; for which reason the Athenians also refused to evacuate Pylos. In the course of the winter fresh negotiations were opened, but nothing definite was agreed upon, and the time passed

in mutual complaints and recriminations. At Athens, in particular, the flame of discontent was artfully fanned by Alcibiades, who now began to rival Nicias in public favor, and who, perceiving that the Lacedæmonians paid their court principally to his rival, took every opportunity of incensing his countrymen against that nation. On the other hand, Nicias, whose reputation was concerned in maintaining the treaty inviolate, used his utmost endeavors to bring about a reconciliation, and even undertook a journey to Sparta, in the hope of effecting an accommodation; but, most unhappily, the artifices of Alcibiades, added to the turbulent and haughty disposition of both nations, rendered all his efforts unavailing, and at length satisfied him that a renewal of the war was inevitable. If the intrigues of that remarkable man, however, were mainly instrumental in bringing about a rupture, it cannot be denied that he took the most prudent methods for insuring the safety of his country. With this view he entered into a league with the Argives for the long term of a hundred years; he then marched into the territories of that state at the head of a considerable force; and he exerted all his influence, both at Argos and at Patræ, to persuade the people to connect their cities with the sea by means of walls, in order to facilitate the landing of succor, when it might be necessary, by the Athenians. But, though vigorous preparations were now made for a renewal of the war, nothing of any consequence was undertaken this year; if we except an attempt by the Argives to make themselves masters of Epidaurus, which was, however, defeated by the Lacedæmonians throwing a strong garrison into the place.

The next being the fourteenth year of the Peloponnesian war, a Spartan army, under the command of Agis, entered the territory of Argos; but just as battle was on the eve of commencing, a truce was suddenly concluded between two of the Argive generals and the king of Sparta. But it so happened

that neither party felt satisfied with this proceeding, and both the king and the generals were very ill received by their respective fellow-citizens. Accordingly, on the arrival of some fresh troops from Athens, the Argives immediately broke the truce; and a battle ensuing soon afterwards, the allied army was defeated with great slaughter by Agis, who thus achieved a victory on the very spot which was afterwards destined to acquire additional celebrity as the scene of one of the most disastrous defeats which the Spartan arms ever experienced. In the winter a strong party in Argos joined the Lacedæmonians; in consequence of which that city renounced her alliance with Athens, and concluded peace with Sparta for the period of half a century. Further, in compliment to their new allies, the Argives abolished democracy in their city, substituting an aristocracy in its stead; and also assisted the Lacedæmonians in forcing the Sicyonians to adopt a similar form of government. Notwithstanding all this, however, the Argives, with a levity natural to the Greeks, renounced their alliance with Sparta the following year; abolished aristocracy, drove the Lacedæmonians out of the city, and renewed their league with Athens. On the other hand the Athenians, convinced of the bad faith of Perdiccas, king of Macedonia, abjured his alliance and declared war against him; preferring, as they said, an open enemy to a treacherous friend. And as Argos was still distracted by adverse factions, Alcibiades in the course of the ensuing year terminated all disputes between them by the expulsion of the Spartan party. He then sailed for the island of Melos, which had shown the greatest inveteracy against his countrymen, in order to punish the inhabitants for repeated acts of wanton hostility; but perceiving that the reduction of the island would be a work of time, he left a considerable body of forces there, and returned to Athens. In his absence, however, the capital of Melos surrendered at discretion, and the inhabitants were treated with the utmost severity;



all the men capable of bearing arms being slaughtered, and the women and children carried into captivity.

In the beginning of the seventeenth year, Nicias was appointed commander-in-chief of an expedition destined to act against the Syracusans, with Alcibiades and Lamachus as colleagues. But whilst the necessary preparations were being made, Athens was thrown into terrible confusion by the defacing of the Hermæ or statues of Hermes, of which there was a great number in the city; an outrage equally wanton in itself, and appalling to the people of Athens, who revered these statues both as monuments of art and as symbols of religion. Great efforts were in consequence made to discover the perpetrators of this sacrilege; but although ample rewards were offered, no disclosure was then made. At last, from some cause unexplained, suspicion fell upon Alcibiades, who in consequence received orders to return immediately from Sicily in order to take his trial for this alleged crime. But he knew the temper of his countrymen too well to trust himself to their mercy; and, instead of returning to Athens, he fled to Sparta, where he met with a gracious reception; whilst the Athenians were severely punished by the loss of their army, generals, and fleet, in Sicily; a disaster which the superior abilities of Alcibiades would in all probability have prevented.

The nineteenth and twentieth years of the war were spent by the Athenians in equipping a new fleet in order to repair their losses; but Alcibiades hurt their interests greatly by persuading Tissaphernes the Persian to league with the Spartans against them, and at the same time stirring up several of the Ionian states to revolt against what he described as the mob government of Athens. Equally restless and profligate, however, this celebrated Athenian had scarcely established himself amongst his new allies when he contrived, by means of a handsome person and an insinuating address, to debauch the wife of Agis the Lacedæmonian commander; and

as the latter strongly resented the affront which had been put upon him, the Athenian seducer was obliged to quit Sparta and pass over into Persia. Here, however, he met with a favorable reception from Tissaphernes, who profited much by his advice, which, in fact, was equally shrewd and insidious. "Let the Greeks," said he to the Persian general, "exhaust themselves by their mutual wars; foment discord among them, which you will always find comparatively an easy task; take care never to let one state be totally destroyed, but always to support the weaker party against the more powerful;—follow this policy for a time, and the Greeks will themselves spare you the trouble of conquering them. By their incessant contests they will so weaken themselves that their country will become the prey of the first invader."

As may easily be supposed, Tissaphernes readily acquiesced in these counsels; upon which Alcibiades wrote privately to some of the officers in the Athenian army at Samos, informing them that he had been treating with the Persians in behalf of his countrymen, but that he did not choose to return till the democracy should be abolished; adding, that the Persian king disliked a democracy, but would immediately assist them if that was abolished, and an oligarchy established in its stead. On the arrival of Pisander and other deputies from the army with the proposals of Alcibiades, the oligarchal party succeeded in overturning the democratic constitution; in consequence of which Pisander and the deputies received directions to return to Alcibiades, in order to ascertain precisely on what terms the king of Persia was disposed to enter into an alliance with them. But perceiving that Tissaphernes was by no means inclined to assist the Athenians, on account of their recent successes, Alcibiades artfully set up such extravagant demands in the king of Persia's name, that the Athenians of themselves broke off the treaty, and thus enabled him to outwit both parties without offending either. But notwithstanding the

failure of the negotiations with Tissaphernes, the democratical form of government was abolished, first in the cities subject to Athens, and afterwards in the capital itself; whilst, according to the scheme substituted in its stead, it was provided that the old form of government should be entirely dissolved;—that five Prytanes should be elected;—that these five should choose a hundred others, and each of the hundred choose three more;—that the Four Hundred thus elected should become a senate with full power, but should nevertheless consult occasionally with Five Thousand of the wealthiest citizens, who alone were henceforth to be accounted The People;—and that no authority whatever should remain in the hands of the lower class of citizens. Such was the scheme proposed by Pisander; and although the people were opposed to this change, those who conducted it, being men of great parts, found means to establish it by one of those uncereemonious acts of audacity which commonly distinguish revolutions in popular governments.

In the meanwhile the Athenian army having changed their mind, declared for a democracy; and recalling Alcibiades, they invested him with full power, and insisted on his immediate return to Athens for the purpose of restoring the ancient government. But he peremptorily refused to comply with their wishes; persuaded them to stay where they were in order to save Ionia; and further prevailed on them to allow some deputies, who had been sent by the new governors of Athens, to deliver the message with which they were charged. When the deputies had done so, Alcibiades enjoined them in reply to return immediately to Athens, and acquaint the Four Hundred that they were commanded instantly to resign their authority and restore the senate; adding, that the Five Thousand might retain their power for the present, provided they used it with moderation. By this answer the city was thrown into the utmost confusion; but the party of the new government prevailing, ambassadors were dispatched to Sparta with

orders to conclude peace upon any terms. This, however, was not so easy a matter as some had hastily imagined; for the Spartans proved intractable; and Phrynicius, the chief of the embassy, was murdered on his return. When the news of his death arrived, Theramenes, the head of the democratical party, seized the leaders of the Four Hundred; upon which a tumult ensued that had almost proved fatal to the city itself; but the people being at last dispersed, the Four Hundred immediately assembled, and sent deputies to the people, promising to comply with all their reasonable demands. A day was accordingly appointed for convoking a general assembly, and settling the form of government; but when it arrived, intelligence was brought that the Lacedæmonian fleet was in sight, and steering directly for Salamis. Thus all was again thrown into confusion; and the people, instead of deliberating on the subject proposed, ran in crowds down to the port, whence a fleet of thirty-six ships was immediately dispatched, under the command of Timochares, to engage the enemy, who were perceived to be making for Eubœa. But this fleet was utterly defeated, twenty-two ships being taken, and the remainder either sunk or disabled; and this disaster was followed by the revolt of all Eubœa, except the small district of Oreus. When the dismal tidings reached Athens, everything was given up for lost; and had the Lacedæmonians taken this opportunity of attacking the city, they would undoubtedly have succeeded in the attempt, and thus put an end to the war by the subjugation of Athens. But being at all times slow, especially in naval affairs, they allowed the Athenians time to equip another fleet, and to retrieve their affairs; while Alcibiades, by his intrigues, so effectually embroiled the Persians and Peloponnesians that neither party knew whom to trust, and mutual distrust at length rose to such a pitch as almost to involve them in open hostility; and several advantages gained by the Athenians at sea tended to revive their hopes and restore their confidence.



During the succeeding years of this celebrated war the Athenians were also in the first instance very successful. Thrasybulus obtained a signal advantage at sea; and in the same day Alcibiades gained two victories, one by land and another by sea, capturing the whole Peloponnesian fleet, besides an immense spoil. The Spartans, humbled by these reverses, were reduced in their turn to the necessity of suing for peace. But the Athenians, intoxicated with success, sent back the envoys without vouchsafing an answer to their proposals; and the Spartans, justly incensed at this insolent and contemptuous conduct, renewed the war with the utmost vigor, and soon after made themselves masters of Pylos. Nor was this the only misfortune of the Athenians. The Megarians surprised Nisæa, and put the garrison to death; an act which so exasperated the Athenians, that they immediately sent an army against that people,—defeated them with great slaughter,—and committed horrid devastations, in revenge for the affair of Nisæa. But these misfortunes were still in some measure counterbalanced by the great actions of Alcibiades, Thrasybulus, and Theramenes. When Alcibiades returned in triumph to Athens, 408 B. C., he brought with him a fleet of two hundred ships, together with such a load of spoils as had never been seen in the capital since the conclusion of the Persian war. The people crowded to the port to behold the hero as he landed; old and young blessed him as he passed; and next day, when he had delivered a harangue to the assembly, they directed the record of his banishment to be thrown into the sea, absolved him from the curses he lay under on account of the alleged sacrilege, and created him generalissimo of their forces. But this enthusiasm was too violent to be lasting; and in point of fact a casual reverse, which Alcibiades sustained soon after this, obliterated all remembrance of his former services, and involved him in disgrace. Having sailed to the Hellespont with part of his fleet, he left the remainder under the command of

Antiochus his pilot, with strict orders to attempt nothing in his absence. But the pilot chose to disobey his instructions, and having provoked Lysander, the Lacedæmonian admiral, to an engagement, he paid for his temerity by a total defeat, with the loss of fifteen ships, and that of his own life into the bargain. On receiving intelligence of this disaster, Alcibiades returned, and endeavored to induce the Lacedæmonian commander to hazard a second battle; but Lysander was too prudent to incur such a risk; and in the meanwhile the Athenians deprived Alcibiades of his command, and named ten new generals in his stead. By this proceeding their ruin was sealed. Conon, who succeeded to the command, was beaten by Callicratidas, Lysander's successor; but being afterwards strongly reinforced, he retrieved this disgrace by defeating the Lacedæmonians with the loss of no less than seventy-seven ships. Such a victory might have been supposed to inspire the Athenians with some gratitude towards the generals who had gained it; but instead of this eight of them were recalled, on pretence of their not having assisted the wounded during the engagement: two were prudent enough not to return; and the six who trusted to the justice of their country were all put to death without mercy.

The following year Lysander, appointed commander of the Peloponnesian fleet, succeeded in capturing both Thasus and Lampascus. Conon was immediately dispatched against him with 180 ships; a force so superior to that under Lysander, that the Lacedæmonian declined accepting battle, and was consequently blocked up in the river Ægos. While the Athenians lay there observing him, they grew quite idle and careless, inso-much that Alcibiades, who had built a habitation for himself in the neighborhood, entreated them to be more watchful, as he well knew Lysander's great abilities, and dreaded that they might have reason to repent their security if they disregarded his advice. They replied by expressing their wonder at the assurance of one who was an exile and a vaga

bond, in pretending to offer advice to them; adding, that if he gave them any further trouble, they would seize and send him a prisoner to Athens. The consequences of such conduct may easily be imagined. Lysander fell unexpectedly upon them, and gained a complete victory; Conon, with only nine galleys, escaping to Evagoras at Cyprus: after which the Lacedæmonian commander returned to Lampsacus, where he put to death Philocles with 3000 of his soldiers, and the whole of the officers except Adimantus. He then reduced all the cities subject to Athens, and artfully sent home their garrisons, that the city, overstocked with inhabitants, might thus be rendered incapable of holding out for any length of time when he came to besiege it.

Nor was any time lost in undertaking this decisive operation. Lysander appeared before the harbors with a fleet; while Agis, at the head of a powerful army, invested it on the land side. For a considerable time the Athenians resisted both attacks; but they were at last forced to send deputies to Agis, who referred them to Sparta; and when they repaired thither they were told that no terms could be granted unless they consented to demolish their walls. They next applied to Lysander, but he also referred them to Sparta; to which Theramenes, with other deputies, was immediately dispatched. On their arrival they found assembled the council of the confederates, who all except the Spartans gave their votes for the utter destruction of Athens; but the latter would on no account consent to the ruin of a city which had deserved so well of Greece. The Athenian envoys did all in their power to mitigate the severity of the terms, but without effect; and finally peace was concluded, on condition that the long walls and the fortifications of the port should be demolished, and that the Athenians should deliver up all their ships excepting twelve, receive back such as had been banished for political offences, and consent to follow the fortune of the Lacedæmonians. And these severe terms were

punctually executed. Lysander caused the walls and fortifications to be pulled down; established an oligarchy expressly against the will of the people; and thus completed the ruin of Athens in the twenty-seventh year of the Peloponnesian war, and the 404th B. C.

As soon as the Lacedæmonian had demolished the long walls and the fortifications of the Peiræus, he constituted a council of thirty, with power, as was pretended, to make laws, but in truth to subjugate the state. These were the persons so famous in history under the title of the Thirty Tyrants. They were all the creatures of Lysander; and as they derived their power from conquest and the law of the sword, they exercised it in a manner worthy of its origin. Instead of making laws, they governed without them; they appointed a senate and magistrates at their will; and, lastly, they applied for a garrison from Lacedæmon, that, under the protection of a foreign military force, they might give a freer and bolder scope to the licentiousness of tyranny.

Critias and Theramenes, two men of the greatest power and abilities in Athens, were at the head of this odious oligarchy. The former was ambitious and cruel beyond measure; but the latter was of a more merciful and humane disposition. The one pushed on all the bloody schemes framed by his confederates, and carried into execution many of his own; the other always opposed them, at first with moderation, at last with vehemence. In the course of his expostulations he said, that power was given them to rule and not to despoil the commonwealth; that it became them to act like shepherds, not like wolves; and that they ought to beware of rendering themselves at once odious and ridiculous, by attempting to domineer over all, being a mere handful of men, whom the slightest resistance would crush. This hint was not thrown away; for the remaining oligarchs immediately chose three thousand persons, whom they constituted the representatives of the people, and



on whom they granted the notable privilege of not being liable to be put to death except by judgment of the senate; thereby assuming by implication a power of sacrificing the other Athenian citizens at their pleasure. Nor were they slow in practically confirming the justice of this interpretation; for as many as they conjectured to be unfriendly to the government in general, or to any of themselves in particular, they put to death, without cause and without mercy. Theramenes stoutly resisted this wantonness of cruelty; and absolutely refusing to concur in such measures, Critias accused him to the senate as a man of unsteady principles, sometimes for the people, sometimes against them, and favorable to nothing except innovation and revolution. The accused admitted that he had sometimes changed his measures, but alleged that he had always done so for the benefit of the people. It was solely with this view that he made peace with Sparta, and accepted of office as one of the Thirty; nor had he ever opposed their measures while they cut off the wicked; but when they began to destroy men of fortune and family, solely for the purpose of confiscating their property, then he owned he had differed with them, which he conceived to be no crime against the state.

Whilst Theramenes was speaking, Critias, perceiving the impression made upon the senate by his words, withdrew abruptly; but he soon returned with a guard, crying out that he had struck the name of Theramenes out of the list of the three thousand; that the senate had therefore no longer cognizance of the cause; and that the Thirty had already judged and condemned him to death. Theramenes, seeing that they intended to seize him, fled to the altar in the midst of the senate-house, and laying his hands thereon, said, "I do not seek refuge here because I expect to escape death, or desire it; but that, tearing me from the altar, the impious authors of my murder may interest the gods in bringing them to speedy judgment, and thereby restore free-

dom to my country." The guards then dragged him from the altar, and carrying him to the place of execution, he drank the poison with undaunted courage; reminding the people, with his last breath, that the same tyrants who had arbitrarily struck his name out of the list of the three thousand, might also strike out any of theirs, and that none could say whose turn it might next be to drink the fatal cup which he had just drained. The death of this heroic man was followed by a train of murders such as are to be found recorded only in the annals of republican oligarchies or aristocratical republics. Almost every citizen of any eminence either died a violent death or was driven into exile.

At length Thrasybulus, and such as like him had taken shelter in the Theban territory, resolved to hazard everything rather than remain in a state of perpetual exile from their country; and although he had no more than thirty men on whom he could depend, yet, inspired by the remembrance of the victories he had heretofore obtained in the cause of his country, he boldly made an irruption into Attica, and seizing on Phyle, a castle at a short distance from Athens, numbers flocked to his standard, and he soon found himself at the head of seven hundred men, madened by cruelty and oppression, and prepared to devote themselves for their country. The tyrants of course had the disposal of the Spartan garrison, which they employed to reduce Thrasybulus and his party; yet he prevailed in various skirmishes, and at last obliged them to decamp from Phyle, which they had intended to blockade. The Thirty and their partizans conceiving it expedient to obtain possession of Eleusis, marched thither; and having persuaded the people to go unarmed out of their city, on the pretence of numbering them, the monsters instantly commenced an indiscriminate massacre. But the forces of Thrasybulus increasing daily, he seized on the Peiræus, which he fortified in the best manner he could; and although the tyrants came down

against him with the utmost force they could raise, he defended himself with so much obstinacy, that in the end they were forced to retreat, having lost before the place not only a great number of their men, but Critias, the president of the Thirty, and other members of this sanguinary oligarchy. By this gallant resistance the fate of the oligarchy was sealed. The people indeed differed among themselves; and the sanguinary monsters, who during their short administration had destroyed more men than had fallen during half the Peloponnesian war, had still a considerable party in Athens. But happily the cause of humanity prevailed; the tyrants were expelled, and withdrew to Eleusis.

But although the citizens had changed the government, they had made no agreement with those in the Peiræus; whilst the tyrants, who had retired to Eleusis, sent deputies to Lacedæmon to announce the revolt of the Athenians, and request assistance to reduce them. Nor did their application prove fruitless. Besides remitting them a large sum of money to aid their intrigues, the Lacedæmonians appointed Lysander commander-in-chief, and his brother admiral; resolving to send both a fleet and an army, in order to reduce Athens a second time, and, as most of the Greek states then strongly suspected, to add it to their other dominions. Nor is it improbable that this design would have taken effect, had not Pausanias, the rival and enemy of Lysander, resolved to obstruct it by every means in his power. With this view he caused another army to be raised, of which he took the command, and immediately marched for the ostensible purpose of besieging the Peiræus. But while he lay before the place, and pretended to attack it, he entered into a private correspondence with Thrasybulus, instructing him what propositions to make in order to induce the Lacedæmonians, who were suspected by their allies, to abandon the contest, and conclude peace upon equitable terms. These intrigues had all the success that could be

desired. The Ephori who were with Pausanias in the camp concurred in his measures; and in a short time a treaty was concluded, by which, amongst other things, it was provided that all the citizens of Athens should be restored to their homes and privileges, with the exception of the Thirty, the Eleven who had acted as their ministers, and the Ten who during the time of the oligarchy had been constituted governors of the Peiræus; that all should remain quiet for the future in the city; and that, if any persons were afraid to trust to this agreement, they should have permission to retire unmolested to Eleusis. Pausanias then marched away with the Spartan army; and Thrasybulus at the head of his forces entered Athens, where, having laid down their arms, they sacrificed with the rest of their fellow-citizens in the temple of Athena, and then, to the great delight of all, restored the popular form of government, which was afterwards consolidated by an act of general amnesty and oblivion.

Throughout the whole of this transaction the conduct of Thrasybulus was admirable. When he first seized the castle of Phyle, the tyrants privately offered to receive him into their number instead of Theramenes, and to pardon at his request any twelve persons whom he might choose to name. But he nobly replied that he considered his exile far more honorable than any authority could be, purchased on such terms; and by persisting in his design he accomplished the deliverance of his country from a ferocious and sanguinary oligarchy which, as Isocrates informs us, had put 1400 citizens to death without any form of law, and had driven 5000 more into banishment, besides committing a variety of other acts of cruelty and oppression.

But, although Athens was thus restored to liberty by the virtuous patriotism of Thrasybulus, the age of Athenian glory had passed away. From this period till the reign of Philip of Macedonia the republic gradually sunk in energy though it still con



tinued to enjoy tolerable prosperity; and although many of the great masterpieces of Athenian genius were the productions of a later age, the most splendid of these only serve to prove beyond all question that the national spirit had degenerated, and that, "sunk in its glory, decayed in its worth," the Athenian Demos, which had once been the wonder and terror of the world, was now prepared to receive the law from the hands of almost any master.

Towards the close of the Peloponnesian war the Spartans had received much assistance from the younger Cyrus, son of Darius, the Persian monarch, and satrap of Lydia, Phrygia and Cappadocia. In return for this, when Cyrus meditated an expedition to dethrone his brother Artaxerxes, he obtained the aid of ten thousand Spartan soldiers. The troops were levied in Sparta under the pretence of a campaign against the mountain bandits of Asia Minor, and their real purpose was kept a secret even from their leaders. The Greeks who enlisted in this army were tempted by the fabulous reports of the rewards that they might expect from the immense wealth of the Persians and the known liberality of Cyrus. Among the volunteers was the Athenian knight, Xenophon, who wrote a history of the expedition. The Greeks joined the Persian army at Sardis, at the beginning of the year 401 B.C. Cyrus led his forces through Lydia and Phrygia and entered Cilicia. When he passed Pisidia the Greeks saw that they had been deceived, and refused to proceed; Cyrus, however, prevailed upon them to go on, by raising their pay. At Issus they were joined by a reinforcement which had arrived from Greece by sea. Abrocómas, the general of the royal army in Syria and Phœnicia, retreated before the invaders. Encouraged by the apparent fear of the enemy, Cyrus crossed the Euphrates and directed his course to Babylon. Artaxerxes, however, was prepared to meet him, and the hostile armies soon approached each other, and in the desperate battle of Cumaxa follow-

ed, in Cyrus himself was killed, and his army suffered great loss. The Greeks wished to continue the conflict and to place Aliaëus, the general who succeeded Cyrus, upon the Persian throne. This, however, was impossible, and nothing was left for them but to retreat, upon the best terms they could. They obtained permission from Artaxerxes to depart in peace, and he even gave them provisions, and sent one of his generals, Tissaphernes, to conduct them home. They began their march, accompanied by the Persian troops, but they had not gone far when suspicions of the fidelity of their guides began to be aroused. The Greeks demanded an interview with the Persian leaders, and five Greek generals with two hundred soldiers proceeded to the Persian camp. They had no sooner entered the Persian lines than the soldiers and captains were cut down, and the generals put in irons, and sent to the Persian court, where they were subsequently beheaded. The Greeks, upon hearing of this treachery, were in great despair, for they were in an unknown and hostile country, more than a thousand miles from home, and without provisions. They found a leader, however, in the young Athenian, Xenophon, whom they immediately chose as general in consequence of a dream which he declared to them. They now pursued their course, harassed by the enemy, to the Tigris, which they found too deep to ford. They were then obliged to turn aside and fight their way through the narrow mountain passes of Armenia, filled with hostile tribes. At last they reached the Euxine, and when the water first flashed upon their sight, a cry of joy burst from the whole army. "Thalatta! Thalatta!" they exclaimed, "the sea, the sea!" A few days march brought them to a Grecian city, Trapezus, on the Euxine. The inhabitants received them well, and the worst of their hardships were now over. The remnant of the ten thousand succeeded in making their way to Perganus, in Mysia, where they joined the Spartan army of Thimbron, and Xenophon returned to Athens

After the fall of Athens, Sparta remained the chief power in Greece. She immediately took advantage of her position to demand satisfaction from the Eleans for the insult they had offered her in excluding her from the Olympic games and from the sacrifices to the oracle. The Spartans required that the Eleans should pay their share of the expenses of the Peloponnesian war, and should relinquish their authority over Triphylia. Upon their refusal they sent a large army into Elis, but the expedition was checked by an earthquake, which was deemed a remonstrance from the gods. Another attempt in the next year was more successful. This time, the Spartans, with their allies, among whom there were even some Athenians, overran and laid waste the territory of Elis, and compelled the Eleans to submit to humiliating terms.

Lysander, in the mean time, had attained to such influence in the state, by means of his power and wealth, that he began to conceive the idea of setting aside the reigning dynasty, and, by putting the election of the king in the hands of the people, open the way to obtain the crown for himself. Failing, however, in securing the support of the priests, which was necessary for his project, he was forced to content himself with placing Agesilaus upon the throne in the place of his younger brother, at the death of king Agis. At the commencement of the reign of Agesilaus he was disturbed by a conspiracy of the lower classes, which was promptly suppressed. It was occasioned by the discontent which the change now going on in the Spartan government produced. Sparta had now extended her authority over the cities which before had been under the Athenian Empire. In each of these a Decharchy or government of ten was established, with a Spartan Harmost or governor at the head. These governors exercised a very corrupt and despotic rule, and were regarded with detestation by the people over whom they ruled. The ancient rigor of the Spartan system had also begun to degenerate.

The iron money of Lyeurgus had been superseded by gold and silver, and the public table was discontinued.

Another war with the Persians in Asia Minor now broke out. After the death of Cyrus, his satrapy had been given to Tissaphernes, who, as soon as he took possession of his province, began an attack upon the Ionian cities, under the protection of Sparta. A Greek force under Thimbron was sent to their relief, and this was afterward reinforced by the arrival of the remnant of the Ten Thousand. Upon Thimbron failing to do anything, Dercyllidas, a man of a great reputation for cunning, was raised to the command. This general immediately made a truce with Tissaphernes and turned his whole force against Pharnabazus, who was his personal enemy. In eight days he took nine Æolian towns, and established himself securely in Bithynia. In the next spring he marched with his army into Thrace, and built a strong wall across the Chersonese, for the security of the Greek colony on that peninsula. Upon his return he was ordered to attack Tissaphernes in Caria with the aid of the Spartan fleet. Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus had now, however, united their armies, and the combined force was too powerful to be attacked by Dercyllidas. The Spartan commander, indeed, found himself in a position where he would have suffered severely if his enemies had been more active. He therefore sought to make terms, and an armistice was agreed upon. The truce was employed by the Persians in preparing for a more energetic prosecution of the war; they assembled reinforcements and equipped a fleet, which they entrusted to the command of Caron, the Athenian admiral, who was defeated at Ægospotami.

Agesilaus, on hearing of these formidable preparations, determined to take the field himself. At the suggestion of Lysander he proposed to take with him only thirty Spartan citizens, and to make up the rest of his force of enfranchised Helots, and soldiers of



the allied states. Lysander intended to place himself at the head of the Spartans, and thus obtain the actual control of the expedition. In 396 B.C. Agesilaus reached Ephesus, and took the command of the Greek army. He renewed the truce, and demanded the terms which had been before set forth by Dercyllidas—the complete independence of the Greek cities in Asia. During the suspension of hostilities, Lysander offended the Spartans and their king by his excessive arrogance and pretensions, so that finally he was obliged to retire from the camp to escape the humiliations to which the natural resentment of his insults exposed him.

When the truce had expired, Tissaphernes sent a notice to Agesilaus, bidding him leave Asia. Agesilaus returned a defiant answer, and forthwith made preparations as if he intended to attack Tissaphernes in Caria; but having thus called off the attention of the Persians, he turned his march to Phrygia, and got as far as Dascylium, the residence of the satrap himself, before he was obliged to retreat, by meeting with a body of Persian horse, for he had no cavalry. He supplied this deficiency in his army during the following winter at Ephesus, and in the next spring he set out to attack Sardis. On the banks of the Pactolus he defeated the Persians and took their camp. Before Sardis could fall into his hands, Tissaphernes was deposed and executed, and Tithraustes was appointed to his place, and negotiations for peace were again entered upon, and a truce was made in order to communicate with the authorities in Greece. Tithraustes prevailed upon Agesilaus by a heavy bribe to quit his dominions in the meantime, and to take up his quarters in Phrygia. The command of the naval power was now given to Agesilaus, in view of the threatening attitude of the immense fleet under Conon. Soon after, in compliance with the urgent remonstrances of Pharnabazus, he left Phrygia and encamped in the plains of Thebe; but while he was making ready for a grand expedition into the interior of the country,

he was called back to Sparta to defend her from the dangers by which she was menaced. In the following summer Conon gained a great victory over the Lacedæmonian fleet.

The preëminence which Sparta had obtained excited the jealousy of the other Grecian states, and Tithraustes determined to avail himself of this feeling to excite a combination against the Spartans. He was so far successful as to engage Thebes and Corinth and Argos in a confederacy for the overthrow of the Spartan supremacy. The war opened with Thebes. The Locrians and the Phocians were at enmity respecting their boundaries. The Locrians appealed for aid to the Thebans, who invaded Phocis, and the Phocians in their turn called upon the Lacedæmonians for assistance. The Lacedæmonians readily listened to them, and sent Lysander, who was very eager in promoting the war, to attack the town of Haliartus in Bœotia. The Thebans in the meantime obtained the support of the Athenians. The battle of Haliartus proved disastrous to the Spartans; their re-enforcements failed to join them before the attack, and their army was totally routed and Lysander killed. The allies now openly declared hostilities, and nearly all the states of Greece joined the league against Sparta. They assembled their forces at Corinth. Almost as soon as they had started on their march to invade the territory of their enemies, they were met by a body of Lacedæmonians with their allies, who compelled them to fall back upon Corinth, but in the battle which ensued a few days afterwards the Spartans gained a slight advantage. Agesilaus soon after this arrived from Asia, and completely turned the fortune of the war by the great victory of Coronea. But the naval power of Athens was re-established by the victory of Conon at Cnidus; and in the subsequent course of the war the prestige of the Spartan arms was much weakened by the defeat which they sustained from Iphicrates. The war continued with varying success till it was brought to a close by the peace of Antalcis.

das in 387. This treaty was, on the whole, favorable to Sparta; and about this time that nation had attained the highest pitch of power which it ever reached. By the peace of Antalcidas the Thebans were deprived of the government of Bœotia, which they had for a long time enjoyed, and they were so much provoked that at first they absolutely refused to accede to the treaty; but as Agesilaus made great preparations to attack them, they at last thought proper to comply. It was not, however, long before a new war was commenced, which threatened the total subversion of the Spartan state. As by the peace of Antalcidas the king of Persia had, in a manner, guaranteed the sovereignty of Greece to Sparta, this republic very soon began to exercise its power to the utmost extent. The Mantineans were the first who felt the weight of their resentment, although they had been their allies and confederates. In order to find a pretext for making war against them, they commanded them to quit their city, and to retire into five old villages, which they said, had served their forefathers, and where they would live in peace themselves, and give no umbrage to their neighbors. As they refused to obey, an army was sent against them to besiege their city. The siege was continued through the summer with very little success on the part of the Spartans; but having, during the winter season, dammed up the river on which the city stood, the water rose to such a height as either to overflow or throw down the houses; and the Mantineans were thus compelled to submit to the terms prescribed to them, and to retire into the villages. The Spartan vengeance next fell on the Phliasi-ans and Olynthians, whom they forced to agree to such measures as they thought proper.

The Thebans continued under the power of the Spartans for three years; but at length a conspiracy being formed against them by Pelopidas and some of the principal people in the city, the Spartans were all massacred or driven out, and the citadel was regained.

These transactions so exasperated the Spartans that their king Cleombrotus immediately marched against Thebes, though it was then the depth of winter. The Athenians at first declined to assist the Thebans; but an attempt rashly made by the Spartan general, Sphodrias, on the Piræus, determined them to take up arms. Thus, the Thebans gradually recovered all the towns of Bœotia, and at length began to act on the offensive against their enemies, and invaded Phocis. In the numerous encounters which took place, Pelopidas always signalized himself; and at Tegyra, in 375, he gained a complete victory over the Spartans, which proved a prelude of the more celebrated and decisive battle of Leuctra.

The rising power of the Thebes now began to excite the alarm of the Athenians, and led them to make overtures for a general peace. Accordingly, in 371 B.C., a congress was held at Sparta, at which the Athenian envoys proposed to the other states the same terms as had been included in the peace of Antalcidas, namely, that the independence of all the Grecian states should be guaranteed. A treaty on these terms was drawn up and agreed to; but as Sparta did not hold herself precluded, either by this or the former treaty, from acting in the name of her subjects in Laconia and Messenia, the Thebans, as on a former occasion, put forward a claim to sign the treaty in the name of Bœotia. This claim was, as formerly, rejected by the other contracting parties; and as this demand was insisted on, Thebes was excluded from the treaty. The Spartans immediately declared war, and instructed Cleombrotus, who was then in Phocis, to invade Bœotia. The Thebans, though alone opposed to the whole power of Sparta, resolved to resist to the last. Epaminondas, as Bœotarch, commanded their army, which did not amount to a third of the Spartan forces; and his skill, along with the valor of his friend Pelopidas, who commanded what was called the Sacred Band, consisting of men who had sworn to conquer



or die, secured the independence of Thebes. The Spartan general, not trusting himself to an encounter among the mountains of Phocis, conveyed his men by sea to the port of Creusis, where he landed and encamped on the plain in front of Leuctra. Epaminondas resolved to give battle; and one of the most obstinate and bloody encounters recorded in Greek history took place. The result was the total defeat of the Spartan army and the death of Cleombrotus.

The victorious general, desirous to improve this great victory, sent a herald, crowned with garlands, to communicate it in form to the Athenians, in hopes that this would be an effectual means to reunite them to the Theban interest. But the Athenians, whose policy it now was to prevent either Sparta or Thebes from obtaining the sovereignty of Greece, would not even grant their herald an audience. The Thebans took care to strengthen themselves by alliances, and had brought the Phocians, Locrians, Acarnanians, Eubœans and other states, under their dependence; so that they were now in a condition to act offensively against the Spartans. At the same time, the state of affairs in the Peloponnese gave them a pretext and an opportunity for interfering to their own advantage. The Mantineans restored their city, which had been formerly destroyed by the Spartans, and, along with the Tegeans, formed a scheme for establishing Arcadia as a united state independent of Sparta, and founding a new capital, Megalopolis. This scheme was highly approved by the Thebans; and, in order to promote its success, Epaminondas undertook his first invasion of the Peloponnese. He was joined by the Arcadian and other confederate forces; so that the whole amounted to 40,000, or, according to some accounts, 50,000 men, besides great numbers of those who followed the camp, rather for plunder than fighting, and were computed at about 20,000 more. The army was divided into four columns, and moved towards Sellasia, the place of rendezvous, from which they pursued their march

with fire and sword towards Sparta. The city was saved by the skill and vigor of Agesilaus; but Epaminondas succeeded in inflicting an irreparable blow on the supremacy of Sparta. Although the legal term of office for which he and Pelopidas had been elected had expired, they remained in the Peloponnese till they had not only seen the secure establishment of the Arcadian confederacy, but restored the Messenians to their ancient country, and rebuilt their capital. After this successful campaign the Thebans returned homeward, foiling on their way an attempt of the Athenians, under Iphicrates, to interrupt them at the isthmus. But on their return the generals were both arrested as state-prisoners, for having prolonged their command four months longer than the time limited by law. At last, however, in consideration of their services, they were both honorably acquitted. This prosecution had been chiefly carried on and encouraged by Meneclides, a discontented Theban, and a bold and able speaker, who by his artful calumnies at the trial, so far prevailed as to get Epaminondas deprived of the office of Bœotarch for a whole year, though he could not gain the same advantage against Pelopidas, who was a greater favorite of the people.

Meanwhile the Spartans, with much difficulty, had recovered themselves from their great defeat at Leuctra, and were careful to strengthen themselves with auxiliaries from other states, especially from Athens, with which they renewed their old treaty. Soon after the Arcadians renewed the war, and took Pallene in Laconia by storm, put the garrison to the sword, and were presently assisted by the Archives and Elcans, and especially by the Thebans, who sent to them 7000 foot and 500 horse, under the command of Epaminondas. This measure so alarmed the Athenians, that they immediately sent Chabrias with some forces to oppose his passage, who, though he did not succeed in intercepting their advance, repulsed the Theban forces in an attack upon Corinth. For

this ill success Epaminondas was deprived of his command, and reduced to the condition of a private citizen. An occasion, however, soon offered to make his services again necessary to the state. The Thessalians, who had groaned some time under the tyranny of the usurper Alexander of Pheræ, sent an embassy to Thebes, to implore their aid and protection; upon which Pelopidas was immediately sent as an ambassador to expostulate with him on their behalf. He proceeded directly to Pharsalus in Thessaly, where he was met by the tyrant at the head of a numerous army, while he himself was only accompanied by a very small band; and no sooner had Alexander got him into his power, than he caused him to be seized and sent prisoner to Pheræ. The Thebans, highly resenting the indignity offered to their ambassador, sent immediately an army into Thessaly; but the generals were repulsed with great loss, and it was owing to Epaminondas, who was among them in a subordinate position, that they were not totally cut off. Epaminondas was then reinstated in the command, and sent with a new army to repair the late dishonor, and prosecute their revenge. The news of his being in full march greatly alarmed Alexander, who was glad to accept of a truce of thirty days, and to release Pelopidas, upon which Epaminondas withdrew his forces and returned to Thebes.

The Thebans, having now risen by their success in war to a position of superiority over the other Greek states, wished to secure this advantage by a general treaty; and as Sparta had consolidated her power by the peace of Antalcidas, through the intervention of Persia, they determined to follow that example, and sent Pelopidas as an ambassador to the court of Susa. He was successful in his negotiations with the king, and returned with conditions highly favorable to Thebes, on which the Persian monarch would conclude an alliance with Greece. The most important of these conditions were that Sparta should give up Messenia, and Athens

her command of the sea. A congress was assembled at Thebes to consider these proposals; but with all their efforts the Thebans could not procure the acceptance of the treaty, and the war with Sparta was continued. Epaminondas invaded the Peloponnese the third time, in 366, in order to gain over the Achaian states to the cause of Thebes. This he succeeded in doing, but not without exciting the jealousy of the Arcadians, who had even before viewed with dislike the growing power of Thebes. Meanwhile the gallant but rash Pelopidas had fallen in an expedition against Alexander of Pheræ; although the ultimate issue of the expedition was successful. Affairs in the Peloponnese were, however, beginning to assume an unfavorable aspect. A war had broken out between Arcadia and Elis, which, though terminated by the intervention of the Achaians, led to the return of Elis to the Spartan side, and was soon renewed with increased fury. The leading party among the Arcadians, who were in the interest of Thebes, took the rash step of seizing upon the sacred treasury at Olympia; and this not only embittered the hostility of their enemies, but produced a reaction in Arcadia itself, so that, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the Theban party, a peace with Elis was concluded at Tegea. On learning this, Epaminondas immediately declared that the Thebans would again enter the Peloponnese, and, with those allies that still remained faithful, carry on the war with Sparta. Alarmed at this announcement, the Eleans, Achaians and Arcadians sent to Athens and Sparta, and formed with them a coalition against Thebes. Epaminondas was nothing daunted by the adverse circumstances; but though he had only the Messenians and Argives, with the towns of Megalopolis and Tegea to rely upon in the Peloponnese, and Thessaly, Locris and Eubœa in Northern Greece, collecting an army, he hastened to the south, and, in 362, passed the isthmus for the fourth and last time. At Tegea he effected a junction with the forces



of his allies, which raised the whole number of his army to 30,000 infantry and 3000 cavalry. The confederate army against him had ordered their rendezvous at Mantinea, the place which they naturally concluded would be the first attacked, as being the chief seat of those who had revolted from the Thebans. But while they were securing themselves on that side, Epaminondas, who wisely considered how far this confederacy and expedition must have drained the city of Sparta of its main strength, broke up privately from Tegea, and marched all night, with a design to have surprised the capital. His project being discovered, Agesilaus took measures to disconcert it; so that, though the Theban general made several vigorous assaults on that city, he was so stoutly repulsed, and the Spartans behaved with such intrepid valor, that he was forced to retire. He next attempted to take Mantinea by surprise; and would most probably have succeeded had not a body of Athenian cavalry come unexpectedly to its relief, and given him a fresh repulse. These two defeats greatly exasperated the Theban general, who had never before experienced such disasters; moreover the time allotted him for his expedition was almost expired, and he was in the midst of his enemy's country, without any certainty of obtaining supplies. Under all these difficulties, he rightly considered that he must immediately resolve upon a decisive battle, in which he might at once retrieve his affairs, or fall honorably in the attempt. In the battle which ensued, Epaminondas drew up his troops with his usual skill, and charged with such vigor and intrepidity as, after an obstinate resistance, to gain a complete victory. But in the very height of his success he was carried mortally wounded from the field; and hardly had he learned the fact of his victory before he expired. The results of this victory did not compensate to Thebes for the loss of such a man as Epaminondas to guide her counsels, and lead her armies to victory. A general peace was concluded, in which indeed the

independence of Messenia was recognized, but no important change took place in the relation of the different Greek states. Sparta, which during the preceding ten years had been preserved from utter ruin chiefly by the ability of Agesilaus, never again rose even to the second position in Greece; and Thebes was unable to retain the supremacy that Epaminondas and Pelopidas had secured for her. Athens, on the other hand, notwithstanding all her former reverses, had been, ever since the victory of Conon at Cnidus in 394, slowly but steadily recovering her ancient power; and had it not been for the old enmity which still subsisted between Thebes and Athens, these states might together have defended the liberty of Greece against the power of Macedon, that soon began to threaten it. But in place of this the two states were constantly opposed to each other, until it was too late to resist the common enemy, who gained strength by the policy pursued by the Theban government. As early as 358 a war broke out between Thebes and Athens for the possession of Eubœa, which the Athenians finally succeeded in obtaining. The next important contest in which Thebes was engaged was the Phocian or Sacred War, which began in 357 B.C., and in which Thebes was again opposed to Athens and Sparta, but supported by the power of Philip of Macedon. [For an account of the war, see MACEDONIA.] It terminated in 346, greatly to the advantage of Philip, but without increasing the power of Thebes. Thebes continued in alliance with Philip, until, on the occasion of a dispute between Amphissa and the Amphictyonic council, that monarch suddenly entered Greece, and seized the commanding position of Elatea in Phocis. On the news of this event reaching Athens, the utmost alarm and confusion prevailed; but some measure of confidence was speedily restored, when, on the motion of Demosthenes, an alliance was proposed and successfully effected with the Thebans, who were now fully alive to the impending danger. In 338 the allies

sent an army into the field against Philip, but suffered a total defeat at Chæronea. This battle decided the fate of Greece; Thebes opened its gates to the conqueror, and the chief citizens were put to death or banished. A Macedonian garrison was stationed in the citadel, and the sovereignty of Thebes over Bœotia was abolished.

Philip of Macedon invaded Laconia after his victory at Chæronea. The Spartans, however, maintained their ground with great resolution against the celebrated Pyrrhus king of Epirus, whom they repulsed for three days successively, though not without assistance from one of the captains of Antigonus. Soon after this one of the kings of Sparta, named Agis, perceiving the universal degeneracy that had taken place, made an attempt to restore the laws and discipline of Lycurgus, by which he hoped the state would be restored to its former glory. But though at first he met with some appearance of success, he was in a short time tried and condemned by the ephors as a traitor to his country. Cleomenes, however, who ascended the throne in 216 B. C., accomplished the reformation which Agis had in vain attempted. He suppressed the ephoralty; cancelled all debts; divided the lands equally, as they had been in the time of Lycurgus; and put an end to the luxury which prevailed among the citizens. Cleomenes also gained several victories over the Achæan league, and conquered a large part of the Peloponnese; but Antigonus Doson, king of Macedonia, who had been summoned to the aid of the Achæans, totally defeated him in the battle of Sellasia. The Spartan king then fled to Egypt, where he put an end to his own life. With him perished every hope of retrieving the affairs of Sparta; the city fell into the hands of Antigonus, after which a succession of tyrants gained and lost the ascendancy, till at last all disturbances were ended by the Romans, who reduced Greece to the condition of a province.

Sparta and the rest of the Peloponnese do not appear in any distinct events during

the history of the empire and the middle ages. As the Morea it formed a part of the Turkish empire, until the revolution which raised Greece to an independent kingdom.

After Chæronea, Corinth shared the fate of the other states of Greece, and passed into the hands of the Macedonian conquerors. Its citadel was by them regarded as the key of the Peloponnese, and they always took care to maintain a strong garrison in it. In 243 B. C. Corinth was stormed by Aratus, the general of the Achæan league, and incorporated by him with the other states which formed that confederation. It was shortly afterwards made over once more to the Macedonians; in whose hands it continued till the defeat of the last Macedonian king by the Romans at the battle of Cynoscephalæ in 197 B. C. By the Romans it was re-annexed to the Achæan league and declared a free city; but its citadel was occupied by a Roman garrison. The same year which witnessed the destruction of Carthage witnessed also that of Corinth. The Achæans rebelled against their Roman conquerors. Their troops were routed with great slaughter; and Mummius the Roman general entered Corinth in triumph. The city was sacked; its magnificent temples and buildings were levelled with the ground; its paintings, marbles, bronzes, and priceless works of art, were carried off to Rome; and the male inhabitants slaughtered to a man, while the women and children were sold into captivity. No attempt was made to raise the city from its ruins till the days of Julius Cæsar, who established there a colony of his veterans two years before his death. The city soon rose from its ashes, and began again to prosper. In the days of the Apostle Paul, who visited it about the middle of the first century of the Christian era, it was a considerable place. Two of the most important letters of that apostle were addressed by him to the members of the church which he had founded there. The subsequent history of Corinth is an unbroken record of disasters. In the later days of Rome it shared the fate of the mis-



tress of the world, and was sacked by the Visigoths under Alaric, about the beginning of the fifth century. On the downfall of the Roman empire in the east, it passed into the hands of the Venetians, who retained it till the overthrow of the western empire. In 1458 it was taken by the Turks, who held it till the year 1687, when it once more fell under the Venetian yoke. In 1715 it was again occupied by the Turks, who retained it till the re-establishment of Greece as an independent kingdom.

The history of Athens, from the death of Alexander to the present time, may be compressed within comparatively narrow limits. Soon after the premature decease of the Macedonian hero, the citizens revolted; but they were defeated by Antipater, who garrisoned Munychia. Another insurrection followed with no better success. The garrison and oligarchy were reinstated; Demetrius, surnamed the Phalerean, was appointed governor of the city; and no less than three hundred statues were erected in honor of this man, by the degenerate descendants of those Athenians who had thought a place in the foreground of a picture, painted at the public expense, an adequate reward for the victory of Marathon. But Demetrius, surnamed Poliorcetes, "the shame of Greece in peace, her thunderbolt in war," withdrew the garrison, and restored the democracy; a service for which he was deified by the Athenians, who assigned him a residence in the opisthodomos of the Parthenon, as a guest worthy of being entertained by Athena herself, and afterwards placed the Peiræus, with Munychia, at his disposal. As usual, however, they soon became weary of their idol, expelled his garrison and regained their independence; chiefly, as is said, by the intercession of Craterus the philosopher, who persuaded Demetrius to leave them in possession of their liberty. Antigonus Gonatas, the next king of Macedonia, proved less scrupulous than "the Taker of Cities," and again seized upon Athens, where he established a garrison. But on the death of Demetrius, son of Gona-

tas, the people, aided by Aratus, recovered their liberty; and the Peiræus, Munychia, Salamis, and Sunium were restored to them on payment of a considerable sum of money by way of equivalent. Disregarding this arrangement, however, Philip, the son of Demetrius, invaded Attica, and encamping near the city, burned and destroyed the sepulchres and temples of the villages, slaughtered the inhabitants, and laid waste the greater part of the country.

Driven to despair by these barbarous proceedings, the Athenians were forced to solicit the protection of the Romans, which was readily granted, and to receive a garrison into the citadel, which it continued to occupy until the war with Mithridates, king of Pontus. But taking advantage of the embarrassments of Rome, occasioned by one of the most arduous contests in which she had yet engaged, the Athenians, at the instigation of Aristion, general of the royal linguist, rose upon their protectors and expelled the garrison. This act of ingratitude met with an exemplary punishment. War was immediately declared; and Sulla soon afterwards appeared in Attica at the head of a powerful army. Unable to withstand the fury of the Romans, Archelaus, the Athenian general, relinquished the defence of the long walls, and retired into the Peiræus and Munychia. Sulla, on the other hand, immediately laid siege to the Peiræus, as well as to the city itself where Aristion commanded; and having received information that some persons had been overheard conversing in the Ceramicus, and blaming Aristion for his neglect of the avenues near the Heptachalcos, where the wall was accessible, he instantly resolved to assault the town in that quarter. Accordingly, about midnight he entered the city by the gate Dipylum, which he forced, and having overcome every obstacle between it and the Peiraic gate, was soon master of Athens. Aristion fled to the Acropolis; but being at length compelled to surrender from want of water, the supply of which had been cut off, he was dragged from the sanctuary of Athe-

na, where he had sought refuge, and instantly put to death. This event took place in the year of Rome 668, or about eighty-six years before the Christian era. Sulla raged against the unfortunate city with the fury of a barbarian; burning the Peiræus and Munychia, defacing the monuments in the town and suburbs, and not even sparing the sepulchres of the dead in the Ceramicus.

In the civil war between Cæsar and Pompey, the Athenians declared for the champion of liberty. But, although the battle of Pharsalia placed them at the mercy of Cæsar, that great and generous conqueror, "whose brow was girt with laurels more than hair," scorned to sully the lustre of his renown by any act of vengeance, and with a magnanimity native to his character, dismissed the envoys who had been sent to propitiate him, with this fine observation: "I am content to spare the living for the sake of the dead." The same lingering affection for liberty which had led the Athenians to side with Pompey, also induced them to take part with Brutus and Cassius, in the wars of the second triumvirate; and they had even the spirit to erect statues to the two Roman patriots, beside those of their own deliverers, Harmodius and Aristogeiton. But at Philippi, as at Pharsalia, the gods declared against liberty, and the Athenians were again on the losing side. Nor were they more fortunate in the contest which ensued between Octavius and Antony; for having joined the latter, who gave them Ægina, Cea, and other islands, they incurred the resentment of Augustus, now become master of the Roman world, who treated them with the utmost harshness and severity. Under Tiberius the city declined, but it still continued to enjoy a considerable share of freedom, and was regarded as an ally of the Romans. Germanicus conferred upon it the privilege of having a lictor to precede the magistrates; but he was censured for this act of condescension, as "the race of noble bloods" was now believed to be extinct, and the Athenian people a mixture of all nations. Nerva also

proved rather indulgent to Athens; and under his successor, Trajan, Pliny exhorted Maximus, when intrusted with the government, to be mindful of the ancient glory of that classic land, and to rule Greece as if it had still been composed of free cities. Hadrian, prouder of the archonship of Athens than of his imperial dignity, gave the city a digest of laws compiled from the codes of Draco, Solon, and other legislators, and testified his affection for it by unbounded munificence. Antoninus Pius, who succeeded Hadrian, and Antoninus the philosopher, also proved themselves benefactors of Athens, though on a less magnificent scale than their predecessor.

In the reign of Valerian, the northern barbarians first appeared in the north of Greece, where they laid siege to Thessalonica. This extraordinary apparition having alarmed all Greece, the Athenians restored their city wall, which Sulla had dismantled, and otherwise placed the town in a state of defence sufficient to secure it against a *coup-de-main*. But under Gallienus, the next emperor, Athens was besieged, and the archonship abolished; upon which the strategos or general, who had previously acted as inspector of the Agora, became the chief magistrate. Under Claudius the city was taken, but recovered soon afterwards. Constantine the Great gloried in the title of General of Athens, which had been conferred upon him, and expressed high satisfaction on obtaining from the people the honor of a statue with an inscription; a distinction which he acknowledged by sending to the city a yearly gratuity of grain. He also conferred on the governor of Attica and Athens the title of Μέγας Δοῦξ, or Grand Duke, which soon became hereditary; and his son Constans bestowed several islands on the city, in order to supply it with corn. In the time of Theodosius I., that is, towards the end of the fourth century, the Goths laid waste Thessa y and Epirus; but Theodorus, general of the Greeks, acted with so much prudence that he saved the Greek cities



from pillage and the inhabitants from captivity, a service which was most gratefully acknowledged. But this deliverance proved only temporary. The fatal period was now fast approaching; and, in a real barbarian, Athens was doomed to experience a conqueror yet more savage and remorseless than Sulla. This was Alaric, king of the Goths, who, under the Emperors Arcadius and Honorius, overran both Italy and Greece; sacking, pillaging, and destroying. Never indeed did the fury even of barbarian conquest discharge itself in a fiercer or more desolating tempest. The Peloponnesian cities were overturned; Arcadia and Lacedæmon were both laid waste; the gulfs of Lepanto and Ægina were illuminated with the flames of Corinth; and the Athenian matrons were dragged in chains to satisfy the brutal desires of these rampant barbarians. The invaluable treasures of antiquity were removed; stately and magnificent structures were reduced to heaps of ruin; and Athens, stripped of the monuments of her ancient splendor, was compared by Syuesius, a writer of that age, to a victim of which the body had been consumed, and the skin only remained.

After this dreadful visitation Athens sank into insignificance, and became as obscure as it had once been illustrious. We are indeed informed that the cities of Hellas were put in a state of defence by Justinian, who repaired the walls of Corinth, which had been overturned by an earthquake, and those of Athens, which had fallen into decay through age. But from the time of this emperor a chasm of nearly seven centuries ensues in its history; except that, about the year 1130, it furnished Roger, the first king of Sicily, with a number of artificers, who there introduced the culture of silk, which afterwards passed into Italy. The worms, it seems, had been brought from India to Constantinople in the reign of Justinian.

Doomed apparently to become the prey of every spoiler, Athens again emerges from oblivion in the thirteenth century, under Baldwin and his crusaders, at a time when

it was besieged by a general of Theodorus Lascaris, the Greek emperor. In 1427 it was taken by Sultan Murad; but some time afterwards it was recovered from the infidels by another body of crusaders, under the Marquis of Montferrat, a powerful baron of the West, who bestowed it, along with Thebes, on Otho de la Roche, one of his principal followers. For a considerable time both cities were governed by Otho and his descendants, with the title of dukes; but being unable to maintain themselves in their Greek principality, they were at length succeeded by Walter of Brienne, who, soon after his succession, was expelled by his new subjects, aided by the Spaniards of Catalonia. The next rulers of Athens were the Acciaioli, an opulent family of Florence, in whose possession it remained until 1455, when it was taken by Omar, a general of Mahomet II., and thus fell a second time into the hands of the barbarians. The victorious sultan settled a Mahometan colony in his new conquest, which he incorporated with the Ottoman empire; and Athens, as well as Greece, continued to form an integral part of the Turkish dominions, until the treaty of Adrianople in 1829, following up the provisions and stipulations of the Treaty of London, 7th July, 1827, established within certain limits the new state of Greece, of which ancient Athens is now the capital.

From the period of the Ottoman conquest to the commencement of the insurrection in 1821, Athens was only known in history by two attempts, on the part of the Venetians, to expel the Turks and make themselves masters of the city. The first of these took place in 1464, only nine years after its capture by the Osmanlis, and proved an entire failure. But the second, which was undertaken in 1687, more than two centuries later, was crowned with a temporary and fatal success. In the month of September of that year, Count Konigsmarck, a Swede in the service of Venice, having disembarked at the Peiræus a force of 8000 foot and 870 horse, forming part of the armament under Fran-

cesco Morosini, afterwards doge, marched to Athens; and having summoned the citadel without effect, he erected a battery of heavy ordnance on the hill of the Pnyx, and placing two mortars near the Latin convent at the western foot of the Acropolis, bombarded it for several days. The fire of the cannon was chiefly directed against the Propylæa, and the modern defences below the edifice; whilst the mortars continued, without intermission, to throw shells into the citadel. The consequence was, that the beautiful little temple of Nike Apteros, the frieze of which is now in the British Museum, was completely destroyed by the breaching battery; and the Parthenon, besides being greatly injured by the bursting of shells, was, towards the close of the attack, almost rent in pieces by the explosion of a powder magazine, which reduced the middle of the temple to a heap of ruins, threw down the whole of the wall at the eastern extremity, and precipitated to the ground every statue on the eastern pediment. The western extremity was fortunately less injured, and a part of the opisthodomos was still left standing, together with some of the lateral columns of the peristyle adjoining to the cell. But the shock was nevertheless abundantly disastrous; and when the Turks afterwards regained possession of the citadel (from which, on this occasion, they were expelled), they did all in their power to complete the destruction which the Venetians had so vigorously begun, by defacing, mutilating, or burning for lime every fragment of the edifice within their reach.

Having thus given a general sketch of the history of Greece, it remains only to say a few words about the Grecian character, as shown in its highest representatives, the Athenians, and to notice briefly the celebrated literature that sprung from it.

The Athenians surpassed all the other Greeks in physical conformation no less than in mental endowments. Among this people, indeed, strength and symmetry of body were happily united with many of the rarest at-

tributes of mind. For these advantages they were indebted partly to nature, and partly to a system of education, which, apparently limited and imperfect, was nevertheless singularly calculated to develop their peculiar capabilities. Habitual exercise may not be capable of creating beauty of form originally, but it certainly tends greatly to improve it; and in the human frame elegance and grace are seldom divorced from the free and flexible vigor acquired in the palæstra. A similar observation may be applied to the human mind. Admitting that certain tribes or races of men are, taken as a whole, gifted by nature with finer faculties, nicer perceptions, and more acute sensibilities, than others, no one can doubt that these may be prodigiously improved by education; which, in fact, is to the mind what the chisel of the sculptor is to the rude block of marble—that which fashions it, by scarcely perceptible degrees, into the fairest proportions, and gives animation and expression to that which was originally a rude and inert block. The Athenians were early sensible of this important truth; and although, till the age of Pericles, the three principal preceptors of their youth were the grammarian, the teacher of music, and the master of the gymnasium, yet even this limited circle of instructors was not ill adapted to call forth and keep in exercise the peculiar faculties for which they were so remarkably distinguished, and to prepare them for a more extended range of instruction. To the study of music, indeed, they were enthusiastically devoted, because in that delightful art they found a natural scope for the gratification of those nice and delicate perceptions which constituted a prominent characteristic of their minds; nor will its union with the study of grammar be deemed surprising, when we reflect that it was probably this circumstance, aided by an organic and intellectual sensibility altogether unrivalled, which gave form to the most harmonious language ever spoken among men, and guided invention to the structure of that



verse which, even under the gross disguise of modern pronunciation, is still universally charming.

Important as was the employment of sculpture among the most ancient nations, and valuable as are the monuments that time has left us, it was not until the Greek mind perceived its capability of development that the entire value of the art was recognised as a means of physically illustrating the perfection of nature's noblest work. It strikes us now with wonder and astonishment that so long a period could have elapsed between the first invention and rude practice of sculpture, and the perfection it was destined to reach among the Greeks. Sicyon was founded above 2000 B.C., Argos, 1856 B.C., and yet it was not till between 700 and 600 B.C. that those first changes are perceived in that region of the world, which then led so rapidly to the consummation of sculpture in the great schools of Myron, Phidias, and Polycletus, in the time of Pericles.

There seems to have been one established quality in the Greek mind, which, independently of other circumstances, necessitated, if it may be so said, the development of an imitative art to a high excellence. This was its sensibility to beauty. The habits of the Greeks fostered this appreciation of the beautiful. The mode of life of the people, and the constant occurrence of public exercises, taught all classes to be judges of the human figure. The gymnasia, or schools of training for the games, were universally frequented. The public found there their rulers, statesmen, philosophers, poets, and artists, taking interest in the exercises; and thus all were accustomed to see the human form in its highest condition, whether in action or repose. The education or training of young men who intended to take part in the great contests for prizes was also a subject of the greatest care. The fullest development was given to the muscles, and constant practice prepared them for those trials of strength and agility which were witnessed by the eager multitude of all classes,

and from which the successful candidate is sued not only a crowned victor, but the subject of the poet's noblest odes, and of the sculptor's art. The highest honor that could be awarded, and this was granted only to those who had been conquerors a certain number of times, was to be allowed to dedicate an Iconic or portrait statue, representing the fortunate candidate, in the Altis, or sacred grove, near the temple of the Olympian Jupiter. These statues were seen by the crowds who assembled periodically to witness or take part in the games; and thus was the memory of the prowess or agility of the individual perpetuated, constantly inciting others to deserve a similar distinction. The opening afforded by this custom for the exercise and improvement of sculpture is obvious. These statues were portraits of the individuals who had gained their crowns by the exhibition of their superiority in certain exercises. Thus the sculptor found in the successful wrestler a peculiar development which was evidence of strong physical power; in the victor in the foot race the clean limbs and light proportions which enabled him to outrun his competitors; while the combination of similar qualities of strength and lightness gave the type of the general athlete. Here, then, are seen the elements of those fine creations which have stamped Greek sculpture with its enduring character of excellence. From such studies were produced the statues of Hercules and others of that class, or those of the light and active Mercury, or again the Discoboli, and similar productions; and from the skillful application of the principles discoverable in such forms, the whole class and variety of ideal subjects, either of sublimity or beauty, in the statues of divinities and heroes, had their existence. The noble object to which sculpture was thus applied, to do honor to worth and to decorate the temples of the gods, gave a dignity to the art, and an honorable character to the pursuit, while the recognition of the principle that an imitative art was constantly to aim at reproducing and repeating the finest

forms which were presented for its guidance, led to its perfection as an objective art. It was precisely this union, which had not before been established by any nation of artists, which gave to Greek sculpture its extraordinary excellence; and, it may be said, has maintained the superiority of Greek art through a long succession of ages. No mechanical copying of Greek statues, however skillful and however zealous the copyist, can ever secure for modern sculpture the same noble and effective character it possessed among the Greeks, for the simple and intelligible reason that the imitation, close as may be the resemblance, is but the result of the eye and hand, while the original was the expression of a true and deeply felt sentiment. Another circumstance highly conducive to the progress and development of art must also be taken into consideration. This was the general appreciation of sculpture among a people sensitively alive to beauty in all its forms. Art was not here sustained by the patronage of a few, who having, or affecting to have what is called taste, bought the services of the sculptor, and paid him to decorate a gallery to order. In Greece, the artist, himself a Greek, having a common feeling for the beautiful with his countrymen, produced his works for the public; they were to be erected in places of honor, to be dedicated in the temples of the gods; and no small motives influenced his labors. These were the conditions which carried the art to its highest perfection. When they were invaded, and the objects of art lowered to suit a change of feeling, sculpture immediately began to show symptoms of decline.

Four principal periods of Greek sculpture may be distinguished, each characterised by striking peculiarities of style or treatment. The first comprehends all that uncertain age of which no reliable record remains, and of which our only knowledge is in the traditions preserved by ancient writers, down to the period of the first art-movement exhibited in the archaic Eginetan School, at about 600 B.C. The second extends to the perfection

of sculpture by Phidias and his contemporaries at from 450 to 400 B.C. The third period includes the practice of the art from this time to about 250 or 200 B.C., when the more voluptuous execution and style of design of Praxiteles and his scholars, and of Lysippus and his followers, effected a most important change in the condition of the art. The fourth and the last period of true Greek sculpture is that of its decline, under mere imitators or bad innovators; when manner took the place of style, and when that pure simplicity and noble grandeur that had hitherto characterized sculpture were represented by minute details, mechanical and tasteless execution, and littleness and poverty of treatment.

Painting, introduced into Greece at a period when sculpture had already made some progress, always remained closely allied to the earlier and more favorite art. Confining themselves chiefly to the correct delineation of the human form, the Greek painters subordinated color, and light, and shade, and effect of composition, to perfection of outline and grace of action, so that, judged by the modern notions of the art, their productions may rather be considered as statues and bas-reliefs, designed upon a flat surface, than as pictures. As they painted either upon the walls of houses or on tablets of wood, their works did not long survive the artists, and the only estimate that we can form of their merits is derived from the judgments of contemporaries and the few specimens of later Greek painting that have been preserved to us on the walls of Herculaneum and Pompeii; and even from these fragments of the art in its degradation and decay we can easily see that in its best period its masters, in their own branch of design, must have rivalled the triumphs of later times, even if we were not assured of their excellence by the fact that the Athenians familiar with the creations of Phidias and Praxiteles, applauded the productions of the pencil of Zeuxis and Apelles.

In simplicity of form and harmony of



proportion the Greek architecture has never been surpassed, and the subtle grace and matchless elegance of the Grecian structures have baffled all the imitative efforts of their admirers wherever they have attempted to revive them in modern days. The Acropolis of Athens was the centre of an architectural splendor, which no capital of the world has ever equalled. It was covered with the temples of gods and heroes; and thus its summit presented not only a sanctuary but a museum, containing the finest productions of the architect and the sculptor, in which the whiteness of the Pentelic marble was relieved by brilliant colors, and rendered still more dazzling by the transparent clearness of the Athenian atmosphere. It was surrounded by walls and was divided into terraces. It was approached only by a magnificent flight of steps from the agora, at the top of which stood the Propylæa, a suitable entrance to the exquisite works within. This Propylæa consisted of a central portico of fluted columns, with a Doric temple at each side. One of these was called the Pinacotheca, from its walls being covered with paintings. On passing through these gates all the glories of the Acropolis became visible. The chief building was the Parthenon, or temple of Minerva, the most perfect production of Grecian architecture, and was erected under the superintendence of Phidias. The pediments and friezes were adorned with the most exquisite sculptures, executed by the greatest statuary of the time, and within the building stood the masterpiece of Athenian art, the colossal statue of the Virgin Goddess, executed by Phidias himself. It was wrought in gold and ivory, and its height, including the base, was above forty feet. All the drapery was of pure gold, while the uncovered parts were of solid ivory. There was another colossal statue of Minerva, by the same sculptor, which stood in the open air opposite the Propylæa. The Erechtheum was the most important of the other monuments on the Acropolis. It was dedicated to Neptune, who as Poseidon

Erectheus shared the worship of the Athenians with their protector Pallas. As the Parthenon was the finest specimen of the Doric order of architecture, so the Erechtheum was considered the most perfect model of the Ionic. Below the Acropolis, at its south eastern extremity, was situated the Dionysiac theatre, partly excavated out of the solid rock, and capable of accommodating the whole body of Athenian citizens as well as the strangers who came to witness the Dionysiac festival. A love of profound research and curious speculation also seems to have been as inherent in their character, and as congenial to their national temperament, as a love of poetry, music, and the fine arts.

The fire which Thales lighted up was never afterwards wholly extinguished amongst the Greeks. He had kindled his torch at the altar of science in Egypt, and it burned brightly in the propitious atmosphere to which it was transferred by the father of Greek philosophy. The Ionian school, of which this philosopher became the founder, was followed in quick succession by the Italian and Eleatic, where the physical and metaphysical sciences were cultivated with equal success; and in the dialogues of Plato ample evidence may be found of the zeal and ardor with which the laws both of mind and matter were investigated in Athens, as soon as the violence of political contention had subsided, and a respite from wars and revolutions gave leisure for the discussion of such subjects. God, the Universe, and Man, at once divided and engrossed the whole of their attention. The question first asked was, What is God? and to this various and discordant answers were of course necessarily given. According to Thales, he is the most ancient of all things, for he is without beginning; he is air, said Anaximenes; he is a pure mind, quoth Anaxagoras; he is both air and mind, contended Archelaus. Democritus thought him mind in a spherical form; Pythagoras, a monad, and the principle of good; Heracleitus, an eternal circular fire; Parmenides, the finite and immovable

principle, in a spherical form; Melissus and Zeno, one and everything, the only eternal and infinite. But these answers, being all more or less physical, did not satisfy the question; a vacuity was still left; and Necessity, Fate, and Fortune or Accident, were the principles called in to fill it up. The Universe gave rise to another set of disputations. According to some, what is has ever been, and the world is eternal. Others, again, argued that the world is not eternal, but that matter is eternal. And here a multitude of questions arose. Was this matter susceptible of forms, of one or one of many? Was it water, or air, or fire, or an assemblage of corpuscular atoms, or an infinite number of indestructible elements? Had it subsisted without movement in the void, or had it an irregular movement? Did the world appear by intelligence communicating its action to it, or did the Deity ordain it by penetrating it with a part of his essence? Did these atoms move in the void, and was the universe the result of their fortuitous concourse? Are there but two elements in nature, earth and fire; and by these are all things produced? or are there four elements, whose parts are united by attraction and separated by repulsion? In a word, causes and essences; bodies, forms, and colors; production and dissolution; the great phenomena of visible nature—the magnitudes, figures, eclipses, and phases, of the two heavenly luminaries; the nature and division of the sky; the magnitude and situation of the earth; the sea, with its ebbs and flows; the causes of thunder, lightning, winds and earthquakes;—all these furnished disquisitions which were pursued with an eagerness of research and intenseness of application peculiar to the Greeks. Nor did Man form a subject of less interesting and curious speculation than the universe of which he was considered an epitome. All allowed him a soul and an intelligence, but all differed widely in their ideas respecting this soul or intelligence. Some maintained that it was always in motion, and that it moved by itself; others thought it a

number in motion; some considered it the harmony of the four elements; others, again, variously represented it as water, fire, blood, a fiery mixture of things perceptible by the intellect, which have globose shapes and the force of fire, a flame emanating from the sun, an assemblage of fiery and spherical atoms, like those subtile particles of matter which are seen floating in the rays of the sun.

Such were a few of the speculations which science had devised for employing the thoughts of the active-minded men in Greece, particularly in Attica; and when to these we add the ethical and political systems of the Academy, the Lyceum, the Porch, and the Gardens, to say nothing of that of the New Academy founded by Arcesilaus, and ably maintained by Carneades, or of the attention paid by almost all the philosophers to the cultivation of pure geometry, some idea may be formed of the extent of Plutarch's misrepresentation of the Athenian mind when he described it as incapable of pursuing laborious researches, and as wanting in persevering and continuous attention.

Grecian poetry begins with Homer; of his works we have already spoken. Poets, indeed, existed in Greece before his time, but the fact of their existence is all that remains of them. The poems of Homer are at once the first and the last great specimen of heroic song in Grecian poetry; for it were out of place in an outline like this to allude to the middle school of the epic, while even the attempt to revive heroic poetry in the Alexandrine period proved only that its life and soul were extinct.

The Homeric hymns, a series of compositions in praise of the gods, and probably of a later date than Hesiod, who lived some time after Homer, seem to bridge over the passage from the epic and heroic poetry to the lyrical. The steps of the transition may be traced in the gradual ascendancy acquired by the musical accompaniment which had from the first been employed in the recitation of the epic, but to which a greater predominance was given in the hymns, thus leading on to



the decided influence of the lyre and pipe, and consequent accommodation both of the poem and character of the poetry to that lyric mould in which it was thenceforward to be cast. Terpander himself composed the music for these Homeric rhapsodies; and Hesiod himself is said to have been denied admittance to the Pythian games because he could not accompany his verses on the harp. These hymns, strange, quaint, some almost comic; others like that of Hermes, full of a wild and dancing gaiety; almost all treating the inhabitants of Olympus with a free and easy familiarity; abounding in rapid transitions, invocations, and reflections, or sentiments of the writer; prepared the way for the more regular lyric as it appeared in the strains of Archilochus, to whom is assigned the distinction of being the father of the Grecian lyric.

The perfection of the Greek lyric had grown out of the intimate connection of poetry with music, fusing the finest results of both into a whole, which, charming the senses and the soul at once, hurried away the listener with an irresistible sweep of enthusiasm. Every thing in the circumstances of Greece contributed to its rapid development and unfailing effect. A spirit of gaiety and social enjoyment was the national characteristic, heightened by the influence of a delightful climate, and by a religion whose airy and fantastic character interposed no gloomy reflection to check the enjoyment of the present. The public and family festivals, sacrifices, games, and poetical contests, assembling multitudes together, exciting the spirit of rivalry, and gratifying the poet as it were with a foretaste of his poetical immortality; the high honors and distinctions everywhere paid to song, rapidly advanced the art to perfection. It is probable, that if the whole mass of the Greek lyric poetry could now be recovered, not only would Horace, Catullus, and the Latin lyric writers, be unquestionably shorn of many of their finest passages, but, in all probability, we should be presented with the noblest and most varied collection

that the world has ever produced. For if the light luxurious Bacchanalian spirit of the time be imaged in the graceful trifling of Anacreon's festive songs, we know how the deeper and more gloomy sentiments of a genuine passion were embodied in the burning lines of Sappho; the ardor of military enthusiasm in him who sang his verses to the Spartan fife, Tyrtæus; the inspiring themes of patriotism in "Alcæus, fancy drest, singing the sword in myrtles dressed;" the touching tenderness of maternal affection in the Danae of Simonides, weeping over her child in her frail and sea beaten prison; and, above all, the loftiest strains of religious fervor, the praises of demigods and heroes, all the pride, pomp, and circumstance of human existence, in the odes of the greatest master of the Grecian lyre, Pindar. But, unfortunately, of the works of the nine who are enumerated by the ancients as forming the constellation of the lyric writers, and embracing the period from the death of Hesiod down to the great era of the Persian war, viz., Pindar, Bacchylides, Sappho, Anacreon, Stesichorus, Simonides, Ibycus, Alcæus, and Aleman, some have completely perished, and of others only the most trifling fragments remain. Anacreon and Pindar are the only two of which we possess any considerable specimens.

Judging from the few fragments we possess of Sappho, the loss of her works is particularly to be deplored; for she appears to have possessed not merely that wild fire and hurry of passion which predominate in her celebrated ode, but a tenderness of heart, a power of presenting imagery in a line or a word, not surpassed by any of the ancient writers, and justly entitling her to the lofty title of the Tenth Muse, bestowed upon her by antiquity.

Pindar unquestionably occupied the highest place among the Greek lyrists; and though it is certain that we are in possession of only a small part of his works, for he appears to have written on every variety of theme, enough remains to satisfy us that the judgment of antiquity, which raised him to

the lyric throne, was well founded. Forty-five triumphal lays, in honor of the victors in the public games, have descended to us. They are characterized by the most splendid imagery. The glow of piety shines brightly in his odes, sometimes breaking out in expressions of the deepest awe, or in sublime pictures of deity, and sometimes assuming an aspect of moral beauty, adding force and lustre to the lessons of wisdom.

There is little to be said of the declining portion of Greek poetry. General corruption, introduced by luxury, and the evil principles of the sophists; loss of liberty, when all the powers of Greece had yielded to the sway of Alexander; the introduction of a tumid and oriental taste into eloquence and composition in general; such are the features which mark the period from the rise of Alexander the Great to the extinction of the poetical literature of Greece. After the death of Alexander, indeed, a strong effort was made by the Ptolemies to render Alexandria the rival of Athens, and to assemble about their court poets, orators and men of science. In the latter point only their efforts were successful. Science continued to flourish, and long after Greece had ceased to produce any great works in the fine arts, we find geometrical invention carried to a height by Euclid, whilst the wonder-working science of Archimedes struck the Romans at the siege of Syracuse with terror and astonishment. But eloquence remained, as before, hollow and pompous, while poetry was wasted in the vain attempt to give life and interest to science. This was the period of the learned or didactic poetry; mythology, astronomy, botany were the favorite subjects to which the art of the poet was devoted. One attempt to revive the epic taste is visible in the elegant Argonautics of Apollonius Rhodius. The most interesting, however, and by far the most original of the works of the decline of Greek poetry are the Idylls of Theocritus. They are, as the name implies, little poetical pictures or representations in miniature,

sometimes of mythological subjects, at other times of matters of common life; but almost always amorous in their purpose or termination. With Theocritus may be named the showy Bion and the delicate Moschus, the last names of any note which precede the period of exhaustion, when the days of high imagination and great works being over, those of mere cleverness and neatness of execution, of slender trifles, epigrams and anthologies, commenced.

When the lyric poetry of Greece had reached its perfection in Pindar, its drama rose into shape and grandeur in the tragedies of Æschylus.

The Grecian drama had its origin in the fantastic orgies of shepherds and peasants, who solemnized the rites of Bacchus by the sacrifice of a goat, by tumultuous dances, and by a sort of masquerade. Their faces were covered with the lees of wine, and their songs and jests corresponded in coarseness to the character of the satyrs of their patron Bacchus. Music always formed a part of this rude festivity. Out of such slight materials Thespis is supposed to have been the first who framed something like an approach to a more regular entertainment. The actors were then, instead of running about wild among the audience, exalted by him upon a cart, or upon a scaffold of boards laid upon tressels.

The drama in Greece had scarcely begun to develop itself from barbarism, ere, with rapid strides it advanced towards perfection. Thespis flourished about four hundred and forty or fifty years before the Christian era. The battle of Marathon was fought in the year 490 B.C.; and it was upon Æschylus, one of the Athenian generals on that memorable occasion, that Greece conferred the honored title of the Father of Tragedy. Not only did he introduce the regular form of the poetical drama, but, improving upon the invention of the stage by Thespis, he constructed a permanent theatre, first of wood, and afterwards of stone, thus reducing the casual and disorderly mob of spec



tators to a regular and attentive audience. The use of the wine lees on the faces of the actors was superseded by masks, which were adapted to the character that was represented, and the illusion was aided by the introduction of scenery. The theatrical performances were always regarded as of a devotional character, and they were generally begun with a lustration and prayer to Bacchus.

The three great tragic writers of Greece, Æschylus, Sophocles and Euripides, flourished almost at the same time. Never, perhaps, did there arise within so short a space such a succession of brilliant talents. To Æschylus the sanction of antiquity has ascribed unrivalled power over the realms of astonishment and terror. At his summons the mysterious and tremendous volume of destiny seemed to open and display its leaves of iron before the appalled spectators; the more than mortal voices of deities, titans and departed heroes were heard in awful conference; heaven bowed, and its divinities descended; earth yawned and gave up the pale spectres of the dead, and the yet more undefined and grisly horrors of those infernal deities who struck horror into the gods themselves. It was the object of Sophocles to move sorrow and compassion rather than to excite indignation and terror. He studied the progress of action more than Æschylus, and excelled in that modulation of history by which interest is excited at the beginning of a drama, maintained in its progress and gratified at its conclusion. His subjects are also of a nature more melancholy and less sublime than those of his predecessor. He loved to paint heroes rather in their forlorn than in their triumphant fortunes, aware that the contrast offered new sources of the pathetic to the author. The passion of love predominates in the pieces of Euripides, and he is the first tragedian who paid tribute to the passion which has been made too exclusively the moving cause of interest on the modern stage. He was accused of having degraded the character of his personages, by admitting more alloy of human weakness,

folly and vice, than was consistent with the high qualities of the heroic age. Æschylus, it was said, transported his audience into a new and more sublime race of beings; Sophocles painted mankind as they ought to be, and Euripides as they actually were.

Grecian comedy, in its earliest form, generally turned upon parodies, in which the heroes of the tragic drama were introduced as objects of ridicule, and the absurdity was heightened by the appearance of animals and inanimate objects as part of the *dramatis personæ*. But the Athenians were too judicious to be long gratified with mere extravagance. Cratinus, Eupolis, and particularly Aristophanes, a daring, powerful and apparently unprincipled writer, converted comedy into an engine for assailing the credit and character of private individuals, as well as the persons and political measures of those who administered the state. The doctrines of philosophy, the power of the magistrate, the genius of the poet, the rites proper to the deity, were alternately made the subject of the most uncompromising and severe satire. The use of the mask enabled Aristophanes to render his satire yet more pointedly personal; for, by forming it so as to imitate the features of the object of his ridicule, and by imitating the dress and manner of the original, the player stepped upon the stage a walking and speaking caricature of the hero of the night. In this manner Aristophanes ridiculed Socrates, the wisest of the Athenians, and Cleon, the demagogue, when at the height of his power.

The ancient comedy was of a character too licentious to be long tolerated. It was suppressed by an order of the oligarchy toward the end of the Peloponnesian war. It was succeeded by the Middle Comedy, in which personal satire was avoided, and the wit of the poet was confined to general subjects of burlesque raillery. But the old comedy, thus deprived of its point and sting, soon gave way to an entirely different class of drama, which the ancients called the New Comedy, and which more resembled the

modern plays. It had for its subject the incidents of private life. The plots were generally of a ludicrous turn, but sometimes there were serious and pathetic scenes introduced. Menander and others obtained much celebrity in this class of composition. Their works are almost entirely lost, and we can judge of them only by the Latin imitations of Plautus and Terence.

In the higher branches of prose writing Greece was no less distinguished than in her poetry; her historians and philosophers have furnished the models and standards for the works of succeeding ages. Herodotus, her earliest historian, has won the lofty title of the Father of History. His most celebrated followers were Thucydides and Xenophon. Herodotus is the Homer of history. He has all the majesty and simplicity of the great epic bard, and all the freshness and vivacity of coloring which mark the founder of a new literary epoch. The style of Thucydides is brief and sententious, and whether in moral or political reasoning, or in description, gains wonderful force from its condensation. It is this brevity and simplicity that renders his account of the plague of Athens so striking and tragic, but this characteristic is sometimes carried to a faulty extent, so as to render his style harsh and his meaning obscure. The genius of Xenophon was not of the highest order; it was practical rather than speculative; but he is distinguished for his good sense, his moderate views, his humane temper, and his earnest piety.

The latter days of literary Athens were chiefly distinguished by the genius of her orators and philosophers. Both rhetoric and philosophy were first cultivated exclusively by the Sophists, and till the time of Sophocles, remained almost completely in their hands. Socrates, by directing the attention of philosophers to the more useful question of morals, effected a separation between rhetoric and philosophy. Hitherto the sophists who professed philosophy had only aimed at confuting their antagonists with logical quibbles,

and thus displaying their superior cleverness, without reference to the merits of the question they discussed. Socrates, however, did not talk for mere vain show and ostentation, but for the sake of gaining clear ideas and arriving at the truth, so as to get actual wisdom, rather than skill in argument. The earnestness with which he opposed the sophists raised up many enemies against him, who finally procured his condemnation by the Athenian courts, and he was compelled to take poison. The account of his death and his last discussion is given in one of the most eloquent dialogues of his celebrated disciple, Plato. From the teachings of Socrates, many different schools of philosophy arose in Greece, among which the Academic, founded by Plato, was the most famous.

The democratic nature of the government of Athens favored the cultivation of oratory. When every man could take part in the assemblies, and could address the people, the art of speaking with effect, would, of course, be highly valued. Schools of rhetoric were accordingly established in the earliest times. The first Athenian orator who professed the art, appears to have been Antiphon, who was born B.C. 480. Thucydides was among his pupils. Of all the Attic orators the most distinguished was Demosthenes. The verdict of posterity has pronounced him the greatest speaker that ever lived. He sought the chief uses of his eloquence in the public emergencies of his agitated time. He lived and acted in the last struggle which Greece maintained for freedom; and he died when the battle was lost, a sacrifice to the vengeance of his conquerors. While he was an active leader in the field, he encouraged and inspired the people with his fiery eloquence. The effect of his speeches was irresistible. "Could his manner be copied," says David Hume, "its success would be infallible over a modern assembly. It is rapid harmony exactly adjusted to the sense; it is vehement reasoning without any appearance of art; it is disdain, anger, boldness, freedom, involved in a continual stream of argu



ment; and of all human productions, the orations of Demosthenes present to us the models which approach the nearest to perfection."

With the fall of Greece by the conquest of Alexander, Grecian literature did not become at once extinct; the language lingered on, for a time, with the Alexandrine and Byzantine writers, as a living tongue, until the taking of Constantinople by the Turks. Then its national existence perished, and transported to Europe, it became the study of the learned of other nations. Its introduction to the west in the fifteenth century was the signal for the commencement of an

entire revolution in human ideas. The wider and deeper philosophy of Socrates and Plato soon overcame the narrow and artificial subtleties which the ingenuity of the schoolmen had evolved from the Aristotelian logic, and the slender stream of human knowledge, which had hitherto flowed in turbid rivulets in the contracted channels of Dante's seven rivers of learning, the Trivium and Quadrivium of the schools, now breaking through the barriers which the ignorance of the dark ages had raised against it, swept on in a fertilizing flood, before which the strength of mediævalism and superstition was of no avail.

## M A C E D O N I A.

ALL the stories relative to the early history of the Macedonian monarchy—and they were various—agree in tracing the origin of the family to the Temenids of Argos. There is an air of genuineness about the tradition of Herodotus (viii., 137–138). According to this historian, Perdiccas, a Temenid, with two brothers of the same race, being driven from their native Argos into Macedonia, were compelled, from straitened circumstances, to serve as shepherds to the petty King of Labæa. A prodigy happened to Perdiccas, which at once indicated his future success, and led to his present dismissal by the Labæan. His escape being secured by the rising of a river, which was afterwards held sacred by the Macedonian kings, this hardy shepherd established himself near the garden of Midas, on Mount Bermius, and from him sprang the royal line of Edessa. It was a common Greek opinion, moreover, during the reign of Alexander, son of Amyntas, that the family of that prince was of Hellenic extraction; so much so, that he found a place at the Olympic games, to

which none but a genuine Greek could lay claim.

To command was the prerogative of the Greek mind, and for a courageous Argeian to acquire ascendancy and transmit authority over the Macedonian barbarians was doubtless a task of comparatively little difficulty. From the legend alluded to till the reign of Amyntas (520–500 B. C.) and his son Alexander (480 B. C.), we have nothing but a long blank. Names or dates there are none; yet we can dimly infer the growing influence and importance of the Temenids. They acquire Pieria, a place of great importance, lying between Mount Bermius and the sea. Amyntas accordingly heired an extensive dominion on his coming to the throne. During his reign he kept up a friendly connexion with the Pisistratidæ at Athens, a relationship afterwards continued between his son Alexander and the Athenians. It was during the reign of Amyntas that Macedonia first became formally subject to the Persian power. Darius intrusted his officer Megabazus with the important task of ratifying the

submission which Amyntas had proposed, and the Persian warrior and diplomatist had fulfilled his mission so well, that after marrying the sister of Amyntas, he returned to his master with a new province added to his empire.

The Macedonians distinguished themselves in the time of the Persian invasion of Greece by furnishing their allies with 200,000 recruits; though some cities, particularly Potidæa, Olynthus, and Pallene, adhered to the Grecian interest. The last two were taken and razed, and the inhabitants massacred by the Persians; but Potidæa escaped by reason of the sea breaking into the Persian camp, where it did great damage. Alexander, however, afterwards thought proper to court the favor of the Greeks, by giving them intelligence of the time when Mardonius designed to attack them. The remaining transactions of this reign are entirely unknown, further than that the king enlarged his dominions as far as the river Nessus on the E., and the Axios on the W.

Alexander I. was succeeded by his son Perdiccas II., who is said to have inherited his father's abilities, though not his integrity. From the duplicity with which he acted, both to the Greeks and the Persians, it does not appear, indeed, that he had much to boast of as to the latter quality. In the Peloponnesian war he espoused the cause of the Spartans against the Athenians, from whom he was in danger by reason of their numerous settlements on the Macedonian coast, and their great power by sea. For some time, however, he amused the Athenians with a show of friendship; but at last, under pretence of enabling Olynthus and some other cities to recover their liberties, he assisted in destroying the influence of the Athenians in those places, hoping to establish that of the Macedonians in its stead. But this design failed of success; the Olynthian confederacy was broken up; and the members of it became subject to Sparta, until at last, by the misfortune of that republic, they grew sufficiently powerful, not only to resist

the encroachments of the Macedonians, but to make considerable conquests in their country.

Perdiccas II. was succeeded about 416 B. C. by Archelaus I. He enlarged his dominions by the conquest of Pydna and other places in Pieria, though his ambition seems rather to have been to improve his dominions than greatly to extend them. He facilitated communication between the principal towns of Macedonia, by cutting straight roads through the greater part of the country; he built walls and fortresses in such places as afforded favorable situations; he encouraged agriculture and the arts, particularly those subservient to war; he formed magazines of arms; he raised and disciplined a considerable body of cavalry; and, in a word, he added more to the solid grandeur of Macedonia than had been done by all his predecessors put together. Nor was he regardless of the arts of peace. His palace was adorned by the works of the Grecian painters. Euripides was long entertained at his court; Socrates was earnestly solicited to live there; men of merit and genius in the various walks of literature and science were invited to reside in Macedonia, and treated with distinguished regard by a monarch equally attentive to advance his own glory and promote the happiness of his subjects.

This great monarch died after a reign of six years, a space by far too short to accomplish the magnificent projects he had formed. After his death the kingdom fell under the power of usurpers, or of weak and wicked monarchs. A number of competitors constantly appeared for the throne; and these by turns called to their assistance the Thracians, Illyrians, Thessalians, the Olynthian confederacy, Athens, Sparta, and Thebes. Bardyllis, an active and daring chief, who, from being the head of a gang of robbers, had become sovereign of the Illyrians, entered Macedonia at the head of a numerous army; deposed Amyntas II., father of Philip; and set up in his stead one Argæus, who consented to become tributary to the Illyri-



ans. Another candidate for the throne, named Pausanias, was supported by the Thracians; but by the assistance of the Thessalians and Olynthians, Amyntas was at length enabled to resume the government. After his restoration, however, the Olynthians refused to deliver up several places of importance belonging to Macedonia, which Amyntas had either intrusted to their care, or which they had taken from his antagonist. Amyntas complained to Sparta, and that republic readily complied with his wishes. Two thousand Spartans, under the command of Eudamidas, were ordered into Macedonia, where they performed essential service. The appearance of a Spartan army at once encouraged the subjects and allies of the Olynthians to revolt; and the city of Potidæa, a place of great importance in the isthmus of Pallene, surrendered soon after his arrival in the country. Elated with his success, Eudamidas approached so near the city of Olynthus, that he was unexpectedly attacked, defeated, and killed, in a sally of the citizens. He was succeeded by Teleutias, brother of Agesilaus, who had under his command a body of ten thousand men, and was further assisted by Amyntas, king of Macedonia, and Derdas his brother, the governor or sovereign of the most westerly province of Macedonia, which abounded in cavalry. By these formidable enemies the Olynthians were discomfited in a series of battles, obliged to shut themselves up in their city, and prevented from cultivating their territory; upon which Teleutias advanced with his whole forces to invest the city itself. The Olynthians allowed them to come on, and the Lacedæmonians imprudently advanced under the towers and battlements of the city. The townsmen then mounted the walls, and discharged upon them a shower of darts, arrows, and other missile weapons, whilst the flower of the Olynthian troops, who had been purposely posted behind the gates, sallied forth and attacked them with the greatest fury. Teleutias, attempting to rally his men, was slain in the first onset; the Spartans who attended

him were defeated, and the whole army dispersed with great slaughter, and obliged to shelter themselves in the towns of Acanthus, Apollonia, Spartolus, and Potidæa.

The Spartans, undismayed by this disaster, prosecuted the war with much spirit. The Olynthians held out for nine or ten months, but were at last obliged to submit on very humiliating conditions. They formally renounced all claim to the dominion of Chalcis, and ceded the Macedonian cities to their ancient governor; and in consequence of this, Amyntas left the city of Ægæ, or Edessa, where till now he had held his royal residence, and fixed it at Pella, a city of great strength and beauty, situate upon an eminence, which, together with a plain of considerable extent, was defended by impassable morasses, and also by the rivers Axios and Lydias. It was distant about fifteen miles from the Ægean Sea, with which it communicated by means of the above-mentioned rivers. It was originally founded by the Greeks who had conquered and peopled it; but in consequence of the misfortunes of Olynthus, it now became, and continued ever after to be, the capital of Macedonia.

Amyntas being thus established in his dominions, continued to enjoy tranquillity during the remaining part of his life. The reign of his son Alexander was short, and disturbed by invasions of the Illyrians, from whom he was obliged to purchase a peace. He left behind him two brothers, Perdiccas and Philip, both very young, so that Pausanias again found means to usurp the throne, being supported not only by the Thracians, but by a considerable number of Greek mercenaries, as well as a powerful party in Macedonia itself. In this critical juncture, however, Iphicrates the Athenian happening to be on an expedition to Amphipolis, was so warmly addressed by Eurydice, the widow of Amyntas, in behalf of her two sons, whom she presented to him, that he interested himself in their behalf, and got Perdiccas, the eldest, established on the throne. During the minority of the young prince, however

his brother Ptolemy, who was his guardian, openly aspired to the throne; but he was deposed by the Theban general Pelopidas, who reinstated Perdiccas in his dominions, and in order to secure the dependence of Macedonia upon Thebes, carried along with him thirty Macedonian youths as hostages, amongst whom was Philip, the younger brother of the king. Perdiccas, elated by the protection of such powerful allies, now forgot Iphicrates and the Athenians, and even disputed with them the right to the city of Amphipolis, which had been decreed to them by the general council of Greece, but which his opposition rendered it impossible for them to recover. In a battle with the Illyrians, the Macedonians were defeated with the loss of 4000 men, and Perdiccas himself was taken prisoner, and soon afterwards died of his wounds.

The kingdom was now left in the most deplorable state. Amyntas, the legitimate heir to the throne, was an infant; the Thebans, in whom Perdiccas had placed so much confidence, were deprived of the sovereignty of Greece; the Athenians, justly provoked at the ungrateful behavior of the late monarch, showed a hostile disposition; the Illyrians ravaged the western, and the Pæonians the northern quarter of the kingdom; the Thracians still supported the cause of Pausanias, and proposed to send him into Macedonia at the head of a numerous army; whilst Argæus, the former rival of Amyntas, renewed his pretensions to the throne, and by flattering the Athenians with the hopes of recovering Amphipolis, easily induced them to support his claims, in consequence of which they fitted out a fleet, having on board 3000 heavily armed soldiers, which they sent to the coast of Macedonia.

Philip, the late king's brother, no sooner heard of his defeat and death, than he set out privately from Thebes, and on his arrival in Macedonia found matters in the situation which we have just described. Fired with an insatiable ambition, it is probable that from the very first moment he had resolved

to seize the kingdom for himself; yet it was necessary at first to pretend that he assumed the throne only to preserve it for his nephew. Philip, as has already been mentioned, had been carried off as a hostage by Pelopidas, but for a long time past had remained in such obscurity that historians are not agreed as to his place of residence, some placing him in Thebes, and others in Macedonia. It is certain, however, that from the age of fifteen he had been very much in the family of Epaminondas, from whose lessons he could not but derive the greatest advantage. It is also probable that he accompanied this celebrated general in many of his expeditions; and it is certain that, with an attendance suitable to his rank, he visited most of the principal republics, and paid great attention to their institutions, both civil and military. Having easy access to whomsoever he pleased, he cultivated the friendship of the first people in Greece. Even in Athens, where no good will subsisted to Macedonia, the philosophers Plato, Isocrates, and Aristotle, cultivated his acquaintance; and the connection he formed with the principal leaders of that republic in the early period of his life no doubt contributed greatly to the accomplishment of the designs in which he afterwards proved so successful.

Philip's return to Macedonia instantly changed the face of affairs. The Macedonian army, though defeated, was not entirely destroyed; and the remainder of them secured themselves in the fortresses which had been built by Archelaus. There were also considerable garrisons in the fortresses and walled towns scattered over the kingdom; and the Illyrians, who had made war only for the sake of plunder, soon returned home to enjoy the fruits of their victory. His other enemies, the Thracians and Pæonians, were much less formidable than the Illyrians, being still in a very rude and uncivilized state, incapable of uniting under one head in such a manner as to bring any formidable army into the field. Whilst the Illyrians therefore gave up the campaign through mere caprice



and unsteadiness, Philip himself applied to the Pæonians, and by fair promises and flattery, prevailed upon them to desist. The King of Thrace, by means of a sum of money, was easily induced to abandon the cause of Pausanias; so that Philip, freed from these barbarians, was now at liberty to oppose the Athenians, who supported Argæus, and threatened a very formidable invasion.

The appearance of the Athenian fleet before Methone, and the presence of Argæus at the head of a numerous army in Pieria, filled the whole country with consternation; and Philip, who was by no means deficient in the talents necessary to recommend himself to the good graces of the people, took the opportunity of getting Amyntas set aside, and himself declared king, for which proceeding, indeed, the danger of the times afforded a very plausible pretext. In the meantime, Argæus advanced with his Athenian allies towards Edessa, or *Ægæ*, but was defeated by Philip in a general engagement, in which Argæus himself, with the flower of his army, was cut in pieces, and the rest taken prisoners. This first instance of success contributed greatly to raise the spirits of Philip's party; and he himself took care to improve it in the best manner possible. Having made a great number of prisoners, both Macedonians and Athenians, he determined, by his treatment of them, to ingratiate himself with both parties. The former were called into his presence, and, after a gentle reprimand, admitted to swear allegiance to him, after which they were distributed throughout the army. The Athenians were entertained at his table, and dismissed without ransom, and their baggage was restored to them. The prisoners were just allowed time to return to their native city, and to spread abroad the news of Philip's generosity, when they were followed by ambassadors from Macedonia with proposals for peace. As he knew that the loss of Amphipolis had greatly irritated them, he now thought proper to renounce his jurisdiction over that city. It was accordingly declared free and independent, and

subject only to the government of its own free and equitable laws. This prudent conduct, together with his kind treatment of the prisoners, so wrought upon the minds of the Athenians, that they consented to the renewal of a treaty which had formerly subsisted between them and his father Amyntas. Thus he found means to remove all jealousy of his ambition, and to induce them to engage in a ruinous war with their allies, which occupied their attention until Philip had an opportunity of getting matters so well established that it was impossible to overthrow him.

The new king being thus at liberty to regulate his domestic concerns, began to circumscribe the power of his chiefs and nobles, who, especially in the more remote provinces, paid very little regard to the authority of the king of Macedonia. To counteract the ambition of these chiefs Philip chose a body of the bravest Macedonian youths, whom he entertained at his own table, and honored with many testimonies of his friendship, giving them the title of his "companions," and allowing them constantly to attend him in war and hunting. Their intimacy with the sovereign, which was considered as a sure indication of their merit, obliged them to use superior diligence in all the severe duties of military discipline; so that they thus formed a useful seminary for future generals, by whom both Philip and Alexander were afterwards greatly assisted in their conquests.

Whilst the king thus took the best methods to render himself secure at home and formidable abroad, the Pæonians again began to make incursions into the kingdom. The death of Agis, their king, however, who was a man of great military skill, deprived them of almost all power of resistance when they were attacked. Philip, in consequence, overran their country with little opposition, and reduced them to the state of tributaries to Macedonia. No sooner was this accomplished, than he undertook a winter's campaign against the Illyrians, who had long been the

natural enemies of Macedonia. After an ineffectual negotiation, he was met by their leader Bardyllis at the head of a considerable body of infantry, but with only 400 horse. They made a gallant resistance for some time; but being unable to contend with so skillful a general as Philip, they were defeated with the loss of 7000 men, amongst whom was Bardyllis, who fell at the age of ninety.

By this disaster the Illyrians were so much disheartened, that they sent ambassadors to Philip, humbly begging for peace upon any terms. The conqueror granted them the same conditions which had been imposed upon the Pæonians, viz., becoming tributary, and yielding up to him a considerable part of their country. This territory, hitherto unconnected with any foreign power, gradually sunk into such absolute dependence upon Macedonia, that many ancient geographers supposed it to be a province of that country.

Philip had no sooner reduced the Illyrians, than he began to put in execution greater designs than any which he had yet attempted. Sensible of the importance of Amphipolis as a maritime station, he directed all his efforts towards the reduction of that city. It had indeed been declared independent by Philip himself in the beginning of his reign; but this was only to prevent a rupture with the Athenians, who still asserted their right to it as an ancient colony, though, by reason of the perfidy of Charidemus, a native of Eubœa, they had hitherto failed in their attempts to recover it. The Amphipolitans, however, having once enjoyed the sweets of liberty, prepared to maintain themselves in their independence. In the meantime, the hostile designs of Philip, which all his precaution had not been able to conceal, alarmed the inhabitants to such a degree that they thought proper to put themselves under the protection of the Olynthians. By them they were readily received into the confederacy, and, trusting to the strength of their new allies, behaved in such an insolent man-

ner to Philip, that he was not long in finding a specious pretext for hostility; on which the Olynthians, greatly alarmed, sent ambassadors to Athens, requesting their assistance against such a powerful enemy. Philip, however, justly alarmed at such a formidable conspiracy, sent agents to Athens with such expedition that they arrived there before anything could be concluded with the Olynthian deputies. Having gained over the popular leaders and orators, he deceived and flattered the magistrates and senate in such an artful manner, that a negotiation was instantly set on foot, by which Philip engaged to conquer Amphipolis for the Athenians, upon condition that they surrendered to him the strong fortress of Pydna, a place which he represented as of much less importance to them; promising also to confer upon them many other advantages, which, however, he did not specify at that time. Thus the Athenians, deceived by the perfidy of their own magistrates, elated with the hopes of recovering Amphipolis, and outwitted by the superior policy of Philip, rejected with disdain the proffers of the Olynthians.

The ambassadors of Olynthus returned home highly disgusted with the reception they had met with, but had scarcely time to communicate their news to their countrymen when the ambassadors of Philip arrived at Olynthus. He pretended to condole with them on the affront they had received at Athens, but also testified his surprise that they should court the assistance of that distant and haughty republic, when they could avail themselves of the powerful kingdom of Macedonia, which wished for nothing more than to enter into equal and lasting engagements with the confederacy. As a proof of his moderation and sincerity, he offered to put them in possession of Anthemus, an important town in the neighborhood, of which the Macedonians had long claimed the jurisdiction; making many other fair promises, and, amongst the rest, that he would reduce for them the cities of Pydna and Potidæa, which he chose rather



to see in dependence on Olynthus than Athens. Thus he prevailed upon the Olynthians not only to abandon Amphipolis, but to assist him with all their power in the execution of his designs.

Philip now lost no time in executing his purposes against Amphipolis, and pressed the city so closely that the people were glad to apply to the Athenians for relief. Accordingly, they despatched two of their most eminent citizens, Hierax and Stratocles, to represent the danger of an alliance between Philip and the Olynthians, and to profess their sorrow for having so deeply offended the parent state. This representation had such an effect, that though the Athenians were then deeply engaged in the Social War, they would probably have paid some attention to the Amphipolitans, had not Philip taken care to send them a letter with fresh assurances of friendship, acknowledging their right to Amphipolis, and which he hoped shortly to put into their hands in terms of his recent agreement. By these specious pretences the Athenians were persuaded to pay as little regard to the deputies of the Amphipolitans as they had already done to those of the Olynthians; so that the city, unable to defend itself alone against so powerful an enemy, at last surrendered at discretion in the year 357 before Christ.

Finding that it was not his interest at this time to fall out with the Olynthians, Philip cultivated the friendship of that republic with great assiduity, and took the cities of Pydna and Potidæa, which he readily yielded to the Olynthians, though they had given him but little assistance in the reduction of these places. Potidæa had been garrisoned by the Athenians, and them the artful king sent back without ransom, lamenting the necessity of his affairs, which obliged him, contrary to his inclination, to oppose their republic. Though this was rather too gross, the Athenians were then so much engaged with the Social War, that they had not leisure to attend to the affairs of other nations.

Philip made the best use of his time, and next projected the conquest of the gold mines of Thrace. These had formerly been worked by colonies from Thasos and Athens: but the colonists had long since been expelled by the barbarous Thracians, who knew not how to make use of the treasure they were in possession of. Philip took the trouble to descend into the mines himself, in order to inspect the works; and, having caused them to be repaired, planted a Macedonian colony at Crenidæ, bestowed upon it the name of Philippi, and drew annually from the gold mines to the value of nearly 1000 talents, or £200,000 sterling, an immense sum in those days. The coins struck here were likewise called Philippi.

Philip having obtained this valuable acquisition, next undertook to settle the affairs of Thessaly, where everything was in the greatest confusion. This country had been formerly oppressed by Alexander, tyrant of Phæræ, after whose death three others appeared, viz., Tisiphornus, Pitholaus and Lycophron, the brothers-in-law of Alexander, who had likewise murdered him. By the united efforts of the Thessalians and Macedonians, however, these usurpers were easily overthrown, and effectually prevented from making any disturbance for the future; and the Thessalians, from a mistaken gratitude, surrendered to Philip all the revenues arising from their fairs and towns of commerce, as well as all the conveniences of their harbors and shipping; a concession which Philip took care to secure in the most effectual manner.

Having now not only established his sovereignty in the most effectual manner, but rendered himself very powerful and formidable to his neighbors, Philip determined to enjoy some repose from his fatigues. Having formed an alliance with Arybbas, king of Epirus, he, in the year 357 B.C., married Olympias, the sister of that prince; a match thought the more eligible, as the kings of Epirus were supposed to be descended from Achilles. The nuptials were

solemnized with great pomp at Pella, and several months were spent in shows and diversions, during which Philip showed such an extreme proneness to vice of every kind, as disgraced him in the eyes of his neighbors, and most probably laid the foundation of his future domestic unhappiness. So much was this behavior of the Macedonian monarch taken notice of by the neighboring states, that the Pæonians and Illyrians threw off the yoke, engaging in their schemes the king of Thrace; and, notwithstanding the insane state of that prince, their designs were now carried on with more judgment than was usual with barbarians. Philip, however, notwithstanding his dissipation, got warning of his danger in sufficient time to prevent the evil consequences which might have ensued had the confederates had time to bring their schemes to a proper bearing. Early in the spring of 356 he took the field with the flower of the Macedonian troops. Having marched in person against the Pæonians and Thracians, he despatched Parmenio, his best general, into Illyria. Both enterprises proved successful; and whilst Philip returned victorious from Thrace, he received an account of the victory gained by Parmenio; a second messenger informed him of a victory gained by his chariot at the Olympic games; and a third announced that Olympias had been delivered of a son at Pella.

This was the celebrated Alexander to whom the diviners prophesied the highest prosperity and glory, as being born in such auspicious circumstances. A short time after the birth of Alexander, Philip wrote a letter to the philosopher Aristotle, whom he chose as preceptor to his son. The letter was written with great brevity, containing only the following words: "Know that a son is born to us. We thank the gods not so much for their gift, as for bestowing it at a time when Aristotle lives. We assure ourselves that you will form him a prince worthy of his father, and worthy of Macedonia."

Philip next set about the further enlarge-

ment of his territories, which were already very considerable. He easily perceived that the affairs of the Greeks were coming to a crisis, and he determined to watch the issue of their mutual dissensions. He found occasion of interference for the first time with the affairs of Greece, at the outbreak of the *Phocian* or Sacred War. The true cause of the persecution of the Phocians, it is believed, was the hatred with which that people had inspired the Thebans by refusing them aid in their recent contest with Sparta. Private individuals also of the neighboring communities advanced doubtful motives of personal offence. Such were the passions which moved the Thebans to a course of rash and cruel warfare, which eventually wrought their own ruin, and led to the destruction of Grecian freedom. Prompted by ambition and avarice, they aspired to absolute control in the Amphictyonic Council, and to undivided authority over the temple of Delphi and its treasures, then in the rightful possession of the Phocians. A quarrel was sought with this unoffending people. They were charged by their rapacious neighbors with having cultivated lands which had been devoted to the god of Delphi. Ascendant in the council, the Thebans easily found means of criminating the Phocians; they accordingly condemned that much-wronged people to pay a fine, for the liquidation of which their entire country was pronounced forfeit to the god. The Phocians boldly seized upon Delphi, and appealed to arms (B.C. 357); and under the encouragement of Athens and Sparta, they engaged in a long and sanguinary war with Thebes and her allies. It was during this contest that Philip first gained a footing in Thessaly. This he effected by aiding certain of the Thessalian nobles against the tyrants of Pheræ, who had the Phocians and Athenians for their allies. This movement brought Philip into collision with the Athenians. When that republic attempted, together with the people of Methone, to thwart the influence of Philip on the coasts of Thrace, he suddenly made



a descent upon that place, and made it his own after a determined siege, in which he lost an eye by an arrow shot.

During all this time the Phocian war raged with the greatest fury, and involved in it all the states of Greece. Lycophron, one of the Thessalian tyrants whom Philip had formerly deprived of his authority, had again found means to reëstablish himself; and his countrymen having taken part with the Phocians, Lycophron called in Onomarchus, the Phocian general, to protect him against the power of Philip, by whom he was sensible that he would soon be attacked. The king accordingly marched into Thessaly with a considerable army, and defeated Phyllus, the brother of Onomarchus, whom the latter had sent into the country with a detachment of 7000 men. After this he besieged and took the city of Pegasæ, driving the enemy towards the frontiers of Phocis. Onomarchus then advanced with the whole army; and Philip, though inferior in numbers, did not decline the engagement. The Phocians at first gave ground, on which the Macedonians pursued, in good order; but coming near a precipice, on the top of which Onomarchus had posted a detachment of soldiers, the latter rolled down stones and fragments of the rock in such a manner as did dreadful execution, and threw them into the utmost disorder. Philip, however, rallied his troops with great presence of mind, and prevented the Phocians from gaining any further advantage; saying, as he withdrew his troops, that they did not retreat through fear, but only like rams, in order to strike with the greater vigor. Nor was he long before he made good his assertion; for, having recruited his army with the greatest expedition, he returned into Thessaly at the head of 20,000 foot and 500 horse, and was there met by Onomarchus. The Macedonians at this time were superior in number to their enemies; and Philip, moreover, took care to remind them that their quarrel was that of heaven, and that their enemies had been guilty of sacrilege, by profaning the

temple of Delphi. That they might be still more animated in the cause, he put crowns of laurel on their heads. Thus fired with enthusiasm, and having besides the advantage of numbers, the Phocians were altogether unable to withstand them. They threw away their arms and fled towards the sea, where they expected to have been relieved by Chares, who, with the Athenian fleet, was near to the shore; but in this they were disappointed, for he made no attempt to save them. Upwards of 6000 perished in the field of battle or in the pursuit, and 3000 were taken prisoners. The body of Onomarchus being found amongst the slain, was, by order of Philip, hung upon a gibbet, as a mark of infamy, on account of his having polluted the temple; and the bodies of the rest were thrown into the sea, as being all partakers of the same crime.

The Olynthians now applied to Athens for aid against the ambitious schemes of their former ally of Macedonia; a call to which the Athenians, moved by the voice of Demosthenes, gave a ready response, and sent successive reinforcements to their relief. Philip ultimately defeated this allied force, and subsequently captured Olynthus (B.C. 347). The Athenians and Macedonians concluded a treaty of peace the following year, from which the Phocian allies of Athens, by the unprincipled dexterity of Philip, were excluded. That brave and unfortunate people now found themselves at the mercy of their more powerful enemies. The Thebans, who had borne an unequal share in the conflict, now in their hour of need solicited the willing aid of Philip. Passing the unguarded defiles of Thermopylæ, he made a swift descent upon Greece proper, and from the misconduct and treachery of the Phocian leaders, was entirely successful. The Phocians were compelled to surrender at mercy, and the Amphictyons, in solemn council, decreed that their towns should be destroyed, their inhabitants disarmed and heavily assessed, and that their Delphian privileges and votes in the council should revert to the pious Ma-

cedonian. Thus ended the Sacred War (B.C. 346).

Athens and Macedon were now gradually approaching a collision: the former had for a lengthened period struggled for the independence of Greece, while the latter aspired to general supremacy in her government and councils. But Athens had not only to maintain a contest with the Macedonian;—she had discontented factions within her own borders more dangerous to her safety than even her northern foe. There was an aristocratic and a democratic party. The voice of the former was for peace, that of the latter for war. The peace party regarded resistance against such odds as fatal. They looked on the democrats with contempt; and with a painful assurance of the utterly degenerate character of that faction, probably saw no cure for the evils of intestine strife except a diversion against Persia, headed by Philip of Macedon. The peace party was led by the tried patriots Isocrates and Phocion; but there were men of a very different stamp who found shelter among them. The pay of Philip had wrought its way among the base and the treacherous. Chief of these hirelings were the orators Æschines and Demades. The democratic party, on the other hand, eager for the license and plunder which hang in the skirts of war, were guided by the base Chares and the mercenary Charidemus. But this party was fortunate enough to have among its ranks a patriot of generous enthusiasm and of noble independence, who, while he was alarmed at the unscrupulous ambition of Philip, was yet determined to offer a brave resistance to the formidable front of the aspiring king. This was none other than the celebrated Demosthenes.

After the Phocian war had been brought to a close, Philip directed his efforts to the consolidation of his empire in the north of Greece. The towns of the Propontis and the Thracian Chersonese he soon made his own. He invested Perinthus and Byzantium; but the voice of Demosthenes was now raised against him. Phocion, with an armament

of Athenians, bore down upon him and compelled him to raise the siege of those cities. But the triumph of the orator and the disappointment of the prince were alike momentary. The one had to act upon a fickle and divided multitude, the other upon splendidly disciplined armies. The plans of the one were open to all, those of the other were shrouded in the profoundest mystery till the moment for action brought them to the light. In the following year, appointed by the obsequious Amphictyons to chastise the people of Amphissa for cultivating certain devoted lands, Philip, after reducing that city, seized Elateia at the head of 32,000 veteran soldiers. Alarm and dismay seized the Athenians, but the eloquence of Demosthenes, by gaining over the Thebans and Corinthians, revived the expiring courage of the republicans. Consummate generalship and discipline, however, proved more than a match for numerical superiority, and the fatal battle of Chaeronea (B.C. 338) saw the confederates defeated, and the liberties of ancient Greece extinguished for ever. Nothing attested more the efficiency of Philip's improved *phalanx* than this bloody victory. After the battle, Philip immediately stopped the slaughter; and (if we may credit the story) when, on revisiting the field after a night's carouse, he beheld the Sacred Band of the Thebans lying in swathes where the scythe of war had mowed them down, he burst into tears, and exclaimed,—“Perish they who imagine those to have done or suffered wrong.” This burst of generous feeling did not, however, extend to the Thebans who survived. The hostile party in their city he treated with great harshness and severity, while he conducted himself towards the Athenians with the utmost clemency.

To all appearance the great object of Philip's ambition was now within his grasp. In consideration of the wrongs which Persia had inflicted upon Greece, it was resolved in the assembly that war should be declared on a national scale against that power, with the King of Macedonia as the commander of the



expedition. But another was destined to enjoy the laurels which Philip had all but won. While celebrating the nuptials of his daughter Cleopatra with the King of Epirus, a young Macedonian of his own body-guard, named Pausanias, stabbed him to the heart. As the assassin died on the spot, his motive for the deed could not be ascertained; but it was generally supposed to have arisen from personal revenge, on the king's refusal to redress a foul insult received from the uncle of the queen. Some say he was secretly urged to commit the deed by Olympias (now superseded by the new queen, Cleopatra), and her son Alexander, who had quarrelled with his father a short time previously. Thus fell this aspiring king at the early age of forty-seven (B.C. 336), full of life and energy, with a vista of glory opening up before him. Despite the scantiness of our information respecting him, the great outlines of his character and achievements can be easily traced. He raised the Macedonian kingdom from a narrow territory to a vast possession, reaching from the shores of the Propontis to the Thermaic Gulf. He was possessed of fine political and military talent, and fortune smiled on his endeavors; but the splendor of his name is dimmed by base perjury and gross intemperance. Theopompus, his contemporary and warm admirer, stigmatizes his conduct as follows: "His Macedonian and Grecian body-guard, 800 in number, was a troop in which no decent man could live; distinguished indeed for military bravery and aptitude, but sated with plunder, and stained with such shameless treachery, sanguinary rapacity, and unbridled lust, as befitted only Centaurs and Læstrygons." There can be little doubt that the hopeless degeneracy of Grecian spirit and national feeling acted as a foil to Philip's brilliant talent for conquest.

No sooner did the news of Philip's death reach Athens, than, as if all danger had been past, the inhabitants showed the most extravagant signs of joy. Demosthenes and his party put on chaplets of flowers, and behaved as if they had gained a great victory.

Phocion reproved them for this madness, bidding them remember that "the army which had beaten them at Chæronea was lessened but by one." This reproof, however, had very little effect. The people heard with pleasure all the harsh things which the orators could say of the young Alexander, King of Macedonia, whom they represented as a giddy, wrong-headed boy, ready to grasp all things in his imagination, and able to perform nothing. The affairs of Macedonia indeed were in a very distracted state on the accession of Alexander; for all the neighbouring nations had the same notion of the young king with the Athenians, and, being irritated by the usurpations of Philip, immediately revolted, and the states of Greece entered into a confederacy against him. The Persians had been contriving how to transfer the war to Macedonia; but as soon as the news of Philip's death reached them, they behaved as if all danger had been terminated. At the same time, Attalus, one of the Macedonian commanders, aspired to the crown, and sought to draw off the soldiers from their allegiance.

In the councils held upon this occasion, Alexander's best friends advised him rather to make use of dissimulation than force, and to try to cajole those whom they thought he could not subdue. These advices, however, were ill suited to the temper of their monarch. He thought that vigorous measures only were proper, and therefore immediately led his army into Thessaly. Here he harangued the princes so effectually, that he thoroughly gained them over to his interest, and was by them declared general of Greece; upon which he returned to Macedonia, where he caused Attalus to be seized and put to death.

In the spring of the next year (335 before Christ), Alexander resolved to subdue the Triballians and Illyrians, who inhabited the countries now called Bulgaria and Slavonia, and had been very formidable enemies to the Macedonian power. In this expedition he discovered, though then but twenty years of

age, a surprising degree of military knowledge. Having advanced to the passes of Mount Hæmus (the Balkan), he learned that the barbarians had posted themselves in the most advantageous manner. Upon the tops of the cliffs, and at the head of every passage, they had placed their carriages and waggons in such a manner as to form a kind of parapet, with their shafts inwards, that when the Macedonians should have half ascended the rock, they might be able to push these heavy carriages down upon them; and they reckoned the more upon this contrivance, because of the close order of the phalanx, which, they imagined, would be terribly exposed by the soldiers wanting room to stir, and thereby to avoid the falling waggons. But Alexander, having directed his heavy-armed troops to march, gave orders that, where the way would permit, they should open to the right and left, and suffer the carriages to go through; but that, in the narrow passes, they should throw themselves on their faces with their shields behind them, that the carts might run over them. This had the desired effect, and the Macedonians reached the enemy's works without the loss of a man. The dispute was then quickly decided. The barbarians were driven from their posts with great slaughter, and left behind them a considerable booty for the conquerors.

The next exploits of Alexander were against the Getæ, the Tanlantii, and some other nations inhabiting the country upon the other side of the Danube. These he also overcame; showing in all his actions the most perfect skill in military affairs, joined with the greatest valor. In the meantime, however, all Greece was thrown into commotion by a report which had been confidently spread abroad, that the king was dead in Illyria. The Thebans, on this news, seized Amyntas and Timolaus, two eminent officers in the Macedonian garrison which held their citadel, dragged them to the market-place, and put them to death without either form of process or any crime being alleged against them. Alexander, however, did not suffer

the Thebans to remain long in their mistake. He marched with such expedition, that in seven days he reached Pallene in Thessaly; and in six days more he entered Bœotia, before the Thebans had any intelligence of his having passed the Straits of Thermopylæ. Even then they would not believe that the king was alive, but insisted that the Macedonian army was commanded by Antipater, or by one Alexander the son of Æropus. The rest of the Greeks, however, were not so hard of belief, and therefore sent no assistance to the Thebans, who were thus obliged to bear the consequences of their own folly and obstinacy. Their city was taken by assault, and the inhabitants were for some hours massacred without distinction of age or sex, after which the houses were demolished, excepting that of Pindar, the famous poet, which was spared out of respect to the merit of its owner, and because he had celebrated Alexander, King of Macedonia. The lands, except those destined to religious uses, were shared amongst the soldiers, and all the prisoners sold as slaves, by which 440 talents were brought into the king's treasury.

By this severity the rest of the Grecian states were so thoroughly humbled, that they thought no more of making any resistance, and Alexander had nothing further to hinder him from pursuing his favorite project of invading Asia. Very little preparation was necessary for the Macedonian monarch, who went as to an assured conquest, and reckoned upon being supplied chiefly by the spoils of his enemies. Historians are not agreed as to the number of his army. Arrian says that there were thirty thousand foot and five thousand horse. Plutarch tells us that according to a moderate computation, Alexander had thirty thousand foot and five thousand horse; and that according to the largest estimate, he had thirty-four thousand foot and four thousand horse. As to his fund for the payment of the army, Aristobulus says it was but seventy talents; and Onesicritus, who was also present in this expedition, not only takes away the seventy talents, but



affirms that the king was two hundred in debt. As for provisions, there was just sufficient for a month and no more; and to prevent disturbances, Antipater was left in Macedonia with twelve thousand foot and fifteen hundred horse.

The army having assembled at Amphipolis, Alexander marched thence to the mouths of the River Strymon; then crossing Mount Pangæus, he took the road to Abdera. Crossing the River Ebrus, he proceeded through the country of Pætis, and in twenty days reached Sestos; thence he marched to Elæus, where he sacrificed on the tomb of Protesilaus, because he was the first amongst the Greeks who at the siege of Troy set foot upon the Asiatic shore. He did this that his landing might be more propitious than that of the hero to whom he sacrificed, who was soon afterwards slain. The greatest part of his army, under the command of Parmenio, embarked at Sestos, on board of a hundred and sixty galleys of three benches of oars, besides small craft. Alexander himself sailed from Elæus; and when he was in the middle of the Hellespont, offered a bull to Neptune and the Nereids, pouring forth at the same time a libation from a golden cup. When he drew near to the shore, he launched a javelin, which stuck in the earth; then, in complete armour, he leaped upon the strand; and having erected altars to Jupiter, Minerva, and Hercules, he proceeded to Ilium. Here again he sacrificed to Minerva; and taking down some arms which had hung in the temple of that goddess since the time of the Trojan war, he consecrated his own in their stead. He sacrificed also to the ghost of Priam, to avert his wrath on account of the descent which he himself claimed from Achilles.

In the meantime the Persians had assembled a great army in Phrygia, amongst whom was one Memnon, a Rhodian, the best officer in the service of Darius. Memnon gave it as his opinion that they should burn and destroy all the country round, that they might deprive the Greeks of the means of subsisting, and then transport a part of their army

into Macedonia. But the Persians, depending on their cavalry, rejected this salutary advice, and posted themselves along the river Granicus, in order to await the arrival of the Greeks. Alexander, as soon as he had performed all the ceremonies which he judged necessary, marched directly towards the enemy. In the engagement which ensued on the banks of that river, the Persians were defeated, and Alexander became master of all the neighbouring country, which he immediately began to take care of, as if it had been part of his hereditary dominions. The city of Sardis was immediately delivered up; and here Alexander built a temple to Jupiter Olympius. After this, he restored the Ephesians to their liberty, ordered the tribute which they formerly paid to the Persians to be applied towards the rebuilding of the magnificent temple of Diana, and having settled the affairs of the city, marched against Miletus. This place was defended by Memnon with a considerable body of troops, who had fled thither after the battle of Granicus, and therefore made a vigorous resistance. The fortune of Alexander, however, prevailed; and the city was soon reduced, though Memnon with part of the troops escaped to Halicarnassus. After this, the king dismissed his fleet, a proceeding for which various causes have been assigned, though it is probable that the chief reason was to show his army that their only resource now lay in subverting the Persian empire.

Almost all the cities between Miletus and Halicarnassus submitted as soon as they heard that the former was taken; but Halicarnassus, where Memnon commanded with a very numerous garrison, made an obstinate defence. Nothing, however, was capable of resisting the Macedonian army. Memnon was at last obliged to abandon the place: upon which Alexander took and razed the city of Tralles in Phrygia, received the submission of several princes tributary to the Persians, and having destroyed the Marmarians, a people of Lycia, who had fallen upon the rear of his army, put an end to the cam-

paign; after which he sent home all the new-married men, which endeared him more to his soldiers than almost any other action of his life.

As soon as the season would permit, Alexander quitted the province of Phaselis; and having sent part of his army through the mountainous country to Perga, by a short but difficult road, took his route by a certain promontory, where the way is altogether impassable except when the north winds blow. At the time of the king's march the south wind had held for a long time; but of a sudden it changed, and blew from the north so violently, that, as he and his followers declared, they obtained a safe and easy passage through divine assistance. He continued his march towards Gordium, a city of Phrygia; the enemy having abandoned the strong pass of Telmissus, through which it was necessary for him to march. When he arrived at Gordium, and found himself under the necessity of staying there some time till the several corps of his army could be re-united, he expressed a strong desire of seeing Gordius's chariot, and the famous knot in the harness, of which such strange stories had been published to the world. The cord in which this knot was tied was made of the inner rind of the cornel tree; and no eye could perceive where it began or ended. Alexander, when he could find no possible way of untying, and yet was unwilling to leave it tied, lest it should cause some fears in the breasts of his soldiers, is said by some authors to have cut the cords with his sword, saying, "It matters not how it is undone." A great tempest of thunder, lightning, and rain, happening the succeeding night, it was held declarative of the true solution of this knot, and that Alexander would become master of Asia.

The king having left Gordium, marched towards Cilicia, where he was attended with his usual good fortune, the Persians abandoning all the strong passes as he advanced. As soon as he entered the province, he received advice that Arsames, whom Darius had made governor of Tarsus, was about to

abandon it, and that the inhabitants were very apprehensive that he intended to plunder them before he withdrew. To prevent this, the king marched incessantly, and arrived just in time to save the city. But his saving it had well nigh cost him his life; for, either through the excessive fatigue of marching, as some say, or, according to others, by his plunging when very hot into the River Cydnus, which, as it runs through thick shades, has its waters excessively cold, he fell into such a distemper as threatened immediate dissolution. Philip the Acarnanian alone preserved self-command enough to examine the nature of the king's disease, the worst symptom of which was a continual shivering, which he removed by means of a potion, and in a short time the king recovered his usual health.

Soon after Alexander's recovery, he received the agreeable news that Ptolemy and Asander had defeated the Persian generals, and made great conquests on the Hellespont; and a little after that he met the Persian army at Issus, commanded by Darius himself. A bloody engagement ensued, in which the Persians were defeated with great slaughter (B.C. 333). The consequences of this victory were very advantageous to the Macedonians. Amongst the number of those places which, within a short space after the battle of Issus, sent deputies to submit to the conqueror, was the city of Tyre. The king, whose name was Azelmicus, was absent in the Persian fleet; but his son was amongst the deputies, and was very favorably received by Alexander. The king probably intended to confer particular honors upon the city of Tyre, for he acquainted the inhabitants that he would come and sacrifice to the Tyrian Hercules, the patron of their city, to whom they had erected a most magnificent temple. But these people, like most other trading nations, were far too suspicious to think of admitting such an enterprising prince with his troops within their walls. Alexander then assembled a council of war, in which he insisted strongly on the



disaffected state of Greece (for most of the Grecian states had sent ambassadors to Darius, to enter into a league with him against the Macedonians), the power of the Persians by sea, and the folly of carrying on the war in distant provinces, whilst Tyre was left un-reduced behind them; he also remarked, that if once this city was subdued, the sovereignty of the sea would be transferred to them, because it would fix their possession of the coast; and as the Persian fleet was composed chiefly of tributary squadrons, those tributaries would fight the battles, not of their late, but of their present masters.

For these reasons the siege of Tyre was resolved on. The town was not taken, however, without great difficulty, which provoked Alexander to such a degree that he treated the inhabitants with the greatest cruelty. After the reduction of Tyre, Alexander, though the season was already far advanced, resolved to make an expedition into Syria; and in his way thither proposed to chastise the Jews, who had highly offended him during the siege of Tyre; for when he sent to them to demand provisions for his soldiers, they answered, that they were the subjects of Darius, and bound by oath not to supply his enemies. The king, however, was pacified by their submission, and not only pardoned them, but conferred many privileges upon them.

From Jerusalem Alexander marched directly to Gaza, the only place in that part of the world which still held out for Darius. The governor Batis defended the place with great valor, and several times repulsed his enemies; but at last it was taken by storm, and all the garrison slain to a man; and this secured to Alexander an entrance into Egypt, which having before been very impatient of the Persian yoke, admitted the Macedonians peaceably. Here the king laid the foundation of the city of Alexandria, which for many years afterwards continued to be the capital of the country. Whilst he remained here, he also formed the singular design of visiting the temple of Jupiter Ammon. As

to the motives by which he was induced to take this extraordinary journey, authors are not agreed; but certain it is, that he hazarded himself and his troops in the highest degree, there being two dangers in this march, which, with the example before him of Cambyses, who lost the greater part of his army in it, might have terrified anybody but Alexander. The first was the want of water, which, in the sandy deserts surrounding the temple, is nowhere to be found; the other, the uncertainty of the road from the fluctuation of the sands, which, changing their situation every moment, leave the traveler neither a road to walk in, nor a mark to march by. These difficulties, however, Alexander overcame, though not without a miraculous interposition, as is pretended by all his historians.

Alexander having consulted the oracle, and received a favorable answer, returned to pursue his conquests. Having settled the government of Egypt, he appointed the general rendezvous of his forces at Tyre. Here he met with ambassadors from Athens, requesting him to pardon such of their countrymen as he found serving the enemy. The king being desirous to oblige such a famous state, granted their request, and also sent a fleet to the coast of Greece, to prevent the effects of some commotions which had lately happened in Peloponnesus. He then directed his march to Thapsacus; and having passed the Euphrates and Tigris, met with Darius near Arbela (*Erbil*), where the Persians were again overthrown with prodigious slaughter, and by this victory Alexander became in effect master of the Persian empire.

After this important victory, Alexander marched directly to Babylon, which was immediately delivered up, the inhabitants being greatly disaffected to the Persian interest. After thirty days' stay in this country, the king marched to Susa, which had already surrendered to Philoxenus; and here he received the treasures of the Persian monarch, amounting, according to the most generally received account, to 50,000 talents. Having

received also at this time a supply of 6000 foot and 500 horse from Macedonia, he set about reducing the nations of Media, amongst whom Darius had retired. He first reduced the Uxians, and having forced a passage to Persepolis, the capital of the empire, he, like a barbarian, destroyed the stately palace there, a pile of buildings not to be equaled in any part of the world, after having given up the city to be plundered by his soldiers. In the palace he found 120,000 talents, which he appropriated to his own use, and caused immediately to be carried away upon mules and camels; for he had such an extreme aversion to the inhabitants of Persepolis, that he determined to leave nothing valuable in that city.

During the time that Alexander remained at Persepolis, he received intelligence that Darius remained at Ecbatana, the capital of Media, upon which he pursued him with the greatest expedition, marching at the rate of nearly forty miles a day. In fifteen days he reached Ecbatana, where he was informed that Darius had retired from thence five days before, with an intent to pass into the remotest provinces of his empire. At this place the Thessalian cavalry and many of the allies, having terminated their service, were dismissed with full pay. Some who preferred it were enrolled as volunteers. The king bought the horses of the Thessalians, who, with the rest of the Greeks, were conducted in safety to the Mediterranean.

On receiving fresh information concerning the state of Darius's affairs, the king again set out in pursuit of him, advancing as far as Rhagæ, a city one day's journey from the Caspian Gates. There he understood that Darius had some time before passed those straits; and this information leaving him again without hopes, he halted for five days. Oxidates, a Persian whom Darius had left prisoner at Susa, was made governor of Media, whilst the king departed on an expedition into Parthia. The Caspian Gates he passed immediately without opposition, and he then gave directions to his officers to col-

lect a quantity of provisions sufficient to serve his army on a long march through a wasted country. But before his officers could accomplish these commands, the king received intelligence that Darius had been murdered by one of his own subjects, Bessus, the governor of Bactria.

As soon as Alexander had collected his forces together, and settled the government of Parthia, he entered Hyrcania; and having, according to his usual custom, committed the greater part of his army to the care of Craterus, he, at the head of a choice body of troops, passed through certain craggy roads, and, before the arrival of Craterus, who took an open and easy path, struck the whole provinces with such terror, that all the principal places were immediately put into his hands; and soon afterwards the province of Aria also submitted, and the king continued Satibarzanes, the governor, in his employment. The reduction of this province completed the conquest of Persia; but the ambition of Alexander to become master of every nation of which he had the least intelligence, induced him to enter the country of Mardi, merely because its rocks and barrenness had hitherto prevented any one from conquering, or indeed, from attempting to conquer it. This conquest however, he easily accomplished, and obliged the whole nation to submit to his pleasure. But in the meantime disturbances began to arise in Alexander's new empire, and amongst his troops, which all his activity could not thoroughly suppress. He had scarcely left the province of Aria, when he received intelligence that the traitor Bessus had caused himself to be proclaimed king of Asia by the name of Artaxerxes; and that Satibarzanes had joined him, after having massacred all the Macedonians who had been left in the province. Alexander appointed one Arsames governor in the room of Satibarzanes, and marched thence with his army against the Zarangæ.

The immense treasure which the Macedonians had acquired in the conquest of Persia



now began to affect their discipline. The king himself was of a most generous disposition, and liberally bestowed his gifts on those around him; but they made a bad use of his bounty, and foolishly indulged in those vices by which the former possessors of that wealth had lost it. The king did all in his power to discourage the lazy and inactive pride which now began to show itself amongst his officers; but neither his discourses nor his example had any considerable effect. The form of his civil government resembled that of the ancient Persian kings; in military affairs, however, he strictly preserved the Macedonian discipline; but then he made choice out of the provinces of thirty thousand boys, whom he caused to be instructed in the Greek language, and directed to be brought up in such a manner as that from time to time he might with them recruit the phalanx. The Macedonians observed with great concern these extraordinary measures, which suited very ill with their gross understandings; for after all the victories they had gained, they expected to be absolute lords of Asia, and to possess not only the riches of its inhabitants, but to rule the inhabitants themselves; whereas they now found that Alexander meant no such thing, but that, on the contrary, he conferred governments, offices at court, and all other marks of confidence and favor, indiscriminately both on Greeks and Persians. From this time also the king seems to have given proofs of a cruelty which he had never shown before. Philotas, his most intimate friend, was seized, tortured, and put to death for a conspiracy of which it could never be proved that he was guilty; and soon afterwards Parmenio, the father of the former, and some others, were executed without any crime at all, real or alleged. These things very much disturbed the army. Some of them wrote home to Macedonia respecting the king's suspicions of his friends, and his disposition to hunt out enemies at the very extremities of the world. Alexander having intercepted some of these letters, and procured the best information he

could concerning their authors, picked out these dissatisfied people, and having disposed them into a corps, gave it the title of the "turbulent battalion," hoping by this means to prevent the spirit of disaffection from pervading the whole army. As a further precaution against any future conspiracy, Alexander thought fit to appoint Hephæstion and Clitus generals of the auxiliary horse; being apprehensive that if this authority was lodged in the hands of a single person, it might prompt him to dangerous undertakings, and at the same time furnish him with the means of carrying them into execution. To keep his forces in action, he suddenly marched into the country of the Euergetæ, or Benefactors, and found them full of the kind and hospitable disposition for which that name had been bestowed on their ancestors by the first Cyrus; he therefore treated them with great respect, and at his departure added some lands to their dominions, which lay contiguous, and which for that reason they had requested of him.

Alexander spent the greater part of the autumn and winter in the reduction of the region around Dragiana, the modern Afghanistan, Seistan, and western Cabool. Any resistance he met with was fitful and desultory; but his soldiers suffered severely from cold and want of food. Arrian remarks, after his own fashion: "Alexander moved forward not a whit the less; with difficulty, indeed, through deep snow, and without provisions; but still he moved on." He founded a new city called *Alexandria ad Caucasum*, at one of the southern passes of the Hindoo-Koosh. Here he planted 7000 old Macedonian soldiers as colonists. By a fifteen days' march through snow he crossed the vast mountain range of the Hindoo-Koosh, and entered the region of Bactria.

Bessus, who had assumed the name of Artaxerxes, when he was assured that Alexander was marching towards him, immediately began to waste all the country between Paropamisus and the River Oxus, which

river he passed with all his forces, and then burned all the vessels he had made use of for transporting them, retiring to Nautaca, a city of Sogdia, fully persuaded that, by the precautions he had taken, Alexander would be compelled to give over his pursuit. This conduct of his, however, disheartened his troops, and gave the lie to all his pretensions; for he had affected to censure Darius' conduct, and had charged him with cowardice, in not defending the River Euphrates and Tigris, whereas he now quitted the banks of the most defensible river perhaps in the whole world. As to his hopes, though it cannot be said they were ill-founded, yet they proved absolutely vain; for Alexander, continuing his march, notwithstanding the hardships his soldiers sustained, reduced all Bactria under his obedience, particularly the capital Bactria and the strong castle Aornus. In the latter he placed a garrison under the command of Archelaus, but the government of the province he committed to Artabazus. He then continued his march to the River Oxus, on the banks of which, when he arrived, he found it three-quarters of a mile in breadth, its depth more than proportional to its breadth, its bottom sandy, its stream so rapid as to render it almost unnavigable, and neither boat nor tree in its neighborhood; so that the ablest commanders in the Macedonian army were of opinion that the army would be obliged to march back. The king, however, having first sent away, under a proper escort, all his infirm and worn-out soldiers, that they might be conducted safely to the seaports, and thence transported to Greece, devised a method of passing this river without either boat or bridge, by causing the hides which covered the soldiers' tents and carriages to be stuffed with straw, and then tied together, and thrown into the river. Having crossed the Oxus, he marched directly towards the camp of Bessus, where, when he arrived, he found it abandoned; but at the same time received letters from Spitamenes and Dataphernes, who were the chief commanders under Bes-

sus, signifying, that if he would send a small party to receive Bessus, they would deliver him into his hands; which they did accordingly, and the traitor was immediately put to death, after cruel mutilation.

A supply of horses having now arrived, the Macedonian cavalry were remounted. Alexander continued his march to Maracanda, the capital of Sogdia, whence he advanced to the River Iaxartes. Here he performed extraordinary exploits against the Scythians, from whom, however, though he overcame them, his army suffered much; and the revolted Sogdians, being headed by Spitamenes, gave him a great deal of trouble. Here also he married Roxana, the daughter of Oxyartes, a prince of the country whom he had subdued. But during these expeditions, the king greatly disgusted his army by the murder of his friend Clitus in a drunken quarrel at a banquet, and by his extravagant vanity in claiming divine honors. At last he arrived at the River Indus, where Hephæstion and Perdiccas had already provided a bridge of boats for the passage of that river. He then ordered the vessels of which his bridge had been composed to be taken to pieces, that they might be brought to the Hydaspes, where he was informed that Porus with a great army lay encamped to dispute his passage.

Alexander experienced no resistance till he met the brave Indian prince, Porus, who, with a formidable force, stood on the further side of a river, prepared to dispute his passage. The Macedonians, by a series of skillful manœuvres, eluded the watchfulness of the Indians, crossed the river at a point above where the army lay, and completely overthrew Porus and his brave host. This gigantic prince, who was mounted on an elephant, moved about among his scattered troops with signal spirit and intrepidity, cheering on the dispirited, and reviving the expiring courage of the wavering. He saw two of his sons fall by his side, and had himself received a severe wound; yet he fought on almost single-handed with the









fierce energy of proud despair. It was with considerable difficulty that Alexander succeeded in preserving the life of this invincible hero. When Porus was brought before him, Alexander, over whose passionate nature external impressions exercised a strong influence, was much struck with his handsome figure and undaunted mien. He showed this prince the utmost generosity, not only by reinstating him in his kingdom, but also by extending its boundaries; and Porus proved in return a faithful ally to Alexander. "This was," says Grote, "the greatest day of Alexander's life, if we take together the splendor and difficulty of the military achievement, and the generous treatment of his conquered opponent."

To perpetuate the memory of this victory, Alexander ordered two cities to be erected; one on the field of battle, which he named Nicæa, the other on the opposite side of the river, which he called Bucephala, in honor of his horse Bucephalus, who died here, as Arrian says, of mere old age, being on the verge of thirty. All the soldiers who fell in the battle he buried with great honors, offered solemn sacrifices to the gods, and exhibited pompous shows on the banks of the Hydaspes, where he had forced his passage. He then entered the territories of the Glausæ, in which there were thirty-seven good cities and a multitude of populous villages. All these were delivered up to him without fighting; and as soon as he received them, he presented them to Porus, and having reconciled him to Taxiles, he sent the latter home to his own dominions. About this time ambassadors arrived from several Indian princes with their submissions; and Alexander having conquered the dominions of another Porus, which lay on the Hydraotes, a branch of the Indus, added them to those of Porus his ally.

In the middle of all this success, however, news arrived that the Cathei, Oxydracæ, and the Malli, the most warlike nations of India, were confederated against the Macedonians, and had drawn together a great army. The

king immediately marched to give them battle, and in a few days reached a city called Sangala, seated on the top of a hill, and having a fine lake behind it. Before this city the confederate Indians lay encamped, having three circular lines of carriages locked together, and their tents pitched in the centre. These defences being forced, they took refuge within their walls, and resolved to evacuate by night. Informed by deserters of this project, Alexander succeeded in defeating it. Next day he stormed the town, killing, as Arrian records, 17,000 Indians, and taking 70,000 captives. His own loss was less than 100 killed and 1200 wounded. After razing Sangala, he annexed the territory to the kingdom of his Indian ally.

Alexander, still unsated with conquest, now prepared to pass the Hyphasis. The chief reason which induced him to think of this expedition, was the information he had received of the state of the countries beyond that river. He was told that they were in themselves rich and fruitful; that their inhabitants were not only a very martial people, but very civilized; that they were governed by the nobility, who were themselves subject to the laws; and that as they lived in happiness and freedom, it was likely they would fight obstinately in defence of those blessings. He was further told, that amongst these nations there were the largest, strongest, and most useful elephants bred and tamed; and was therefore fired with an earnest desire of reducing such a bold and brave people under his rule, and of attaining to the possession of the many valuable things that were said to be amongst them. As exorbitant, however, as his personal ambition was, he found it impossible to infuse any part of it into the minds of his soldiers, who were so far from wishing to triumph over new and remote countries, that they were highly desirous of leaving those that they had already conquered. When, therefore, they were informed of the king's intentions, they privately consulted

together in the camp about the situation of their own affairs. At this consultation, the gravest and best of the soldiers lamented that they were made use of by their king, not as lions, who fall fiercely upon those who have injured them, but as mastiffs, who fly upon and tear those who are pointed out to them as enemies. The rest were not so modest, but expressed themselves roundly against the king's humor for leading them from battle to battle, from siege to siege, and from river to river; protesting that they would follow him no further, nor lavish their blood any longer to purchase for him the fame he coveted. Alexander had too much penetration not to perceive that his troops were very uneasy. He therefore harangued them from his tribunal; but though his eloquence was great, and the love his army had for him was yet very strong, they did not relent. For some time the soldiers remained sullen and silent; and at last turned their eyes on Cœnus, an old and experienced general, whom Alexander loved, and in whom the army put great confidence. He had the generosity to undertake their cause, and told Alexander frankly, "that men endured toil in hopes of repose; that the Macedonians were already much reduced in their numbers; and of those who remained, the greater part were invalids; and that they expected, in consideration of their former services, that he would now lead them back to their native country, an act which, of all others, would most contribute to his own great designs, since it would encourage the youth of Macedonia, and even of all Greece, to follow him in whatever new expedition he pleased to undertake." The king was far from being pleased with this speech of Cœnus, and much less with the disposition of his army, which continued in deep silence. He therefore dismissed the assembly. But next day he called another, in which he told the soldiers plainly that he would not be driven from his purpose; that he would proceed in his conquests with such as should follow him voluntarily; and that, as for the rest, he

would not detain them, but would leave them at liberty to go home to Macedonia, where they might publish, "that they had left their king in the midst of his enemies." Even this expedient had no success; his army was so thoroughly tired with long marches and desperate battles, that they were determined to advance no further; upon which Alexander retired to his tent, where he refused to see his friends, and evinced the same gloomy temper that reigned amongst his troops.

For three days things remained in this situation. At last the king suddenly appeared; and, as if he had been fully determined to pursue his first design, he gave orders to sacrifice for the good success of his new undertaking. But Aristander, the augur, reported that the omens were altogether inauspicious; upon which the king said, that since his proceeding farther was neither pleasing to the gods nor grateful to his army, he would return. When this was rumored amongst the army, they assembled in great numbers about the royal tent, saluting the king with loud acclamations, wishing him success in all his future designs, and giving him at the same time hearty thanks, inasmuch as "he who was invincible had suffered himself to be overcome by their prayers." A stop being thus put to the conquests of Alexander, he determined to make the Hyphasis the boundary of his dominions; and having erected twelve altars of an extraordinary magnitude, he sacrificed upon them, after which he exhibited shows in the Grecian manner; and, having added all the conquered country in these parts to the dominions of Porus, he began to return. Having arrived at the Hydaspes, he made the necessary preparations for sailing down the Indus to the ocean. For this purpose, he ordered vast quantities of timber to be felled in the neighborhood of the Hydaspes, through which he was to sail into the Indus; and by the beginning of November, he, with a fleet of 2000 boats, began his voyage down the Hydaspes. Craterus and Hephestion



with their divisions, moved down the banks of the river. The king kept on board the fleet, which was commanded by Nearchus. The main stream of the Indus was gradually reached, down which they sailed to the ocean. The entire voyage occupied nine months, from November 326 B.C. to August 325 B.C. But it is not to be supposed that Alexander contented himself with the unbroken monotony of this tedious expedition. All tribes bordering on the river which did not offer voluntary submission, were attacked, subdued and slaughtered. Among these were the Malli. Attacking this brave people with his accustomed energy, Alexander drove them within the walls of their strongest city. Having pursued them to the gates, the king, in his hot impatience at the tardy arrival of the troops with the scaling-ladders, managed to mount the wall, and after striking down its defenders, flung himself into the fortress, where he made his way, single-handed, for a time against all opposition. He was on the point of falling, however, from a severe wound, when his soldiers dashed in, rescued their brave general, and took the citadel. The Indians were now slaughtered without mercy; but Alexander continued for some time in a very dangerous condition. However, he at last recovered his strength, and showed himself again to his army, which filled them with the greatest joy.

On the king's return to Pattala, he resolved to sail down the other branch of the Indus, that he might see whether it was more safe and commodious for his fleet than that which he had already tried; and for this he had very good reasons. He had resolved to send Nearchus with his fleet by sea, through the Persian Gulf, up the River Tigris, to meet him and his army in Mesopotamia; but as the possibility of this voyage depended on the ceasing of the etesian winds, there was a necessity for laying up the fleet till the season should prove favorable. Alexander, therefore, sailing through this branch of the Indus, sought on the sea-coast for bays and creeks, where his fleet might anchor

in safety; he also caused pits to be sunk, which might be filled with fresh water for the use of his people, and took all imaginable precautions for preserving them in ease and safety till the season would allow them to continue their voyage. In this he succeeded to his wish; for he found this branch of the river Indus, at its mouth, spread over the plain country, and forming a kind of lake, in which a fleet might ride with safety. He therefore appointed Leonatus, and a part of his army, to carry on such works as were necessary, causing them to be relieved by fresh troops as often as there was occasion; then having given his last instructions to Nearchus, he departed with the rest of the army, in order to march back to Babylon.

Before the king's departure, many of his friends advised him against the route which he intended to take. They told him that nothing could be more rash or dangerous than this resolution. They informed him, that the country through which he was to travel was a wild uncultivated desert; that Semiramis, when she led her soldiers this way out of India, brought home but twenty of them; and that Cyrus attempting to do the same, returned with only seven. But all this was so far from deterring Alexander, that it more than ever determined him to pursue no other route. As soon, therefore, as he had put things in order, he marched at the head of a sufficient body of troops to reduce the Oritæ, who had never vouchsafed either to make their submission or to court his friendship. Their territories lay upon the other side of a river called Arabis, which Alexander crossed so speedily, that they had no intelligence of his march; whereupon most of them quitted their country, and fled into the deserts. Their capital he found so well situate, that he resolved to take it out of their hands, and to cause a new and noble city to be founded there, the care of which he committed to Hephæstion. Then he received the deputies of the Oritæ and Gedrosi; and having assured them that if the people returned to their villages, they should

be kindly treated, and having appointed Apollophenes president of the Oritæ, and left a considerable body of troops under Leonatus to secure their obedience, he began his march through Gedrosia. In this march his troops suffered incredible hardships. The road was very uncertain and troublesome, on account of its lying through deep and loose sands, rising in many places into hillocks, which forced the soldiers to climb, at the same time that it sunk under their feet; there were no towns, villages, nor places of refreshment, to be met with; so that, after excessive marches, they were forced to encamp among these dry sands. As to provisions, they hardly met with any during their whole march, the soldiers were therefore obliged to kill their beasts of carriage; and such as were sent to bring some corn from the sea-side, were so grievously distressed, that, though it was sealed with the king's signet, they cut open the bags, choosing rather to die a violent death for disobedience than perish by hunger. When the king, however, was informed of this, he freely pardoned the offenders; he was also forced to accept the excuses that were daily made for the loss of mules, horses, &c., which were in truth eaten by the soldiers, and their carriages broken in pieces to avoid further trouble. As for water, their want of it was a great misfortune, and yet their finding it in plenty was sometimes a greater; for, as in the one case they perished with thirst, so in the other they were thrown into dropsies, and rendered incapable of travel. Frequently they met with no water for the whole day together; sometimes they were disappointed of it at night, in which case, if they were able, they marched on; so that it was common with them to travel 30, 40, 50, or even 60 miles without encamping. Through these hardships numbers were obliged to fall into the rear; and of these many were left behind, and perished; for indeed scarcely any of them ever joined the army again. Their miseries, however, they sustained with incredible patience, being encouraged by the example of their

king, who, on this occasion, suffered greater hardships than the meanest soldier in his army.

At last they arrived at the capital of Gedrosia, where they refreshed themselves, and staid some time; after which they marched into Caramania, which being a very plentiful country, made them ample amends for the hardships and fatigues which they had sustained. Here they were joined, first by Craterus with the troops under his command, along with a number of elephants; then came Stasanor, president of the Arians, and Pharismanes, the son of Phrataphernes, the governor of Parthia. They brought with them camels, horses, and other beasts of burden, in vast numbers; having foreseen that the king's march through Gedrosia would be attended with the loss of the greater part, if not all, of the cavalry and beasts belonging to his army. During Alexander's stay in Caramania, he redressed the injuries of his people, who had been grievously oppressed by their governors during his absence. Here also he was joined by his admiral, Nearchus, who brought with him an account that all under his command were in perfect safety and in excellent condition; intelligence with which the king was mightily pleased, and, after having bestowed on him singular marks of his favor, sent him back to the navy. Alexander next set out for Persia, where great disorders had been committed during his absence. These he also redressed, and caused the governor to be crucified; appointing in his room Peucestas, who had saved his life when he fought singly against a whole garrison, as before related. The new governor was no sooner invested with his dignity than he laid aside the Macedonian garb, and put on that of the Medes, being the only one of Alexander's captains who, by complying with the manners of the people he governed, gained their affection.

Whilst Alexander visited the different parts of Persia, he took a view, amongst the rest, of the ruins of Persepolis, where he is said to have expressed great sorrow for the



destruction he had formerly occasioned. From Persepolis, he marched to Susa, where he gave an extraordinary loose to pleasure, resolving to make himself and his followers some amends for the difficulties which they had hitherto undergone, purposing at the same time so effectually to unite his newly-conquered with his hereditary subjects, that the jealousies and fears which had hitherto tormented both should no longer subsist. With this view he married two wives of the blood-royal of Persia—Barsine or Statira, the daughter of Darius, and Parysatis, the daughter of Ochus. Drypetis, another daughter of Darius, he gave to Hephæstion; Amastine, the daughter of Oxyartes, the brother of Darius, married Craterus; and to the rest of his friends, to the number of eighty, he gave other women of the highest quality. All these marriages were celebrated at once, Alexander himself bestowing fortunes upon them. He likewise directed that an account should be taken of the number of his officers and soldiers who had married Asiatic wives; and though they appeared to be ten thousand, yet he gratified each of them according to his rank. He next resolved to pay the debts of his army, and thereupon issued an edict directing every man to register his name, and the sum he owed; an order with which the soldiers complying slowly, from an apprehension that there was some design against them, Alexander ordered tables heaped with money to be set in all quarters of the camp, and caused every man's debts to be paid on his bare word, without even making any entry of his name, though the whole sum amounted to twenty thousand talents. On such as had distinguished themselves in an extraordinary manner he bestowed crowns of gold. Peucestas received the first, Leonatus the second, Nearchus the third, Onesicritus the fourth, Hephæstion the fifth, and the rest of his guards had each of them one. After this he made other dispositions for conciliating, as he supposed, the differences amongst his subjects. He reviewed the thirty thousand youths whom at his departure for India he

had ordered to be taught Greek and the Macedonian discipline, expressing high satisfaction at the fine appearance they made, which rendered them worthy of the appellation he bestowed on them, that of *Epigoni*, or successors. He promoted also, without any distinction of nation, all those who had served him faithfully and valiantly in the Indian war. When all these regulations were made, he gave the command of his heavy-armed troops to Hephæstion, and ordered him to march directly to the banks of the Tigris; whilst in the meantime a fleet was equipped for carrying the king and the troops which he retained with him down to the ocean.

Thus ended the exploits of Alexander, the greatest conqueror that ever the world saw, at least with respect to the rapidity of his conquests. In the course of twelve years he had brought under his subjection Egypt, Libya, Asia Minor, Syria, Phœnicia, Palestine, Babylonia, Persia, with part of India and Tartary. Still, however, he meditated greater things. He had now got a great taste for maritime affairs, and is said to have meditated a voyage to the coasts of Arabia and Ethiopia, and thence round the whole continent of Africa to the Straits of Gibraltar. But of this there is no great certainty, though that he intended to subdue the Carthaginians and Italians is more than probable. All these designs, however, were frustrated by his death, which happened at Babylon in the year 323 B.C. He is said to have received several warnings of his approaching fate, and to have been advised to avoid that city, which advice he either despised or could not follow. He died of a fever, after eight days' illness, without naming any successor; having only given his ring to Perdicas, and left the kingdom, as he said, "to the strongest."

The character of this great prince has been variously represented; but most historians seem to have looked upon him rather as an illustrious madman than one upon whom the epithet of Great could be properly bestowed. From a careful observation of his conduct,

however, it must appear that he possessed not only a capacity to plan, but likewise to execute, the greatest enterprises which ever entered into the mind of any of the human race. From whatever cause the notion originated, it is plain that he imagined himself a divine person, and born to subdue the whole world; and extravagant and impracticable as this scheme may appear at present, it cannot at all be looked upon in the same light in the age of Alexander. The Greeks were in his time the most powerful people in the world in respect to their skill in the military art, and the Persians were the most powerful with respect to wealth and numbers. The only other powerful nations in the world were the Carthaginians, Gauls, and Italian nations. From a long series of wars which the Carthaginians carried on in Sicily, it appeared that they were by no means capable of contending with the Greeks, even when they had an immense superiority of numbers; and much less could they have sustained an attack from the whole power of Greece and Asia united. The Gauls and Italians were indeed very brave, and of a martial disposition; but they were barbarous, and could not have resisted armies well disciplined, and under the command of such a skillful leader as Alexander. Even long after this time, it appeared that the Romans themselves could not have resisted the Greeks, since Regulus, after having defeated the Carthaginians, and reduced them to the utmost distress, was totally unable to resist a Carthaginian army commanded by a Greek general, and trained to Greek discipline.

Thus it appears that the scheme of Alexander cannot by any means be accounted that of a madman, or of one who projects great things without judgment, and the means necessary to execute them. If from his actions we consider the end which he most probably had in view could his scheme have been accomplished, we shall find it not only the greatest, but the best, which can possibly be imagined. He did not conquer to destroy, enslave, or oppress, but to civilize

and to unite the whole world as one nation. No sooner was a province conquered than he took care of it as if it had been part of his paternal inheritance. He allowed not his soldiers to oppress and plunder the Persians, which they were very much inclined to do; on the contrary, by giving in to the oriental customs himself, he strove to extinguish that inveterate hatred which had so long subsisted between the two nations. In the Scythian countries which he subdued he pursued the same excellent plan. His courage and military skill, in which he never was excelled, were displayed, not with a view to rapine or desultory conquest, but to civilize and induce the barbarous inhabitants to employ themselves in a more proper way of life. Amidst the hardships of a military life, obstinate sieges, bloody battles, and dear-bought victories, he still respected the rights of mankind, and practised the mild virtues of humanity. The conquered nations enjoyed their ancient laws and privileges; the rigors of despotism were softened; arts and industry encouraged; and the proudest Macedonian governors compelled, by the authority and example of Alexander, to observe the rules of justice towards their meanest subjects. To bridle the fierce inhabitants of the Scythian plains, he founded cities and established colonies on the banks of the Iaxartes and Oxus; and those destructive campaigns usually ascribed to his restless activity and blind ambition appeared to the discernment of this extraordinary man, not only essential to the security of the conquests which he had already made, but necessary for the more remote and splendid expeditions which he still purposed to undertake, and which he performed with singular boldness and unexampled success.

He was of a low stature, and somewhat deformed; but the activity and elevation of his mind animated and ennobled his frame. By a life of continual labor, and by an early and habitual practice of the gymnastic exercises, he had hardened his body against the impressions of cold and heat, hunger and



thirst, and prepared his robust constitution for bearing such exertions of strength and activity as have appeared incredible to the undisciplined softness of modern times. In generosity and in prowess he rivalled the greatest heroes of antiquity; and in the race of glory, having finally outstripped all competitors, became ambitious to surpass himself. His superior skill in war gave uninterrupted success to his arms; and his natural humanity, enlightened by the philosophy of Greece, taught him to improve his conquests to the best interests of mankind. In his extensive dominions he built or founded not less than seventy cities; the situation of which, being chosen with consummate wisdom, tended to facilitate communication, to promote commerce, and to diffuse civilization through the greatest nations of the earth. It may be suspected, indeed, that he mistook the extent of human power, when in the course of one reign he undertook to change the face of the world; and that he miscalculated the stubbornness of ignorance and the force of habit, when he attempted to enlighten barbarism, to soften servitude, and to transplant the improvements of Greece into an African and Asiatic soil, where they have never been known to flourish. Yet let not the designs of Alexander be too hastily accused of extravagance. Whoever seriously considers what he actually performed before his thirty-third year, will be cautious of determining what he might have accomplished had he reached the ordinary term of human life. His resources were peculiar to himself; and such views as well as actions became him, as would have become none besides. In the language of a distinguished historian, "he seems to have been given to the world by a peculiar dispensation of Providence, being a man like to none other of the human kind."

With the death of Alexander fell also the glory of the Macedonians, who very soon relapsed into a situation as bad as, or perhaps worse than, that in which they had been before the reign of Philip. This was occasioned principally by his not having distinctly

named a successor, and having no child of his own come to the years of discretion to whom the kingdom might seem naturally to belong. The ambition and jealousy of his mother Olympias, of his Queen Roxana, and especially of the great commanders of his army, not only prevented a successor from being ever named, but occasioned the death of every person, whether male or female, who was in the least related to Alexander. To have a just notion of the origin of these disturbances, it is necessary, in the first place, to understand the state of Macedonian affairs at the time of Alexander's death.

When Alexander set out for Asia, he left Antipater in Macedonia, to prevent any disturbances that might arise either there or in Greece. The Greeks, even during the lifetime of Alexander, bore the superiority which he exercised over them with great impatience; and though nothing could be more gentle than the government of Antipater, yet he was exceedingly hated, because he obliged them to be quiet. One of the last actions of Alexander's life set all Greece in a flame. He had, by an edict, directed all the cities of Greece to recall their exiles; which edict, when it was published at the Olympic games, created much confusion. Many of the cities were afraid that when the exiles returned they would change the government; most of them doubted their own safety if the edict took effect; and all of them held this peremptory decree to be a total abolition of their liberty. No sooner, therefore, did the news of Alexander's death arrive than they prepared for war.

In Asia the state of things was not much better; not indeed through any inclination of the conquered countries to revolt, but through the dissensions amongst the commanders. In the general council which was called soon after the death of Alexander, it was at last agreed, or rather commanded by the soldiers, after much confusion and altercation, that Aridaeus, the brother of Alexander, who had always accompanied the king, and had been wont to sacrifice with him,

should assume the sovereignty. This Aridæus was a man of slender parts and judgment, not naturally, but by the wicked practices of Olympias, who had given him poisonous draughts in his infancy, lest he should stand in the way of her son Alexander, or any of his family; and for this, or some other reason, Perdiccas, Ptolemy, and most of the cavalry officers, resented his promotion to such a degree that they quitted the assembly, and even the city. However, Meleager, at the head of the phalanx, vigorously supported their first resolution, and threatened loudly to shed the blood of those who affected to rule over their equals, and to assume a kingdom which nowise belonged to them. Aridæus was accordingly arrayed in royal robes, had the arms of Alexander put upon him, and was saluted by the name of Philip, to render him more popular. Thus were two parties formed, at the head of which were Meleager and Perdiccas, both of them pretending vast concern for the public good, yet at bottom desiring nothing more than their own advantage. Perdiccas was a man of high birth, and had a supreme command in the army, was much in favor with Alexander, and one in whom the nobility had placed great confidence. Meleager had become formidable by the phalanx being on his side, and having the nominal king entirely in his power; for Aridæus, or Philip, was obliged to comply with whatever he thought proper, and publicly declared that whatever he did was by the advice of Meleager; so that he made his minister accountable for his own schemes, and nowise endangered himself. The Macedonians also, besides their regard for the deceased king, soon began to entertain a personal love for Philip on account of his moderation.

It is remarkable, however, that notwithstanding all the favors which Alexander had conferred upon his officers, and the fidelity with which they had served him during his life, only two of them were attached to the interests of his family after his death. These were Antipater and Eumenes the Cardian,

whom he had appointed his secretary. Antipater, as we have already seen, was embroiled with the Greeks, and could not assist the royal family, who were in Asia; and Eumenes had not as yet a sufficient interest to form a party in their favor. In a short time, however, Perdiccas prevailed against Meleager, and caused him to be murdered; by which means the supreme power for a time fell into his hands. His first step, in consequence of this power, was to distribute the provinces of the empire amongst the commanders, in order at once to prevent competitors, and to satisfy the ambition of the principal leaders of the army. Aridæus, and the son of Roxana, born after the death of his father, were to enjoy the regal authority. Antipater had the government of the European provinces. Craterus received the title of Protector. Perdiccas was made general of the household troops, in the room of Hephæstion. Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, obtained Egypt, Libya, and that part of Arabia which borders upon Egypt. Cleomenes, a man of infamous character, whom Alexander had appointed receiver-general in Egypt, was made Ptolemy's deputy. Leomedon had Syria; Philotas, Cilicia; Python, Media; Eumenes, Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, and all the country bordering on the Euxine Sea, as far as Trapezus; but these were not yet conquered, so that he was a governor without a province. Antigonus received Pamphylia, Lycia, and Phrygia Major; Cassander, Caria; Menander, Lydia; Leonatus, Phrygia, on the Hellespont.

In the meantime, not only Alexander's will, but even his remains, were so much neglected, that his body was allowed to lie seven days before any notice was taken of it, or any orders were given for its being embalmed. The only will he left was a short memorandum of six things which he wished to have done. 1. A fleet of one thousand stout galleys was to be built and employed against the Carthaginians and other nations who might oppose the reduction of the sea-coasts of Africa and Spain, with all the ad



jacent islands as far as Sicily. 2. A large and regular highway was to be constructed along the coast of Africa, as far as Ceuta and Tangier. 3. Six temples of extraordinary magnificence were to be erected, at the expense of one thousand five hundred talents each. 4. Castles, arsenals, havens, and yards for building ships were to be established in proper places throughout his empire. 5. Several new cities were to be built in Europe and Asia; those in Asia to be inhabited by colonies from Europe, and those in Europe to be filled with Asiatics; that by blending the people and the manners of both, the hereditary antipathy which had hitherto subsisted between the inhabitants of these two continents might, if possible, be eradicated. Lastly, he had projected the building of a pyramid, equal in size and beauty to the largest in Egypt, in honor of his father Philip. But all these designs were, on the pretence of their being expensive, referred to a council of Macedonians, to be held nobody knew when or where.

The government being now in the hands of Perdiccas and Roxana, soon became cruel and distasteful. Alexander was scarcely dead when the queen sent for Statira and Drypetis, the two daughters of Darius, one of whom had been married to Alexander, and the other to Hephæstion; and as soon as they arrived at Babylon, she caused them both to be murdered, that no son of Alexander by any other woman, or of Hephæstion, might give any trouble to her or her son Alexander. Sisymbria, the mother of Darius, no sooner heard that Alexander the Great was dead, than she laid violent hands on herself, being apprehensive of the calamities which were about to ensue.

War was first declared in Greece against Antipater in the year 321 B. C.; and through the treachery of the Thessalians, that general was defeated, with the army he had under his own command. Leonatus was therefore sent from Asia, with a very considerable army, to his assistance; but both were overthrown with great loss by the confederates,

and Leonatus himself was killed. In a short time, however, Craterus arrived in Greece with a great army, the command of which he resigned to Antipater. The army of the confederates amounted to about twenty-five thousand foot and three thousand horse; but Antipater commanded no fewer than forty thousand foot, three thousand archers, and five thousand horse. In such an unequal contest, therefore, the Greeks were defeated, and forced to sue for peace, which they did not obtain except on condition of their receiving Macedonian garrisons into several of their cities. At Athens also the democratic government was abrogated; and such a dreadful punishment did this seem to the Athenians, that twenty-two thousand of them left their country and retired into Macedonia.

Whilst these things were doing in Greece, disturbances began also to arise in Asia and in Thrace. The Greek mercenaries, who were dispersed throughout the inland provinces of Asia, despairing of ever being allowed to return home by fair means, determined to attempt it by force. For this purpose they assembled to the number of twenty thousand foot and three thousand horse; but they were all cut off to a man by the Macedonians. In Thrace, Lysimachus was attacked by one Seuthes, a prince of that country, who claimed the dominions of his ancestors, and had raised an army of twenty thousand foot and two thousand horse. But though the Macedonian commander was forced to engage this army with no more than four thousand foot and two thousand horse, yet he kept the field of battle, and could not be driven out of the country.

Perdiccas, in the meantime, by pretending friendship to the royal family, had gained over Eumenes entirely to his interest; and at last put him in possession of the province of Cappadocia by the defeat of Ariarathes, king of that country, whom he afterwards caused to be crucified. His ambition, however, now began to involve him in difficulties. At the first division of the provinces

Perdiccas, to strengthen his own authority, had proposed to marry Nicæa, the daughter of Antipater; and so well was this proposal relished, that her brethren, Jollas and Archias, conducted her to him, in order to be present at the celebration of the nuptials. But Perdiccas had now other objects in view. He had been solicited by Olympias to marry her daughter Cleopatra, the widow of Alexander King of Epirus, and who then resided at Sardis, in Lydia. Eumenes promoted this match to the utmost of his power, because he thought it would be for the interest of the royal family; and his persuasions had such an effect on Perdiccas, that he was sent to Sardis to compliment Cleopatra, and to carry presents to her in name of her new lover. In the absence of Eumenes, however, Alceas, the brother of Perdiccas, persuaded him to marry Nicæa; but in order to gratify his ambition, he resolved to divorce her immediately after the marriage, and to marry Cleopatra. By this last alliance he hoped to have a pretence for altering the government of Macedonia; and, as a necessary measure preparative to these, he entered into contrivances for destroying Antigonus. Unfortunately for himself, however, he ruined all his schemes by his own jealousy and precipitate cruelty. Cynane, the daughter of Philip by his second wife, had brought her daughter Adda, who was afterwards named Eurydice, to court, in hopes that King Aridæus might marry her. Against Cynane, Perdiccas, from some political motives, conceived such a grudge, that he caused her to be murdered. This raised a commotion in the army, which frightened Perdiccas to such a degree that he now promoted the match between Aridæus and Eurydice, to prevent which he had murdered the mother of the young princess. But in the meantime Antigonus, knowing the designs of Perdiccas against himself, fled with his son Demetrius to Greece, there to take shelter under the protection of Antipater and Craterus, whom he informed of the ambition and cruelty of the regent.

A civil war was now kindled up. Anti-

pater, Craterus, Neoptolemus, and Antigonus were combined against Perdiccas; and it was the misfortune of the empire in general that Eumenes, the most able general, as well as the most virtuous of all the commanders, was on the side of Perdiccas, because he believed him to be in the interest of Alexander's family. Ptolemy in the meantime remained in quiet possession of Egypt, but without the least intention of owning any person as his superior. However, he also acceded to the league formed against Perdiccas, and thus the only person in the whole empire who consulted the interest of the royal family was Eumenes.

It was now thought proper to bury the body of Alexander, which had been kept for two years, during all which time preparations had been making for its interment. Aridæus, to whose care it was committed, set out from Babylon for Damascus, in order to carry the the king's body to Egypt. This was much against the will of Perdiccas; for it seems there was a superstitious report, that wherever the body of Alexander was laid, that country should flourish most. Perdiccas, therefore, out of regard to his native soil, would have it conveyed to the royal sepulchres in Macedonia; but Aridæus, pleading the late king's express direction, was determined to carry it into Egypt, from thence to be conveyed to the temple of Jupiter Ammon. The funeral was accordingly conducted with all imaginable magnificence. Ptolemy came to meet the body as far as Syria; but instead of burying it in the temple of Jupiter Ammon, he erected a stately temple for it in the city of Alexandria; and by the respect which he showed for his dead master, induced many of the Macedonian veterans to join him, who were afterwards of the greatest service.

No sooner was the funeral over than the parties above mentioned came to blows. Perdiccas marched against Ptolemy, but was slain by his own men, who, after the death of their general, submitted to his antagonist; and thus Eumenes was left alone to contend



against all the other generals who had served under Alexander. In this contest, however, he would by no means have been overmatched, had his soldiers been attached to him; but as they had been accustomed to serve under those very generals against whom they were now to fight, they were upon all occasions ready to betray and desert Eumenes. However, he defeated and killed Neoptolemus and Craterus; but then found himself obliged to contend with Antipater and Antigonus. Antipater was now appointed protector of the kings, with sovereign power; and Eumenes was about the same time declared a public enemy. A new division of Alexander's empire took place. Egypt, Libya, and the parts adjacent, were given to Ptolemy, because they could not be taken from him. Syria was confirmed to Leomedon. Philoxenus received Cilicia. Mesopotamia and Arbelitus were given to Amphimachus. Babylon was bestowed on Seleucus. Susiana fell to Antigenes, who commanded the Macedonian *Argyraspidæ*, or Silver Shields, because he was the first who opposed Perdiccas. Peucestas held Persia; Tlepolemus had Caramania; Python had Media as far as the Caspian Straits; Stasander had Aria and Drangia; Philip, Parthia; Stasenor, Bactria and Sogdia; Sibirtius, Aracopa; Oxyartes, the father of Roxana, Paropamisus. Another Python had the country between this province and India. Porus and Taxiles retained what Alexander had given them, refusing to part with any portion of their dominions. Cappadocia was assigned to Nicenor. Phrygia Major, Lycaonia, Pamphylia, and Lycia were given to Antigonus; Caria to Cassander; Lydia to Clytus; and Phrygia the Less to Aridæus. Cassander was appointed general of the horse; whilst the command of the household troops was given to Antigonus, with orders to prosecute the war against Eumenes. Antipater, having thus settled everything, returned to Macedonia with the two kings, to the great joy of his countrymen, having left his son Cassander as a check upon Antigonus in Asia.

Matters now seemed to wear a better aspect than they had yet done; and if Eumenes had believed that his enemies really consulted the interest of Alexander's family, there is not the least doubt that the war would have been immediately terminated. He saw, however, that the design of Antigonus was altogether a selfish one, and consequently he refused to submit. From this time, therefore, the Macedonian empire in Asia ceased to exist; and the Macedonian affairs were now entirely confined to that kingdom itself and to Greece. Antipater had not been long in Macedonia after his return when he died; and the last act of his life completed the ruin of Alexander's family. With a view to the public good, he had appointed Polysperchon, one of the eldest of Alexander's captains, to be protector and governor of Macedonia. This failed not to disgust his son Cassander, who thought he had a natural right to these offices, and of course kindled up a new civil war in Macedonia. This was indeed highly promoted by his first actions as a governor. He began with attempting to remove all the governors appointed in Greece by Antipater, and to restore democracy wherever it had been abolished. The immediate consequence of this was, that the people refused to obey their magistrates; the governors refused to resign their places, and applied for assistance to Cassander. Polysperchon had also the imprudence to recall Olympias from Epirus, and to allow her a share in the administration, which Antipater, and even Alexander himself, had always refused her. The consequence of all this was, that Cassander invaded Greece, where he prevailed against Polysperchon. Olympias returned to Macedonia, where she cruelly murdered Aridæus and his wife Eurydice. But she was herself put to death by Cassander, who afterwards caused Roxana and her son to be murdered; and Polysperchon being driven into Ætolia, first raised to the crown Hercules, the son of Alexander by the daughter of Darius, and then, by the instigation of

Cassander, murdered him, by which means the line of Alexander the Great became totally extinct.

Cassander having thus destroyed all the royal family, assumed the regal title, as he had for sixteen years before had all the power. But he enjoyed the title of King of Macedonia only three years, after which he died, about 298 B.C. By Thessalonica, the daughter of Philip, King of Macedonia, he left three sons—Philip, Antipater and Alexander. Philip succeeded him, but soon afterwards died of a consumption, and a contest immediately began between the two brothers, Antipater and Alexander. Antipater seized the kingdom, and, to secure himself in it, murdered his mother Thessalonica. Alexander invited Pyrrhus, King of Epirus, and Demetrius, the son of Antigonus, to assist him, and revenge the death of his mother. But Pyrrhus being bought off, and a peace concluded between the brothers, Alexander afraid of having too many protectors, formed a scheme of getting Demetrius assassinated. Instead of this, however, both he and Antipater were put to death; and Demetrius became King of Macedonia, four years after the death of Cassander.

In 287 before Christ, Demetrius was driven out by Pyrrhus, who was again driven out two years after by Lysimachus, who was soon afterwards killed by Seleucus Nicator; and Seleucus in his turn was murdered by Ptolemy Ceraunus, who became King of Macedonia about 280 before our era. The new king was in a short time cut off, with his whole army, by the Gauls; and Antigonus Gonatus, the son of Demetrius Poliorcetes, became King of Macedonia in 278 B.C. He proved successful against the Gauls, but was driven out by Pyrrhus, King of Epirus, who, however, soon disobliterated his subjects to such a degree that Antigonus recovered a great part of his kingdom. But in a little time, Pyrrhus being killed at the siege of Argos in Greece, Antigonus was restored to the whole of Macedonia; but scarcely was he seated on the throne, when

he was driven from it by Alexander the son of Pyrrhus. The new invader was in his turn expelled by Demetrius the son of Antigonus, who, though at that time but a boy, had almost made himself master of Epirus. In this enterprise, however, he was disappointed; but by his means Antigonus was restored to his kingdom, which he governed for many years in peace. By a stratagem he made himself master of the city of Corinth, and from that time began to form schemes for the thorough conquest of Greece. The method he took to accomplish this was, to support the petty tyrants of Greece against the free states, which indeed weakened the power of the latter, but involved the whole country in so many calamities, that these transactions redound but little to the reputation either of his arms or of his honor. He died about the year 243, leaving the kingdom to his son Demetrius II.

Neither Demetrius nor his successor, Antigonus Doson, performed anything remarkable. In 221 B.C., the kingdom fell to Philip, the last but one of the Macedonian monarchs. To him Hannibal, after the battle of Cannæ, applied for assistance, which he refused; and the same imprudence which made him refuse this assistance prompted him to embroil himself with the Romans, and at last to conclude a treaty with them, by which he in effect became their subject, being tied up from making peace or war except according to their pleasure. In 179 B.C. he was succeeded by his eldest son Perseus, under whom the war with the Romans was renewed. Even yet the Macedonians were terrible in war; and their phalanx, when properly conducted, seems to have been absolutely invincible by any method of making war at that time known. The Romans had never encountered such a terrible enemy; and in the first battle, which happened 171 B.C., they were defeated with the loss of 2200 men, whilst the Macedonians lost no more than sixty. The generals of Perseus now pressed him to storm the enemy's camp; but he being naturally of a cowardly dispo-



sition, refused to comply, and thus the best opportunity he ever had was lost. Still, however, the Romans gained little or no advantage over it, until the year 168 B.C., when Paulus Æmilius, a most experienced commander, was sent to Macedonia. Perseus now put everything upon the issue of a general engagement; Æmilius, with all his courage and military experience, would have been defeated, had the Macedonians been commanded by a general of the smallest courage or conduct. The light-armed Macedonians charged with such vigor, that, after the battle, some of their bodies were found within two furlongs of the Roman camp. When the phalanx came to charge, the points of their spears striking into the Roman shields, kept the heavy-armed troops from making any motion; whilst, on the other hand, Perseus's light-armed men did terrible execution. On this occasion, it is said that Æmilius tore his clothes, and gave up all hopes. However, the Roman general, perceiving that as the phalanx gained ground it lost its order in several places, caused his own light-armed troops to charge in those places, whereby the Macedonians were soon thrown into confusion. Perseus with his horse took to flight, and the infantry at last did the same, but not till 20,000 of them had lost their lives.

This battle decided the fate of Macedonia, which immediately submitted to the conqueror. The cowardly king took refuge in the island of Samothrace, but was at last obliged to surrender to the Roman consul, by whom he was carried to Rome, led in triumph, and afterwards most barbarously treated. Some pretenders to the throne afterwards appeared; but being unable to defend themselves against the Romans, the country was reduced to a Roman province in the year 148 B.C.

The kings of EPIRUS claimed to be descended from Pyrrhus, son of Achilles, who settled in this country after the taking of Troy, and transmitted his kingdom to Mo-

lossus, his son by Andromache; but the early history of the kings of the Molossi is involved in much obscurity. Admetus sat on the throne of Epirus 480 B.C., at the time of the invasion of Greece by the Persians, and he remained neutral till their defeat, when he solicited an alliance with the Athenians. This was refused chiefly through the persuasion of Themistocles; yet Admetus was generous enough to forget this circumstance when Themistocles was banished, 471 B.C., by his ungrateful countrymen, and received him with every mark of respect and esteem.

Alexander was the first prince who raised the character and reputation of his country amongst foreign nations. Having been applied to by the Tarentines for assistance against the Samnites and Lucanians, he passed into Italy with a considerable force, made a descent (332 B.C.) at Pæstum, a city near the mouth of the river Silarus, and reduced under his dominion several cities of the Lucani and Brutii. In his second attack upon Italy he was surrounded by the enemy, defeated, and slain, near the city Pandosia, in the territory of the Brutii.

Æacides, the son of Arymbas II., succeeded to Alexander, and espoused the cause of Olympias against Cassander; but his soldiers, having mutinied, dethroned him, though he was in a short time reinstated. He was killed the same year, 313 B.C., in a battle against Philip, brother of Cassander. This prince had by his wife Phthia, the celebrated Pyrrhus, and two daughters, Deidamia and Troas, of whom the former married Demetrius Poliorcetes. His brother Alcetas, who succeeded him, continued the war with Cassander till he was defeated, and his dominions were overrun by the enemy. He was afterwards put to death by his rebellious subjects, 295 B.C. Pyrrhus now ascended the throne; but he had only reigned five years when the adverse party among his subjects suddenly gained the ascendancy, and drove him to take refuge with his brother-in-law Demetrius. So hard, indeed,

did misfortune press upon him, that he was at last glad to go into Egypt as a hostage for the prince just mentioned. At this point, however, the tide of events began to turn in Pyrrhus' favor. Admiring his great abilities, and his pleasing and virtuous bearing, Berenice, the wife of King Ptolemy, took the charge of his fortunes. The hand of her daughter Antigone was given to him in preference to many princely rivals. Money and men were then placed at his disposal, to enable him to take possession of his hereditary kingdom. Nor did success fail to accompany him to Epirus. His subjects received him with acclamation; he was appointed colleague to Neoptolemus, the sovereign who then occupied the throne; and his power grew so great that, in 295 B.C., he ventured to make away with his rival, and to wield the sceptre alone.

In 294 B.C. Pyrrhus began his aggressive policy by acquiring an ascendancy over Alexander of Macedonia. The overthrow of that impotent prince soon afterwards by Demetrius did not long retard his ambitious designs. His admirable qualities proved too strong for his former friend and brother-in-law. In a battle fought in Ætolia in 289 B.C., against Pantauchus, the brave general of his enemy, he won from the Macedonian troops not only victory but generous admiration. They went home lauding his wonderful achievements in the fight, comparing him to that favorite monarch, the dead Alexander, and desiring an opportunity to transfer to him their allegiance and their services. No sooner, therefore, did they see his lofty plume and his crest of goat's horns before the city of Beroëa in 287 B.C., than they went over to him in a body. It is true that, changing sides once more, they soon deserted him for their old general Lysimachus, and left him no alternative but to abandon Macedonia. Yet his exploits in this campaign had gained for him a reputation which extended to other countries, and which, in course of time, was the means of opening up before him a new path to victory.

It was in 281 B.C. that the Tarentines, attracted by the military renown of Pyrrhus, implored him to assist them against the aggressive tyranny of Rome. Too impatient to wait until the rude winter was past, he embarked early in 280 B.C., and after being nearly engulfed by the boisterous waves of the Ionian, he landed on the coast of Italy, and commenced his measures. He first applied a rigorous system of reform to the pleasure-seeking city of Tarentum. The theatres were closed; all revels were proscribed; and the lounging citizens were subjected to military drill. Then taking the field, he made a vigorous attack upon a Roman army under the consul Lævinus, as it was crossing the River Siris. The hardy legionaries, indeed, like men accustomed to conquer, were loath to yield. During a whole spring day did they stubbornly grapple with him for the prize of victory. But he routed them with great slaughter, and began to take measures to improve his victory. By the orator Cineas he offered terms of peace to the Roman Senate. When these were disdainfully rejected, he advanced by forced marches to within twenty-four miles of the enemy's capital. The intelligence, that the army of Etruria had just arrived in Rome, induced him to retreat to winter quarters in Tarentum; but did not make him slacken in his efforts to accomplish the object of his enterprise. He continued to ply the Senate with proposals of peace until the spring arrived. He then took the field, and defeated the enemy in a hard-fought battle at Asculum in Apulia. Nor was it until he discovered how fast his army was wasting away, and how difficult it was to obtain any reinforcements from home, that he desisted from the attempt to bend the Romans either by negotiation or by force.

From this period may be dated the decline of the power and reputation of Pyrrhus. Invited over to Sicily in 278 B.C. to aid the natives against the Carthaginians, he entered upon his first course of disaster. It is true that, for some time after his landing, his arms were victorious. The enemy was everywhere



put to the rout before him; the strong town of Eryx was taken by a brilliant *coup de main*; and the Punic invaders were driven to sue in vain for peace. But the failure of his attack on Lilybæum turned the tide of fortune. So completely did he lose the goodwill of the Sicilians that he was glad, in 276 B. C., to depart ingloriously for Italy. Nor was misfortune left on the shore behind him. As he was crossing the strait, the Carthaginian fleet, attacking him, destroyed seventy of his ships. When he landed, the warlike Mamertines, who had hastened from Sicily to intercept him, harassed his march towards Tarentum. The Romans also, two years afterwards, gained the complete mastery over him. His forces were cut to pieces at Beneventum by the consul Curius; and there was no alternative left for him but to return to Epirus, beggared in resources, and with a mere handful of soldiers. A short interval of prosperity intervened in the life of Pyrrhus after his arrival in his own kingdom. Invading the territories of Antigonus, king of Macedonia, and coming to an engagement with the troops of that prince, he routed the Gauls which formed the rear of the hostile army, brought the Macedonian soldiers over to him by holding out his hand invitingly, and thus gained a kingdom by one magnificent stroke of combined force and persuasion. But this success only tempted him to rush into new calamities. Consenting in 272 B. C. to interfere in the quarrels of Cleonymus, the ex-king of Lacedæmon, he hazarded a rash attack upon Sparta. The attack roused the deathless Spartan valor, and he was soon forced to desist. Still more unfortunate was the attempt which he then made to co-operate with Aristæas, the leader of one of the factions in Argos. Admitted by Aristæas during the night into the distracted city, he was immediately detected. The alarm was raised; those of the opposite party seized the strongest positions in the town; and he and his men were soon hemmed in on all sides. Day dawned, and found him fighting his way back amid a weltering sea of ene-

mies. He had cut his passage as far as a narrow street, and was dealing blows of death upon all around him, when an old woman, looking down from a roof immediately above, and seeing him in the act of overpowering her son, seized a large tile with both her hands, and let it fall upon his head. The blow struck him senseless from his horse; and one of his antagonists, dragging him into a porch, dispatched him with an Illyrian blade.

Alexander, in 272 B. C., succeeded his father Pyrrhus, when he attempted to seize on Macedonia. He defeated Antigonus Gonatus, but was himself shortly afterwards driven from his kingdom by Demetrius, son of that prince. He recovered it, however, and spent the rest of his reign in peace. At the expiration of two other insignificant reigns, the family of Pyrrhus became extinct, upon which the inhabitants of Epirus changed the form of their government, electing annually a prætor in a general assembly of the nation held at Passaron, a city of the Molossi. Epirus imprudently espoused the cause of Perseus in his war against the Romans, when he was defeated and taken prisoner, 168 B. C.; and it was exposed to the unrelenting fury of the Romans, who destroyed seventy towns, and carried away to slavery 150,000 of the inhabitants. It never recovered from this fatal blow. At the dissolution of the Achæan league, 146 B. C., this country became part of the province of Macedonia under the name of Vetus Epirus, in order to distinguish it from Nova Epirus, which lay to the east.

On the division of the empire it became the inheritance of the emperors of the East, and remained under them until the taking of Constantinople by the Latins, in 1204, when Michael Comnenes seized on Ætolia and Epirus. After passing through the hands of the Saracens and Venetians, it fell under the power of the Turks, in whose possession it still remains, and forms part of Albania.

## R O M E.

THE site of Rome occupies a cluster of low eminences threaded by the winding stream of the Tiber. The Campagna, the modern name for the tract of land which encompasses it, stretching from the sea to the Apennines, is not a wholly level surface, but is generally varied with gentle undulations. Such a site might naturally tempt the wandering brigands of Central Italy to fix on it their permanent settlements. Though traces may be discovered in the later manners of the Italians of their original descent from a race of nomades, yet we find them distinguished at the first dawn of history by the general adoption of settled habitations. The idea of the city, and of municipal institutions was as strongly developed in Italy as in Greece; and in this respect the earliest known inhabitants of either peninsula were equally distinguished from the Gaul, the Briton, and the German. The strongholds of these people were the summits of bold eminences, such as rose sometimes in clusters, sometimes with insulated projections, from the plains or the scarped ridge of a mountain spur; and the cultivators of the little territory around them resided generally within the shelter of their walls. But the domain of the first fortress on the Palatine was limited by the conflicting claims of the occupants of similar retreats on almost every height around it. The Tarpeian hill, looking northward up the stream of the Tiber, was the site, according to an early legend, of a town denominated Saturnia; the Janiculan, across

the river, bore a city of its own name; the Quirinal, which stood next in order to the Tarpeian, was settled by a tribe of Sabines, the people of the district reaching north-eastward to the Apennines; the Latins, who held, with a confederacy of thirty states, the great plain of the Campagna to the south-east, had a place of meeting on the Aventine; the whole of the right bank of the Tiber belonged to the still more powerful nation of the Etruscans. The earliest legends of Rome indicate the seizure of the Palatine by an offset from a Latin tribe, and its conversion into a stronghold for the unsettled brigandage of the neighborhood. But this confined and secluded eminence afforded a retreat indeed, but no sustenance, to its primeval occupants; and from the first the Romans were compelled by the sternest necessity to fight with every neighbor for their daily living. If constant warfare was thus, on the one hand, from the first the law of their existence, not less were they compelled in self-defence to seek alliances and cultivate peaceful relations on the other; and they soon learned to relax the rigid exclusiveness of manners and family ties which characterized the politics of the Italian races. While the martial temper of the Roman people was formed in the school of perpetual aggression or defence, they had the good fortune to be driven by circumstances to fraternize liberally with their allies and dependents, and the habit of admitting fresh infusions of foreign blood continued to be main-



tained by a necessity ever increasing as the sphere of their foreign relations widened. It was the remark of their own statesmen, as well as of later students of their history, that the illustrious career of Roman conquest was maintained by the seasonableness with which, however reluctantly, the franchise of the city, with all its privileges and burdens, was conceded at every crisis to strangers.

Extending our view beyond the cluster of hills over which the name of Rome was eventually to be extended, we may observe, with the map of Italy before us, how critically the future mistress of the world was placed with reference to the powers around her. Three considerable nations, the names of which have been already mentioned, met just at this point. The Tiber, descending almost due south from the Apennines to the Mediterranean, and making with that sea an acute angle on the right, an obtuse one on the left, separated the country of the Etruscans from that of the Sabines and of the Latins. Again the Anio, running west from the central ridge of the peninsula, and striking perpendicular upon the Tiber three miles above the spot just designated, formed the line of demarcation between the Sabines and the Latins themselves. Rome, therefore, was placed almost at the point of junction of the three rival nationalities.

The institution of the fortified city as the nucleus of the political combination, such as we find it to have existed throughout Central Italy in these early times, may be taken as a sign that the country is in possession of a foreign race, which has subdued the original inhabitants and holds their lands by the right of conquest. Wherever a tribe has settled upon soil hitherto unoccupied, we find that it has spread itself along the sides of the rivers and over fertile plains, clearing the forest rood by rood, and planting its scattered habitations securely on every spot to which chance or convenience has conducted it. Thus the inhabitants, first known to us, of Gaul and Germany, may seem to have been the aborigines, of the land. They found

perhaps, on their arrival no prior possessors of the soil on which they planted themselves, and they had no need to defend their acquisitions by the establishment of fortified posts and armed garrisons in the centre of every plot of ground they occupied. But in Italy, on the contrary, both tradition and early ethnological traces confirm our natural inference from the mode of its ancient inhabitation, and assure us that neither Etruscans, Sabines, nor Latins were aboriginal possessors of the peninsula, but were themselves intruders upon the heritage of feebler and probably more peaceful races. The early connection of these aborigines with the Greeks appears from the identity of many of their words, such especially as refer to agricultural usages and ideas. The formation of the Latin tongue is also closely allied to the Greek. This apparent identity of race we signalize by giving to the Italians the name of Pelasgians. But it is in these fragments of their language only that we can trace the character of this primitive people. The Sabines and Latins have conquered and degraded them; these new-comers have long maintained themselves in their fortified and inaccessible citadels, like the Norman barons in their castles, in the midst of their conquered serfs; and the institution of the city remains to attest the fact of conquest, long after the elements of resistance which first suggested it have been trampled into the dust. Throughout the territory of the Etruscans the conquest has been even more complete. Here the conquered people have not left even a feeble trace of their existence in the language of their conquerors.

Resembling one another in this main feature of their politics, the Etruscans, the Sabines, and the Latins are distinguished in other important particulars. Whatever may have been the course of migration which led the Etruscans to their final seats in Central Italy, their early connection with the East seems proved from the character of their institutions. Their religion was a mystery and a craft, like the Egyptian and other East-

ern systems, jealously guarded and professionally communicated; though its priests were no longer on the freer soil of Italy a special caste like the Druids, the Magi, and the Brahmins, but were at the same time the warriors, the proprietors, and the statesmen of the commonwealth. Such was the Etruscan Lucumo, king, priest, soldier, and landlord, and such he maintained himself in spite of the advance of commercial ideas among the people, some of whose cities on the Tyrrhene coast had become emporia of the traffic of the Mediterranean. But in the eighth century B. C. the power of the Etruscans had already sustained a blow; they had lost their hold of the countries they once possessed north of the Apennines; the connection with their advanced posts in Latium and Campania seems to have been dislocated; they were confined to a confederacy of twelve cities in Etruria proper, strictly allied, and still by far the strongest and most important section of the Italian communities.

The Etruscan religion was a refined theosophy. It proclaimed the existence of a Supreme Being, a Providence or Fate, who was rather the soul of the world than a person exterior to it. The lesser gods, like those of Egypt and India, were emanations from this being. The world itself was subject to periodical mutations; men and things had their appointed courses; there was a future state of rewards and punishments. The Etruscans conceived, like other heathens, that the will of the divinity and the course of future events might be ascertained by the observation of omens. Their soothsayers drew auguries from the flight of birds, but they had a special gift of interpreting the signs of victims' entrails and of meteoric phenomena.

The religious ideas of the Sabines and Latins, on the other hand, were less refined, and affected less mystery. The indigenous cult of Italy had regarded the daily and common wants of men: the husbandman worshipped the genii of the wind and skies, the shepherd those who protected his flocks from the wild beast or the murrain, the warrior

those by whom his arrows were wafted to the mark or the crafty stratagem suggested. It was also domestic, and concerned the preservation of property, the guardianship of family rights and affections, the prolonged existence of the spirits of the dead. The Sabines maintained these ideas in the greatest purity and simplicity; the Latins seem, from their position on the coast, to have had an earlier connection with the Greeks, some of whose colonies were planted on their soil; and they partook more than their ruder neighbors of the Greek devotion to moral abstractions, such as wisdom, power and beauty. But they both agreed in the infinite multiplication of their objects of worship. Every city had its guardian divinity; every wood and stream its Genius, its Nymph, or Faun; every family offered a special service to the patron of the house, the deified spirit of its earliest ancestor. The maintenance of this family worship was a solemn obligation descending to the heir of the estate, and in default of natural heirs the practice of adoption was enjoined for its preservation. The cult of the Lares and Penates, the domestic fetishes of the house, seems to have been common, with some variety of usage, to Etruscans, Sabines, and Latins.

The religion of the Sabines and Latins was simple and impulsive; that of the Etruscans philosophical and reflective. The one bowed with submission to the gods, the other inquired into their nature and explored their will. But whatever difference we may trace between them, we find them amalgamated together in the cult of the Roman people, who were placed, as we have seen, at the point where these ideas might first come in contact and coalesce. We shall find the threefold origin of the state marked no less strongly in its political institutions. From Etruria came the division into tribes, curies, and centuries; the array of battle, the ornaments of the magistracy, the *laticlave*, the *prætexta*, the apex, the curule chairs, the *lictors*, the triumphs, and public games, the whole apparatus of the calendar, the sacred



character of property, the terminal science, and, in short, the political religion of the state. From Latium the names of prætor and dictator, the institution of the *fecials*; the habits of husbandry and respect for the plough; and, finally, the Latin language itself. From Sabellia were derived the names of military weapons, and of the spear or *quiris*, which gave one of its designations to the Roman people. The Roman title of Imperator seems to be a popular application of the Sabine word *embratur*. The patriciate and patronship belonged more or less to all the nations which surrounded Rome, and so did the habit of dwelling in cities, and the institution of municipal governments. Such was the case also with the division into *gentes*, clans, or septs, and the remarkable extent of authority accorded to the father and the husband. This mixed formation of Roman society is mythically represented to us by the legends which describe the first and third of the kings as Latins, the second and fourth as Sabines, the fifth and two following as Etruscans. But there is probably some historic truth in the claims of the chief families to descent from one or the other people respectively.

The early history of Rome, as written for us by Livy and Dionysius, has no claim to be considered as a record of actual facts, and such truths as it really may contain cannot be sifted with any certainty from the mass of fiction with which it is embedded by the science of the historian or the political philosopher. We can only regard it as an attempt to account, under the guise of history, for existing institutions and political phenomena at Rome, at a period when the consciousness of the people was aroused to seek the origin of their own life and being. The primitive legends of the flight of Saturn to Latium, the advent of Hercules, the arrival of Evander, the settlement of Æneas at Alba, are attempts to explain the apparent presence of an Hellenic element in the language and usages of Italy. The story of the birth of Romulus and Remus from Mars and Rhea

illustrates the warlike spirit and victorious career of the Roman nation; the suckling of the twins by the wolf, the slaughter of the wicked uncle, the collection of a horde of outlaws, the opening of an asylum for fugitives and robbers, the quarrel of the brothers, the rape of the Sabine women—all combine to represent the fierce and aggressive spirit of the race of conquerors whose hand was to be against every man, and every man's hand against them. The contest of the Romans and Sabines for the Tarpeian citadel, and the final pacification and alliance between them, soon followed by the accession of the Sabine Numa, the founder of law and religion, indicate a consciousness of the early introduction of a Sabine element into the Roman polity. The wars of Tullus with Alba shadow forth the ancient conquest of territory eastward of the city, and the first extension of the Roman domain beyond the walls of Rome. The establishment of a Sabine colony on the Quirinal, a Latin on the Aventine, an Etruscan on the Cælian, all finally comprehended in a single inclosure, testify the rapid growth of the city by the fusion of the three rival nations at their point of junction. The legends of the death of Remus and the slaughter of Horatia seem to aim at explaining the origin of actual religious ceremonies, and if we knew more of the domestic antiquities of Rome, we might trace perhaps the ideas which gave birth to many other stories, such, for instance, as the treachery of Tarpeia. The murder of Romulus by the Senate typifies a protest of the commons against the violence of the aristocracy, while the accompanying legend of the victim's exaltation into the heavens justifies the hero-worship of the state and of the *Gentes*. On the other hand, the reign of Numa is evidently painted by the faction of the nobles. Numa is the founder of the rites and institutions of Rome; and these are the charter of the Roman aristocracy. The death of Tullus Hostilius, the third king, is another instance of this class of legends: he is struck with lightning for abusing the legitimate

worship of the gods, of which the nobles are the guardians and expounders. Ancus, however, his successor, is the king after the people's heart; his reign is contrasted with that of Tullus, as that of Numa with his predecessors, as an epoch of peace instead of war; but Ancus, unlike Numa, is celebrated for the favor he extended to the lower unprivileged classes, for his courting the breeze of popular applause, and publishing the mysteries of the aristocratic religion; nevertheless he is the founder of the prison under the Tarpeian hill, long known to the citizens as the terror of the oppressed and degraded as well as of the wrong-doer, a chief instrument in maintaining the hateful ascendancy of the oligarchs.

The classes opposed to one another throughout political history are the nobles and the commons. The aristocracy and the people are known in the Roman records by the special name of *patricians* and *plebeians*. The first founders of the commonwealth, whether by settlement on vacant soil, or by conquest of a more primitive population, formed the original body of citizens, with equal rights of dealing, of marriage, of suffrage, among themselves. Such were the patricians of Rome. The subjects of this dominant race, whether by original conquest, or by later acquisition, including such as ranged themselves, of their own free will, under the powerful protection of the Roman city, became known by the general name of plebeians (the *plebs*), and were admitted to no share in the government, to no equal rights, social, political, or religious, with the citizens. They remained, according to the significant expression of a Roman patrician, "without auspices, without families, without ancestors." They were distinguished, however, from the slaves of the Roman household, having their personal freedom, property, and liberty to exercise handicraft trades for their own benefit. They were subject also to the military conscription. But such immunities as they enjoyed were secured to them, not by law, but by the protection of the patricians, to

whom they stood individually in the relation of clients to patrons. Thus every plebeian was originally the client of a patrician; but as the plebeians gradually acquired legitimate civic rights of their own, the status of the client was transferred to the ever-growing class of subjects who were not citizens at all.

The political institutions ascribed to Romulus must be regarded as affecting the patricians only. This Roman people was formed, we are told, into three tribes—the *Ramnes*, the *Tities*, and subsequently, but with inferior rights, the *Luceres*. It is conjectured that the first of these represents the original Latin people of the Palatine, the second the Sabines of the Quirinal, the third an Etruscan element in the population, which, according to tradition, was settled on the Cælian hill. Each tribe was subdivided into ten *curiæ*, and these bodies met in general assemblies, or *comitia*, called after their name *curiata*, in which resided the sovereign power of the state deputed by it to a king. The Senate was a body chosen from the curies as a council of state, consisting first of 100 members, soon afterwards doubled by the incorporation of the Sabines; but the Luceres were not originally admitted to a share in this dignity. Each tribe was bound to furnish one thousand men on foot, and one hundred to serve on horseback; and this body formed the legion. The horsemen, originally designated *Celeres*, became in course of time a distinct order in the state, under the well-known title of *Equites* or Knights.

As Romulus, the founder of Rome, was the author of the military institutions which upheld the fabric of the state, so Numa the Sabine, was regarded as the framer of its religious rites, the foundation of law and order. He appointed as the guardians of the national religion four pontiffs, the first of whom was specially designated the Pontifex Maximus; he assigned two Flamens to the special service of the tutelary gods of Rome, Gradivus and Quirinus, and a third to that of Jupiter. He instituted the College of Augurs and of the Salii, who bore on their heads the



sacred shields of Mars; and established the priesthood of the sacred Virgin, who tended the never-dying flame on the altar of Vesta, brought from the shrine of the goddess at Alba, the mother city of Rome. Numa is also said to have built the temple of Janus, the double god, whose faces looked both before and after, and to have closed its portals in sign of peace. He appointed also a long series of ceremonial observances connected with the seasons of the Roman year, and first completed the calendar by the addition to it of the two months of January and February. The year of Numa consisted of twelve lunar months and one day over, making three hundred and fifty-five days in all. In all these institutions he sought and enjoyed the counsel of the Camœna, or goddess Egeria, a deity of the Sabines, and the grotto at which he was wont nightly to meet her, near the *Porta Capena*, continued to be shown at Rome for many ages.

The first four reigns represent the struggles of Rome with the Sabines and the Latins, and she is described as victorious throughout a succession of wars. The next period bears a different character. Rome is now under the sway of an Etruscan dynasty, and to this epoch are ascribed certain works, still partly existing, which attest more surely than record or tradition the fact of an Etruscan domination on the spot. The chiefs under whom the low grounds of the city were drained by the vast Cloaca, and the national temple erected on the scarped brow of the Tarpeian rock, and under whom the Seven Hills, crowned with separate fortifications, were united within one continuous inclosure, were assuredly Etruscans; and they must have exercised their authority with the strong hand of conquerors and despots.

The legends, however, say nothing of an Etruscan conquest of Rome. Tarquinius Priscus, or the Elder, is represented as the son of a Grecian refugee who removed from Tarquinius in Etruria to Rome, by the advice of his wife, the prophetess Tanaquil. Appointed tutor to the sons of Ancus, he

succeeds, on the king's death, in supplanting them on the throne. Rome receives from him her first architectural embellishments; he establishes the circus for national games, constructs the Cloaca, and commences the Capitol. The expense of these great works is supposed to be defrayed, not by the forced labor of a nation of serfs, but by plunder seized from the Latins and Sabines. Tarquin celebrates the first Roman triumph after the Etruscan fashion, in a robe of gold and purple, and his chariot is drawn by four white horses. Many of the ensigns both of war and of civil office are assigned to this epoch. And now we meet with the admission of one hundred plebeians into the Senate, and the formation of three new centuries of knights. The opposition of the patricians to this democratic innovation is signalized in the legend of Attus Navius, the augur, who resists the policy of the sovereign, and confirms his resistance with the sanction of a miracle. A statue of Attus, standing for many centuries in the Forum, attested the stroke of the augur's razor, which cut the stone at Tarquin's bidding.

These attempts at relaxing the stern exclusiveness of the Roman polity were continued, it is said, and effected more triumphantly by the next king. Servius Tullius, described in one account as originally a slave, is said to have married a daughter of Tarquin, and to have gained the throne by the contrivance of Tanaquil. Another, and probably the Etruscan legend, represented him as a soldier of fortune from Etruria, who attached himself to Cæles Vibenna, the founder of an Etruscan city on the Cælian hill. His original name, Mastarna, was changed to that of Servius, by which alone he became known in the native history of Rome. Servius connected the Viminal, the Quirinal and the Esquiline, the three Sabine hills, with the Palatine, the Tarpeian, now called Capitoline, the Aventine, and the Cælian, thus completing the fated number of seven. The *agger*, or mound, with which he defended this city to the north, may be

traced to this day ; and some vestiges have been discovered of the massive stone walls which encompassed it in other quarters. He divided the city thus completed into four regions, the Palatine, Suburran, Colline and Esquiline.

The chief external event of this reign, according to our records, was the formation of an alliance with the thirty cities of Latium, confirmed by the erection of a common temple to Diana on the Aventine. The lands which Servius won from the Veians and Etruscans he divided among the plebeians, thereby incurring the hostility of the patricians towards a foreign dynasty, and especially to the slave-born sovereign himself, the patron of the upstart commonalty. For the policy of Servius was directed to raising the subjects of the state to a political equality with their rulers, and carrying out the liberal views already indicated by his predecessor. His plan, however, was not, we are told, to raise the plebeian families to patrician rank, and introduce them into the special assembly of the curies, but to create a new general assembly, under the name of the *centuries*, which should comprehend both classes alike. The Servian constitution, such as later ages loved to picture it, though confessing that it never really came into practical operation, was the enrolment of the whole body of the citizens, patrician and plebeian, in one great military array, according to their census or means, and the arms which they could bring into the field. Thus enrolled and accoutred, they were to assemble in the Field of Mars, outside the city, and decide on all the gravest affairs of state, of peace and war, of laws and ceremonies, with the full powers hitherto enjoyed by the curies alone. But though this division into classes existed only on paper in the histories of a later age, the division of the people into its tribes, from twenty to thirty in number, was an actual fact, whether rightly ascribed to Servius or not. The tribes of Romulus were only three, and were confined to the patricians ;

those of Servius embraced the great body of the plebeians. The former referred only to birth ; the latter defined the habitation of the members belonging to them. Of the Servian tribes, four only were in the city, the rest were assigned to country localities in the domain of the state. The names of most of these tribes, which continued to exist with various additions to a very late period, have been mostly preserved to us ; but though they formed the basis of another assembly of the people which played a great part in the subsequent history of Rome, so little interest or importance attaches to them that even their number at this and at later periods is involved in the greatest uncertainty. The legend of Servius brings him to the wonted end of a democratic reformer. Assailed by his own children, the favor of the multitude is unable either to defend or to avenge him. The people can do no more than consecrate his memory in undying tradition, and mark the day of his assassination by a religious ceremony repeated every month. The street in which the abominable Tullia drove her car over her father's body, continued ever after to bear the name of "The Accursed."

The reign of the second Tarquin, or the Proud, is an attempt to usurp the power both of the nobles and the commons, and establish a pure despotism on the ruins of the democratic monarchy. Wars are waged with the Latins and Etruscans, but the lower classes are deprived of their arms, and employed in the servile occupation of erecting monuments of regal magnificence, while the tyrant recruits his armies from his own retainers and the forces of foreign allies. The completion of the fortress-temple on the Capitoline confirms his authority over the city of Rome, and a connection by marriage with the dictator of the Tusculans, secures him powerful assistance in the field. He reigns with bloodshed and violence, oppressing the poor by his exactions, and crushing the rich by slaughter and proscriptions. The outrage of his son Sextus on the chaste Lu



cretia at last precipitates a revolt; and L. Junius Brutus, supported by the injured husband and father, proclaims the fall of the foreign dynasty, and the establishment of a republic. The name of Brutus was given in the Latin language to an idiot; and hence arose a legend that the hero of the Regifuge, or flight of the kings, had simulated madness to deceive the Tarquins, in whose house he had been bred. Another conjecture has been hazarded by modern critics, that the term means a slave, especially a revolted or fugitive slave, and indicates in this story the insurrection of the commons, oppressed and degraded slaves of the monarchy, against the tyranny of their foreign masters.

But the legend of the Tarquins does not terminate with their fall from power. Banished from the city, they take refuge with their allies at Tarquinii and Veii, and intrigue for the recovery of their throne. While the citizens were organizing their commonwealth, appointing Brutus and Collatinus their first consuls (*prætors* they were originally called), with powers hardly less than regal, but limited to a single year, the emissaries of Tarquin engage the sons of Brutus in a plot to restore him, the execution of whom, when discovered, by their own father's decree, was recorded as a striking instance of the sternness of the ancient patriotism. A second attempt with an army of Veians and Tarquinians was not more successful, though Brutus himself fell in the combat which gave victory to the Romans. Tarquin made a third effort, with the aid of Porsenna, chief of the whole Etruscan confederacy, and this powerful ally penetrated to the Tiber, and would have followed the flying Romans into the city, but for the courage with which Cocles defended the bridge, till it could be broken down behind him. This ancient peril of Rome was illustrated by the popular traditions of Mucius and Cloelia; but though it continued to be confidently believed that the invader was compelled to retreat discomfited, later in-

quirers professed to have discovered documents proving that the city had in fact capitulated to him, that the Romans had been subjected to Etruscan authority, and forbidden, like the Israelites under the sway of the Philistines, the use of iron even in their domestic implements.

To continue the popular story, however: we next read of Tarquin betaking himself to his allies at Tusculum, of a great Latin confederation for his restoration, and of the battle at Lake Regillus, in which the exiles were finally defeated by the assistance of Castor and Pollux, who fought on the side of the Romans, conspicuous on white horses. The Latins make peace with Rome, abandoning Tarquin to his fate; and the old king dies eventually, fourteen years after his expulsion, at the court of the Grecian tyrant of Cumæ.

The first circumstance which strikes us in the received account of the beginnings of the republic is, that the victory gained by the people over their tyrants turns to the advantage of the aristocracy only. We hear no more of the popular constitution of Servius. The patricians are masters of the Senate and of the curies; while by their wealth and the number of their clients, they retain the chief influence in the centuries, and as expounders of the state religion, hold in their hands the most potent instrument of political warfare. The struggle, however, which soon ensues between the patricians and plebeians is no longer represented as arraying two races or castes against one another; Rome has entered upon a second phase of political existence; the rich proprietors are struggling to maintain their ascendancy over the poorer classes. The patrician generally represents the man of family and civic honors, residing in the city, but owner of domains in the territory of the state; the plebeians, the small farmers and petty tradesmen, and those who made their living by their own thrift and industry. The patrician had also secured to his own exclusive use the public lands,

the ownership of which the state reserved to itself. At this time, indeed, if we may follow the traces of the accredited history, these conquered domains had shrunk to very small dimensions, for the limits of the Roman state, as well as its external relations and influence, appear after the Regifuge in very circumscribed proportions.

But the struggle between these classes is dated back to the very first year of the commonwealth. One of the two consuls is represented as a plebeian. Valerius Poplicola, the first champion of the popular order, is supposed to have acquired his name by the zeal with which he maintained its claims. In the same spirit of mythical history, Poplicola is said to have opened to the plebeians the competition for the consulship, and proclaimed the penalty of death against any aspirant to the tyranny. Poplicola requires the consuls to lower their fasces, the rods and axes borne before them by the lictors, in the assembly of the people. Within the city, indeed, the axe is to be removed altogether, to show that the regal power of life and death over the citizens is withdrawn at home, and only exercised in the camp abroad. But these restrictions on the outward show of power have no effect in controlling the substantial preponderance of the patricians, who for many years together held exclusive occupation of the consulship, who, whenever their prerogatives are threatened by popular impatience, create a dictator with absolute authority for its repression, and who forbid any amalgamation of the two orders by intermarriage.

It is in the nature of things that men should long bear with social inequalities and political disabilities, and the history of the republic corresponds with ordinary experience when it relates that the first struggle of the two orders was caused, not by a sense of abstract inferiority on the part of the plebeians, but by the pressure of poverty, and a tyrannical law of creditor and debtor. The decline of the power of the republic would imply a very general impoverishment

of the citizens, and the wealthiest would be likely to turn the hardness of the times to their own advantage. The poor would need ready money to supply themselves with arms, as well as to till their land and pay their taxes; the rich would lend to them at exorbitant rates of interest, and on their failing to repay, would indemnify themselves by seizing the debtor's person and reducing him, or his children in lieu of him, to slavery. We are assured, indeed, that the Roman law allowed the creditor to kill his insolvent debtor, or if there were several creditors, to cut his body in as many pieces. Harassed by cruel exactions and still more cruel punishments, the plebeians at last refused to enlist in the annual campaign against the Latins. They had discovered the weak point in the patrician armor. It was necessary to suspend the severity of the law for the moment, with a promise to alter it at the conclusion of the war. But the popular consul Servilius, who made this concession, was denied the triumph he had earned by the hands of the plebeians, and the patricians relapsed again into their old tyranny.

Not once or twice only are the plebeians and their generous champions among the nobles thus cajoled and disappointed. At last the plebeians, choosing themselves generals, one of them a Brutus, and renouncing the authority of the consuls, march forth under arms to the hill on the junction of the Tiber and Anio, two miles from Rome. Here they resolve to settle and form a new city. The patricians deliberate, and under the hot counsels of their haughtiest advisers, are almost prepared to accept this defiance, and allow Rome to be split asunder. But this peril was averted by the prudence of more moderate leaders; and the sedition was appeased, according to the legend, by the skillful eloquence of Menenius Agrippa, who related his apologue of the belly and the members. The seceders required a substantial guarantee for their future security; and this, we may believe, was the origin of an in-



stitution destined to become one of the chief elements in the Roman polity, the Tribune of the Plebs. The citizens were authorized to nominate two tribunes annually, who should have a veto on the decrees of the Senate, and protect the personal liberty of the commons. Their own persons were to be inviolable; and that they might be always at hand to defend their constituents, they must never leave the city for a day; their houses were to be open day and night to receive every application for assistance. It is remarkable that the election was given in the first instance to the centuries, among which the patricians continued, through their clients, to enjoy a large measure of authority. The number of the tribunes was afterwards increased to ten, and as any one of them could interfere to prevent the action of all the others, it became the easier for the Senate to divide and paralyse its opponents. But the election had previously been transferred to the assembly of the tribes, which were more independent than the centuries of patrician influence.

We may remark in the institution of the tribunate the fatal vice of the Roman polity, which sought to create a permanent balance of powers by arraying the different orders of the commonwealth in precisely equal force against each other, instead of combining them together, with joint interests and privileges. If, instead of playing off the tribunes against the consuls, it had secured an equal share in the consulships and the Senate to both patricians and plebeians, it might have effected a harmonious co-operation between parties which were henceforth ranged in constant strife and jealousy one against the other. As it was, the struggle between the two parties continues, according to our accounts, to rage more violently than ever. The first victory is on the side of the plebeians. C. Marcius, a brave patrician, who has acquired the surname of Coriolanus, from the capture of the Volscian town Corioli, falls a victim to the jealousy of the people. His haughty bearing had given offence

to the multitude; they find means of urging unjust or invidious charges against him; they require him to defend himself before the assembly of the tribes, in which the power of the plebs predominates, and drive him into exile. He returns at the head of the Volscian armies which he has so lately defeated, routs the Roman legions, and prepares to lay siege to his native city. Heralds, magistrates, priests are sent out successively to sue for peace; but he remains inexorable, requiring humiliating terms of concession to his new allies. At last his wife and mother present themselves, with the Roman matrons, in his camp; to them he yields, and withdraws his troops from the attack, assuring them, at the same time, that in sparing the city he has forfeited his own life. The legend closes appropriately, in one account, with the statement that his foreign friends turn in anger upon and slay him; another story represents him, less poetically, as surviving still in exile to an old age.

It is needless to point out the marks of poetical invention in this famous narrative. As a tradition of the power and the deadly jealousy of the commons, it was to be paralleled by a rival story from the opposite quarter. Spurius Cassius, a patrician, and three times consul, resolved to become the benefactor of the plebeians. He proposed an agrarian law—that is, a division of the public domains among the poorer citizens, or at least a common right with the patricians, who now usurped the occupation of it, a constant source of dispute from this time forth, as will be hereafter explained, between the two classes. The authority of the proposer was sufficient to carry this law; but the patricians contrived to thwart its operation, while they watched an opportunity of avenging themselves upon him. He was accused, as soon as his consulship expired, of granting too favorable terms to the national enemies, and of seeking to make himself tyrant of his native city. He was tried, found guilty, and condemned to the traitor's death by scourging and beheading.

The wars of Coriolanus and Spurius Cassius against the Volscians and Hernicans, two Sabine tribes who lay to the eastward of the Latins, indicate an extension of the area of military operations. Partly through their league with the Latins, partly also from the increase of strength gained to the republic by concession to the plebeians, the Romans are advancing again in the career of conquest. The campaigns of the following years are directed against the Volscians, the Æquians, and the Veientes; but the progress of victory is still checked from time to time by the refusal of the plebeians to serve until an agrarian law is not only carried but executed. The contest of the classes is not now for the relief from debts, or for an equalization of political rights, but for admission to a common right of property in the public land. If we could accept an hypothesis of Niebuhr, the transplantation of the Fabii, a numerous and old patrician house, to Cremera, where they were all slain by the Veientes, might be added to the incidents of the agrarian feud; for that historian supposes them to have migrated from mortification at failing, notwithstanding their high character, and their seven successive consulships, to bring about the passing of a modified law of property. But our authorities at least know nothing of any such tradition; and the whole affair is far too uncertain, as a matter of history, to bear the weight of any conjecture of the kind.

But soon after the reported date of this event follows another attempt at effecting an agrarian settlement by a tribune named Genucius, accompanied by an impeachment of the consuls for frustrating the operation of the law. Against this attack another method of defence is adopted. Genucius is suddenly found dead in his bed; and from this account we infer the popular belief that he was murdered privily by the opposite party. After some further manœuvres, a compromise is at last effected, by the settlement of a plebeian colony on the conquered lands of Antium.

Such, then, being the close of this series

of agrarian discussions, the old questions suddenly fall into abeyance, and are superseded by a third. The tribune Terentillus Arsa demands a code of written laws. We are told that during the monarchy the kings were the supreme dispensers of justice, and acted therein at their own caprice or discretion; that the consuls succeeded to this along with the other kingly prerogatives; and that accordingly up to this time there was not only no written code of law and procedure, but that no gradual accumulation of precedents had settled into a definite system of acknowledged usage. The Romans had to begin their law-making from the beginning, and with this view the demand of the plebeians soon shaped itself into a proposition for sending commissioners to Athens to bring home the laws of that state, and make them the basis of the new code of the republic. The demand, indeed, of Terentillus was resisted and evaded, and it was not till the year 300 that such commissioners, three in number, were actually despatched to Greece. In the meantime, we may notice one exception to the remark just made in the agrarian law of the tribune Icilius (A.U. 298) for assigning lands on the Aventine to the plebeians. This interval contains also some other events of interest: the surprise of the Capitol by Herdonius the Sabine, with a troop of slaves and Roman exiles, implying the continuance of mutual violence between parties of the state, and the repeated banishment of their leaders; again, the campaigns of the republic against the Æquians and Volscians, in the course of which the brave and frugal Cincinnatus was taken from the plough and made dictator, according to a romantic legend, to lead the forces of the state against the foreign enemy.

On the return of the commissioners in the year 303, so runs the story, it was resolved to appoint a board of ten, called decemvirs, to arrange the Roman laws. The patricians insisted that all these officers should be chosen from their own order, and having gained this point, required both the consuls and



tribunes to abdicate their functions, and leave them free scope for concerting and enacting their measures. The decemvirs accordingly were not legislators only, but the rulers of the state; and they were too well satisfied with the prerogatives they wielded under their extraordinary commission to acquiesce in the prospect of resigning them. They procured the prolongation of their office for a second and again for a third year; and it was not till the year 305 that, in pursuance of a course of arbitrary violence and license, Appius Claudius, the most tyrannical and selfish of the number, provoked the people to rise in indignation and abrogate it by an abrupt revolution. The story of the lust and cruelty of Appius, the peril, under a colorable procedure of law, of the fair Virginia's honor, which her father could only preserve to her by stabbing her to the heart in his despair, is one of the most striking of the poetical legends of Rome, the more deserving of attention as it is accompanied by none of the supernatural incidents which usually throw suspicion on its stories of valor, patriotism, and self-devotion. Nevertheless the incident is related with a circumstantial minuteness which alone seems to warrant us in rejecting it as a true narrative; and indeed the discrepancies and improbabilities which surround the whole account of the decemvirate render its history extremely questionable both in substance and details.

The fall of these tyrants was followed, we are assured, by a strong popular re-action; so much so, that the new consuls, bearing, it may be observed, the mythical names of Valerius and Horatius, are enabled to restore the tribunate, increased in number to ten; to rehabilitate the comitia of the tribes, degraded by the laws of the decemvirs; to secure for the decrees of this assembly a force binding on all the orders of the state; and yet the prohibition of intermarriage, the most galling mark of class inferiority, is not only suffered to remain, but is even published by them as the last legacy of the tyrants, and remains as a brand upon the face of the ple-

beian order for many years to come. "The decemviral legislation," says a bold but candid inquirer of more recent date, "was, as we have seen, a measure which originated with the plebeians; but it was turned to their oppression, and was overthrown by their resistance. It was intended to remove the inequalities between the two orders, but it seems to have added to them. The decemviral government having sprung out of the demands of the plebs, is put down by a plebeian secession; an extreme measure, and only one degree short of insurrection or civil war. When the plebs return, they appear to be able to dictate their own terms; the consuls chosen are devoted to their interest, and introduce important legislative measures of a popular-character. The only real equalization of rights effected at this time is that which follows the decemviral legislation; the twelve tables themselves did nothing for effacing the privileges of the patricians and the disabilities of the plebeians. . . . The description of the outburst of plebeian power, of the fears of the patricians lest they should be made the subjects of vindictive impeachment, . . . renders it quite unintelligible why the laws of the two tables prohibiting marriages between patricians and plebeians should have been passed after the fall of the decemvirs, or if it had been enacted by the decemvisr, why it should not at this moment have been repealed."

We shall content ourselves with passing as lightly over the political as the military history of the years next ensuing. On the one hand we may observe, the patricians are represented as strengthening themselves by the establishment of the office of censors, two magistrates appointed at intervals of five years to hold a census of property and population, to revise the roll of the knights and senators, and determine the civil status of every member of the commonwealth. These arbiters of rank and privilege were to be patricians only. On the other hand, we read that the tribune Canuleius obtained a law for removing the disabilities which attached to

marriage between the two classes. At this period commenced the practice which continued for a series of years, of appointing military tribunes, six in number, in the place of the two consuls. According to some accounts, this was a contrivance for evading the necessity of opening the consulship to plebeians; other authorities alleged that it was demanded by the multiplication of wars in which the commonwealth was now constantly engaged. In the year 315 (B.C. 439) Cincinnatus was created dictator a second time to quell a fresh sedition of the commons; and his master of the horse, or second in command, Servilius Ahala, performed the notable exploit of cutting down the demagogue Spurius Mælius, accused of aspiring to the tyranny. Thirty years later, the plebeians are said to have forced themselves into the quaestorship, the first of the curule magistracies, the lowest step in the career of honors, through which the candidate for the consul's chair was ordinarily required to pass. Humble as this privilege was, it is said to have been regarded by them as a great prize, inasmuch as it opened the way to the long-coveted eminence—the command of armies, and the glories of triumph. Meanwhile the wars of Rome were waged, for the most part, as before, with the Volscians, the Æquians, and the Veientes, with a general success only occasionally chequered by defeat, but brought no apparent extension of her frontiers. The final conquest of Veii in the year 358, after a ten years' siege, by the great Camillus, attended by many circumstances which bespeak a legendary origin, was speedily followed by the first authentic event in Roman history, the capture and burning of the city by the Gauls.

While the victorious Romans were pressing upon the declining power of the Etruscans in the south, the advance of the Gauls of the great Cisalpine plain had harassed them in the opposite quarter. Two centuries had elapsed since the barrier of the Alps had been burst by a great Celtic immigration, and the valley of the Po, once the seat of nu-

merous Etruscan colonies, had been overrun and occupied by the northern barbarians. The Senones, the vanguard of the Gaulish invasion, had penetrated to the banks of the Æsis and the coast of the Adriatic, and had threatened for more than a century to take advantage of the increasing weakness of Etruria, and descend upon the smiling valleys of lower Italy. At last 30,000 warriors of this tribe, having threaded the passes of the Apennines, appeared before the walls of Clusium, and demanded an assignment of lands. The Clusians implored the intervention of Rome—such it seems was the authority of the warlike republic at 150 miles from its frontiers—and the Senate dispatched, not a military force, but three distinguished envoys, to require the intruders to desist from their attack. But when the Gauls refused to hearken to these demands, the envoys, not content with delivering their message in the character of ambassadors, violated the law of nations by actively joining the Clusians in the defence of their territory. The barbarians indignantly broke up their leaguer, and poured the full tide of invasion down the valley of the Tiber. The Feciales or heralds, as interpreters of international law, urged that the treacherous envoys should be surrendered in expiation of the national sin; but the influence of the illustrious Fabian house, to which the culprits belonged, prevailed to protect them, and engaged the people to repel the assailants by force. The armed militia of the city sallied forth to the encounter; but on the banks of the Allia, eleven miles from the gates of Rome, was routed with bloody and disastrous defeat. So completely was the strength of the republic broken by this single overthrow that it was impossible even to defend the walls. The flower of the citizens threw themselves into the Capitol, but the mass of the population remaining below, was exposed to the fury of the barbarians; and while the priests and vestals carried off the sacred images to the friendly city of Cære in Etruria, an hundred aged senators, who refused to leave the city



in whose service they had grown gray, were murdered in the Forum or in their houses. Rome was given up to pillage and conflagration.

This terrible catastrophe followed quickly upon the exile of Camillus, whom the people in their ingratitude had accused of various misdemeanors, and who, in quitting the city, had imprecated a curse upon it. Camillus had retired to Ardea, and now watched his opportunity to relieve the state on which the gods had so signally avenged him. The fugitives from the Allia and those from the city had rallied at Veii; and, re-assured by some successful skirmishes, they invited Camillus to put himself at their head, and assume the office of dictator. To confirm this appointment the consent of the Senate and curies was required; so punctually did even the legends of Rome respect the claims of constitutional usage. A young plebeian, Pontius Cominius, undertook to communicate with them, and scaled the rock of the Capitoline unperceived by the enemy. The Gauls, hitherto unable to find an access to the summit, tracked his footsteps, and surprised the garrison by night. The defenders were sleeping securely; even the dogs were lulled in slumber; but the geese, sacred to Juno, clamored at the noise, awoke the guards just in time; and Manlius distinguished himself above the rest by the vigor with which he repelled the assailants, and hurled them from the ramparts. The Romans, however, in their impregnable fortress were suffering from scarcity. Camillus delayed to appear; they were compelled to treat with the Gauls, who on their part were anxious to withdraw for the defence of their own country against an attack of the Veneti. It was agreed that the invaders should withdraw with 1000 lb. of gold as the ransom of Rome. When this sum was being weighed out, the barbarians were detected in using false weights; but when the Romans remonstrated, Brennus the Gaulish chief cast his sword into the scale against them, exclaiming, "Woe to the vanquished!" But this insolence met its due

reward. Camillus, having at last collected and trained his forces, attacked the foe on his route homeward, routed him with great slaughter, and recovered the ransom of the city. The people, he declared, had had no right to pay it without the consent of the dictator. The sum thus restored was placed in the vaults of the Capitol, to be there preserved as a sacred deposit, and never expended except in repelling a future invasion of the Gauls. Such an occasion never again presented itself, but the treasure, it was said, was centuries later rifled by the man who conquered their country, and made invasion for ever impossible.

From first to last poetical justice is satisfied on all sides. The story of the capture of the city is the most perfect in all its parts of the poetical rhapsodies in Roman story. Yet that the legend has a groundwork of actual truth, there can be no reasonable doubt. That Rome was once sacked by a sudden irruption of Gauls from beyond the Apennines, must be regarded as proved by an authentic tradition. The manner in which the city was rebuilt, so hastily and inconsiderately, that the line of the new streets often crossed the sewers of more ancient construction, was a visible proof of this event to a later generation. To modern criticism it is attested by the evident loss of almost every monument of history and antiquity beyond this date. No such catastrophe occurred again, and accordingly we seem at this period to get hold at last of the extreme link of the chain of genuine tradition; and though we shall find reason still, for at least another century, to question much of the details of the history, we may believe that the main foundation of events, of names, and of dates, is preserved continuously from henceforth through accredited records, whether public or private. Camillus, the second founder, as he was gratefully entitled, of the city, was in fact the original founder of historic Rome.

"Yet still," says Arnold, "no period of Roman history since the first institution of the tribunes of the commons is really more

obscure than the thirty years immediately following the retreat of the Gauls. And the reason of this is, that when there are no contemporary historians, the mere existence of public documents affords no security for the preservation of a real knowledge of men and actions. The documents may exist, but they give no evidence; they are neglected or corrupted at pleasure by poets and panegyrists; and a fictitious story gains firm possession of the public mind, because there is no one to take the pains of promulgating the truth. And thus it has happened that the panegyrists of Camillus and of the other great patrician families, finding ready belief in many instances from national vanity, have so disguised the real course of events that at no other period of Roman history is it more difficult to restore it."

To attempt any such restoration, even did it appear feasible, would not be within the scope of this sketch of history. It will be sufficient to make a passing reference to a few striking incidents recorded, all of which have probably a foundation in truth, though disguised, no doubt, and encumbered by many fictitious adjuncts. On the retreat of the Gauls, the Roman people entertained, it is said, the thought of abandoning their ruined homes, and migrating in a body to Veii. Camillus in vain conjured them not to desert the soil of their ancestors, but a passing omen, the voice of a centurion exclaiming, "Plant the standard here, here we had best remain," determined them to stay. We can easily believe that the losses of this Gallic war were the occasion of an addition of four new tribes to the city, comprising the free inhabitants of the lands taken from the Veientes. The state was invigorated by this increase in its numbers, and enabled to prosecute a fresh series of campaigns with the Volscians and Æquians, as well as with the Gauls, who, notwithstanding their alleged retreat homewards, and the disastrous defeat which is said to have attended it, appear to have settled themselves in fixed habitations at Tibur on the Anio, and other sta-

tions on the Sabine frontier. To this period, and to this continued struggle with the northern barbarians, are referred some of the most romantic incidents of Roman story—the winning of the golden collar by Manlius, and the aid vouchsafed by a heaven-sent crow to Valerius. Such were the pretended facts by which the family panegyrists explained the names of the Torquati and the Corvini, houses largely celebrated in the later history of the republic.

As, however, the external history is now little else than a repetition of such border contests as have been related more than once before, so the internal history presents us with a new edition of the old quarrels between the debtors and their patrician creditors, of the struggles for political equality between the rival classes, and for the establishment of an agrarian law. With respect to the first, the story still runs in its old channel. The people repine at the sufferings of their brave but impoverished veterans, and demand redress for the present and security for the future. On the one side murmurs and sedition, on the other the creation of a dictator. The gallant Manlius throws himself into the popular cause; he is accused of treason; the people are induced to repudiate his championship; and he is cast as a traitor from the Tarpeian rock. The house on the Capitoline, presented to him for his brave defence of the temple against the Gauls, is razed to the ground, and the Manlian gens forbidden from henceforth to use the prænomen of Marcus. The next domestic occurrence is the carrying of an agrarian law by the tribunes Licinius and Sextius in 377, by which it is provided that no citizen shall hold more than 500 jugera (about 320 acres) of the public land, nor feed on public pastures beyond a certain number of cattle. Finally, in the same year, the plebs achieves the great charter of its liberties, in the decree that one of the consuls shall be always a plebeian. Such an enactment supposes, of course, the revival of the consulship on its old footing; nevertheless the Fasti con-



tinued for several years to insert the names, not of consuls, but of military tribunes; and it is not till 388 that a plebeian consul is at last appointed in the person of Sextius himself. Our account of the way in which this change was effected is characteristic of the strain of domestic romance which forms the basis of so large a portion of our early history.

Q. Fabius Ambustus, a patrician of high rank, had married his two daughters, the one to Sulpicius a patrician, the other to the plebeian tribune Licinius. Visiting one day at her sister's house, the wife of Licinius was surprised at the formal ceremony with which a lictor knocked at the door of Sulpicius, who was then consular tribune. The consort of the privileged noble laughed at the ignorance of the plebeian's wife, who complained with tears to her husband and her father, and engaged them to combine in effecting a reform which should place her on a level with her haughty sister. Modern critics gravely assure us that this story must be a fiction, inasmuch as the plebeian's wife was daughter of a man who had been consular tribune not long before; and Licinius himself, though a plebeian, was as competent to hold the office and enjoy the services of the lictors as any patrician. If we felt that we were here upon historical ground, we should not regard this as any presumption against the truth of the story. The young wife may have been as inexperienced as a child. But the legend was never intended to challenge criticism.

We may conjecture that the interminable repetitions of similar phases of the great constitutional conflict—the same complaints, the same concessions, the same evasions, the same reprisals—have arisen from an attempt to reconcile the claims of various illustrious houses, some to having proposed popular measures, others to having baffled them; thus spreading over various epochs, and dividing among many individuals, the incidents of a political warfare really limited in duration, and confined to a few prominent

actors. M. Michelet has pointed out a curious coincidence which may be thought to have some significance, in the repetition of the same names, as connected with these struggles. Thus a Brutus, and a Horatius, are more than once at hand whenever a popular movement requires a patron. A Spurius Cassius, a Spurius Mælius, and a Spurius Metilius, are all alike noble sufferers in the cause of plebeian independence. If the well-known later meaning of the word *Spurius* belong to it properly and originally, the name may have been applied by patrician annalists to those false aristocrats who betrayed the interests of their own faction; if, on the other hand, we assume its derivation from *super*, implying *true* greatness and nobility, we may ascribe its recurrence to the invention of the plebeians themselves in their zeal for the glorification of such unexpected champions. A son of Camillus, the first who held the office of prætor, created by the dictator as a compromise between the two classes, is also known by the prænomen of Spurius. The same is given also to Servilius Ahala, one of the most noted champions of the aristocracy; from whence we should the more readily infer that in all these cases it was alike applied in token of admiration by the partizans of the person so designated. It is remarkable that this prænomen, so common throughout the period of these domestic struggles, occurs but rarely either before or after it. But whatever may be our scepticism regarding the early conflict of the two classes, we may reasonably accept the date at which we have now arrived as the epoch of their actual union. The Temple of Concord, dedicated on this occasion by the aged Camillus beneath the slope of the Capitoline, constituted a visible record of the fact; of which some remains are still existing. During the next thirty years indeed the contest still continued fitfully; the patricians yielding step by step with reluctance, the plebeians pressing their advantage. It terminated, however, with the appointment of a plebeian dictator, Publilius Philo, in 415,

who carried enactments,—1. For enforcing the obligation of the plebiscita on the whole nation; and 2. For allowing both consuls to be plebeians as well as the prætors, and requiring the appointment of one of the censors from each class.

A period of warfare with the Etruscans and some of the Latin tribes still accompanies this protracted struggle; but the Romans are strengthened by the conciliation of the commons; and the alleged addition of two new tribes seems to show an increase of numbers, probably from the submission and incorporation of foreigners. The Latin states, which had long since violated their ancient treaty with Rome, now seek to renew it; but Rome chooses rather to subdue her faithless allies than accept their alliance on terms of equality. The "great Latin war," as the historians have entitled it, is rendered illustrious by its legends of the military execution of T. Manlius by his father, and of the self-devotion of Decius Mus. The result of the war is the complete and final reduction of Latium. "Three years," says Dr. Arnold, "were sufficient to finish forever the most important war in which Rome was at any time engaged."

Roman history now enters upon a wider field. A branch of the great Sabellian nation, the inhabitants of the mountain tracts of central Italy, having extended their conquests far into the south, have made themselves masters of the Etruscan colonies in Campania. The Samnites are established in Capua, Nola, Cumæ, and other cities, and have here assumed the name of Campanians, from the country to which they have succeeded. Their influence extends throughout the Greek cities of the coast, Neapolis and Palæopolis, Stabiæ and Herculaneum; with the old name of Samnites they have lost their ancient language and national associations; and this offshoot from the parent race now find itself arrayed in war against other branches of the same original stock, the Samnites of the mountains. The Campanians, as the weaker and less warlike of

these nations may now be called, solicited the assistance of Rome against the attack of their hardier kinsmen, and offered to surrender their city to the republic as the price of her powerful protection.

We have now reached the dawn of genuine history, and the narrative of events recorded by the historians assumes a new complexion. We lose sight from henceforth of the train of marvellous and romantic stories which impart a seductive charm to our earlier records; but in return we obtain a glimpse at least of political combinations and strategic manœuvres which throws an air of truthfulness over the narrative that follows. Family pride indeed may have colored some of the details and suppressed others; but we have got beyond the era of mere fabrication. The Roman history is at least simply told from Roman sources and its very meagreness and obscurity may be accepted as a token of its substantial genuineness. Yet this was the period when the Romans first came in actual contact with the Greeks, the most curious and diligent of historical inquirers, who might have taught them to understand and describe events with greater spirit and precision. A Greek writer assures us that at this era the Romans sent an embassy, along with the Etruscans, to the great Alexander of Macedon. Another Alexander, King of Epirus, had landed about the same time on the coast of Lucania, and defeated a Samnite army in the neighborhood of Pæstum. The Romans hastened to form an alliance with this new comer, in the year 423 (B.C. 331). But from this alliance with one Grecian power they were soon led into hostilities against others. They engaged in a war with the Greek cities of Neapolis and Palæopolis, inadequately protected by their dependence on the Campanians; but their means, perhaps, for reducing places defended and fortified by the rules of art were slender, and the war was protracted through more than one campaign. The Roman armies had now for the first time advanced so far from the capital that it was inconvenient to



return home with the approach of winter. For the first time the consul in command was directed to hold his ground, and retain his place at the head of the legions, with the title of proconsul.

An interval of fourteen years had elapsed since the surrender of Capua and the first brief collision with the Samnites; but the second war, commencing in the year 428, was distinguished by a duration of more than twenty years, and by the terrible disaster of the Caudine Forks, where a Roman army was entangled in a defile, and compelled to lay down its arms and pass under the yoke, by the gallant Pontius Telesinus. The disgrace was harder to bear than the disaster. The city clothed itself in mourning; the consuls, who had submitted in person to this ignominy, dared not re-assume their places. Twice was a dictator nominated, but each time the auspices forbade his creation. At last Valerius Corvus, the interrex, or provisional chief magistrate, caused two of the most distinguished citizens, Papirius Cursor and Publius Philo, to be elected consuls; and Posthumius, one of the beaten generals, declaring that the republic ought not to be bound by the terms which in his distress had been extorted from him, insisted that he should himself be given up to the enemy, together with his colleagues the quæstors and tribunes, and every other officer of the legions who had signed the disgraceful capitulation. Pontius, indignant or generous, or possibly coolly calculating the consequences of accepting the proffered satisfaction for a deliberate breach of public faith, refused to receive these prisoners, and demanded the literal fulfillment of the terms they had exchanged with him. War recommenced. The Samnites gained some successes, but the Romans gradually got the upper hand; the consuls penetrated into Apulia, took Lucania, and recovered the arms, the ensigns, and the hostages captured at Caudium. Possibly the Romans fabricated the story of a complete defeat of their enemies, and the retrieval of their own dishonor by making the Samnites

pass under the yoke in their turn. The brave Pontius, however, was carried captive to Rome. Nevertheless we hear soon afterwards of an irruption of the Samnites into the Roman territories in Campania, the defection of Capua, and the great defeat of the dictator Fabius Maximus at Lantulæ. These losses were balanced again by a second victory in 440, once more in the neighborhood of Caudium, in which the Samnites were totally routed. Campania is now recovered; the enemy shut up in the Apennines; colonies established, as outposts of the Roman power, at Suessa Aurunca, Interamna on the Liris, Casinum and Luceria; and the Romans so far advance in enterprise and confidence as to commence the construction of a navy to overawe the distant seaport of Tarantum. In 442 (B.C. 312) a second Decius Mus gains a triumph, for the first time, over the Samnites; but this is speedily followed by a long succession of similar distinctions. An alliance of the Samnites with the Etruscans created at this moment a formidable diversion against Rome; but the vigor and fortune of the republic prevailed, and her outposts were advanced far forward in every direction before the Samnites sued for peace.

The second Samnite war was concluded in 450; the third commenced in 455. The Samnites had again combined with the Etrurians, and had extended their league to the Umbrians and other nations of Central Italy. A fresh body of Gauls was secured to this formidable alliance. This was the crowning struggle for Roman supremacy in the peninsula. The great battle of Sentinum, in which victory was secured to the republic by the self-devotion of the younger Decius, resulted in the total overthrow of the Gauls and Samnites by Q. Fabius Maximus, and was undoubtedly one of the most important actions in which the arms of Rome were engaged. The alliance of the Italian nations was broken up; henceforth the contest became more desultory, and its details are imperfectly recorded. L. Papirius Cursor and Sp. Carvilius are now the most distinguished of

the Roman generals. The brave Pontius is made prisoner, led in triumph, and cruelly executed, according to the established usage of Roman warfare. The Samnites submit for the third time in the year 464 (B.C. 290). They appear indeed once more in arms a few years later, but only as the subordinate allies of a new enemy. Their independence is now finally broken, and the Roman power is definitely established over lower Italy, with the exception of a few Grecian cities in Lucania and Bruttium. Latium, Campania, Apulia and Samnium, have now fallen under the sword of the republic. In the north the Etruscans are still hostile, but cowed and dispirited. The Gauls still hover on the frontiers of the Roman dominion, and still shake from time to time, in a well-timed foray, the unsteady allegiance of the Umbrians and Pelignians. Bands of Samnites still maintain a guerilla warfare in remote districts, and agitate the untamed savagery of Calabria, a people formed, so both Greeks and Romans asserted, by the concourse of fugitive slaves in its woods and mountains. The Grecian cities on the Lucanian coast were trembling at the steady advance of the conquerors from the Tiber. Tarentum, the only one of them which now retained an active vitality, hastened, in its feverish excitement, to form a new coalition against Rome, in which some states of Etruria were induced to join. The prætor Metellus, with 13,000 men, fell in an attempt to succor Arretium, and at the news of this disaster the Gaulish Senones rushed at once to arms. The consul Dolabella swiftly crossed the Apennines, and attacked these barbarians in their own territory, which he ravaged, in return for the devastation they had so often committed in Latium. The great battle of the Vadimonian lake crushed the Gauls and Etruscans together. Peace was re-established about 472; and without a formal surrender of the Etruscan cities, the Romans could depend from henceforth on the sure effect of their weakness and despair in reducing them to complete submission. Meanwhile the repub-

lic had been no less successful in the south. Fabricius took Thurii, and carried off the first Grecian booty to Rome. The coalition was utterly broken; and Tarentum, still unassailed, but denuded of her Italian allies, was obliged to look beyond Italy for her future protectors.

Rome was now destined to encounter, for the first time, the highest form of civilization and the most scientific military tactics of the ancient world. The luxurious and unwarlike cities of the Lucanian coast, though Greek by origin, had long lost the valor and discipline of their nation, and could only oppose to the rude warriors of Latium the arts of policy and statecraft. But now a genuine Greek soldiery was about to appear upon the stage, with the strength of the Macedonian phalanx and the resources of Grecian economy.

The Romans had constructed some vessels at Thurii. With these they were cruising in the Gulf of Tarentum, now nominally at peace with the republic, when the Tarentines, jealous of this attempt to form a navy, sallied forth from their harbor, declaring that the Romans were bound by treaty not to navigate their ships beyond the Lacinian promontory, and destroyed or chased home the Roman vessels. They even followed up this insult by an attack on the Roman garrison at Thurii. When Posthumius arrives as an ambassador to lay his complaint before them, they assail him with mockery and insult. He swears that the filth they fling upon his toga shall be washed away in their blood. A Roman army speedily appears before Tarentum, and the nobles, who had taken no part, perhaps, in the brutal violence of their populace, would have yielded at once; but the people, in their vanity, scorned submission to the foreigner, and invoked the aid of Pyrrhus, King of Epirus. This chief, the most noted warrior of his age, was the cousin, though several years junior, of Alexander the Great. He had succeeded his father in regular course in the throne of Epirus; but his career had been from the first



that of an adventurer rather than of a sovereign. Ambitious, restless, and captivated with a vague aspiration for glory, in imitation of his illustrious relative, he was easily persuaded by the Tarentines, who promised him an extensive alliance and a force of 350,000 combatants, to undertake the deliverance of the Greeks in Italy from the threatened yoke of obscure barbarians. Landing with a veteran force of 25,000 men, and attended by 20 elephants, Pyrrhus gained a victory at Heraclea over the first consular army of the Romans, but with such loss on his own side as caused him to remark already, that such another victory would be his ruin. He recovered, indeed, some towns on the coast, as the fruits of this hard-won triumph; but the promised allies failed to make their appearance; he found the Tarentines nerveless and inefficient; he was glad to disguise his mortification by offering terms of peace to the Romans, on condition of their leaving the Greek cities in freedom, and restoring their lands to the Samnites and Apulians. Cineas, the envoy whom he sent with these terms to Rome, returned unsuccessful, but filled with admiration of the numbers, the bravery, and undaunted spirit of his master's enemies. This report inspired the King of Epirus with increased anxiety; but, brave and daring as he was, he determined to make a bold dash, and, turning the flank of a second army opposed to him, he got within a few leagues of Rome itself. A third force was recalled from the borders of Etruria to cover the capital, and he was compelled to retreat, lest he should find himself surrounded. The Romans now sent in their turn an embassy to treat for the ransom of their prisoners. The courage and presence of mind displayed by Fabricius, according to the well-known story, made a deep impression on the mind of Pyrrhus; and when the republic generously advertised him of a plot for his assassination, he was so touched by this trait of honorable feeling that he sent back the prisoners without terms. Meanwhile the condition of the Greeks in Sicily, assailed

by the fleets of Carthage, became even more pressing than that of their compatriots in Italy, and Pyrrhus seized the excuse for postponing his contest with Rome, and transporting himself to Syracuse. Here, again, his first successes only led him into fresh difficulties, and once more he was glad to escape from his actual embarrassments, and try his fortune in Italy. The Romans, however, had had time to recover from their losses and now, familiarized with the aspect of the formidable elephants—bulls of Lucania, as they ignorantly termed them—they were fully a match for the Greek army in the field. Curius Dentatus gained the victory of Beneventum, and Pyrrhus was compelled to fly ignominiously to his own dominions. Curius triumphed, in a chariot drawn by four of the Libyan monsters he had taught the Romans to despise. Pyrrhus fell soon afterwards in an obscure struggle at Argos. Hostilities continued in the south of Italy for some years longer. Papirius and Carvilius once more overcame the Samnites. Tarentum submitted; its walls were overthrown, its arms and ships forfeited to the conquerors. The Carthaginians, who had recently offered their alliance to Rome, were warned off the shores of Italy, which were now completely subjected to Rome, from the *Æsar* and Rubicon in the north to the Straits of Messana and the Iapygian promontory.

The Romans had now conquered Italy, and made the first great step towards the conquest of the world. We must pause for a moment to review the way in which they organized these new dominions, and made them a ground of vantage for the further extension of their power.

The most striking difference in the development of ancient and modern politics results from the generally republican character of the one, and monarchic constitution of the other. The extension of the Athenian and of the Roman empire was formed either by conquest or colonization, while that of the great states of modern Europe has resulted far more commonly from dynastic marriages

and successions. Had ancient Italy been parcelled out among a number of sovereign families, it would probably have fallen, state by state, under the sway of one fortunate dynasty; wars might have played a part in the transformation, but dynastic alliances would have been still more effectual; Mars might have brought many nations under the yoke, but the influence of Venus would have proved still more powerful. The populations of the peninsula were sufficiently homogeneous to have constituted an aggregate people, of equal laws and similar institutions, from the Rubicon to the Straits of Messina. It might still be a question whether the configuration of the country—its great length and slender breadth of surface, its mountain divisions and diversities of soil and climate—would have permitted in ancient times a national union on such footing, the impracticability of which in our days is recognized as a political maxim; but however this may be, the republican character of the Italian institutions of itself precluded the operation of those peaceful influences which, as we have said, might have been more effective to such an end than war, and it only remained to be seen whether the rivalries and animosities of so many equal neighbors would terminate in their mutual exhaustion and ruin, or in the avowed predominance of one.

The latter alternative, as we have seen, found place. The predominance of Rome was acknowledged. We have now to see by what methods she maintained and perpetuated it. It was no part of her policy, for it did not come within the scope of Italian ideas, to mould her conquests into one nation. On the contrary, her object was to wrest from the vanquished their independence, to stifle their nationality, to make them docile subjects; for this end, to create differences and foster jealousies among them, to separate the one from another in feeling and usage, and prevent their combining together for any common purpose, least of all for the purpose of extorting terms from their conquerors.

In the early times the patricians had been

the citizens, the plebeians the subjects of the state. This distinction had, in process of time, and through many struggles, become nearly obliterated. The Romans and Italians were now to go through a like career in relation to one another. But the Romans had now become more or less conscious of the principle under which their early revolutions had evolved themselves, and they seem to have contemplated steadily from the first the gradual progress of the Italians to the goal of civic equality. They decreed that the sovereign people should be always the people of the Forum, and that its civil rights should only be exercised within the sacred limits of the city; but they provided at the same time for the admission of their subjects, one by one, within these limits, as a long probation of service and dependence should seem gradually to qualify them for political assimilation. Such admission might wound the pride and touch the immediate interests of a race of conquerors and plunderers; but the spirit of ambition and cupidity required fresh recruits to maintain it, and as the empire was extended, greater numbers were necessary to preserve it. Between the years A.U. 370–490 (384 and 264 B.C.) twelve new tribes were created, and the *Ager Romanus*, or national domain, extended from the Ciminian wood in Etruria, on the one side, to the middle of Campania, on the other. Upon this territory the censors enumerated 292,334 men capable of bearing arms, or a total population of 1,200,000 souls, to form the great central garrison of Italy. Two centuries before, according to one account, the military force of Rome was computed at only 104,214 men. While we may decline to place any reliance at least on these latter numbers, the fact of their being thus recorded evinces the belief of the Romans themselves in the early practice of political incorporation.

If we may speak of an original Roman people as contrasted with the aggregate now created, we may believe that at this time its numbers did not exceed one-half of the whole body. But the original twenty-one tribes



gave it so many suffrages in the assembly, while the new recruits were enrolled in twelve additional tribes only, and exercised no more than twelve votes. Such were the tribes of the Etruscans, the Latins, the Ausonians, the Æquians, and the Volscians. A little later than the era at which we have arrived, in the year of the city 513, two more tribes were appropriated to the Sabines. But besides their inferiority in number, these new and extraneous members of the national body had little opportunity, from their distance from the Forum, of influencing the course of affairs in the city. Nor, though thus stationed in the immediate neighbourhood of the capital, did these foreign tribes occupy the whole surrounding territory. The *Ager Romanus* was intersected, almost within sight from the gates, by parcels of land which still remained in the hands of strangers, and bore the designation of *Ager peregrinus*. Several cities of Latium, such as Tibur and Præneste, still bore the title of Latin instead of Roman, retained their own municipal institutions, and were attached to the republic not by the possession of the Roman franchise, but by the condition of a specific eligibility to it. Any of their citizens who had served certain magistracies in them, became qualified thereby for the enjoyment of citizenship at Rome, and the constant accession of individuals from this source helped to replenish the void made by perennial warfare, no less than the occasional introduction into the state of corporate communities.

The franchise, or rights of the city, thus obtained—the object for the most part of the dearest vows of the subjects of Rome—comprehended, 1. Absolute authority over the wife and children, slaves and chattels; 2. A guarantee of personal liberty, exemption from stripes, security from capital punishment, except by the vote of the people or under military authority in the camp; 3. The suffrage; 4. Access to honors and employments; 5. The possession of Quiritary property, held under Roman law; 6. Immunity from all the taxes and tributes imposed at

discretion on the subjects of the state. Such was the complete franchise of Rome; the *jus civitatis optimo jure*. To the Italians beyond the pale of the thirty-five tribes some portion of these privileges might be accorded in various measure and degree. To some the Senate gave the right of dealing (*commercium*), to others that of marriage (*conubium*). The cities of the conquered nations were arranged in different classes, according to the favor in which they were held by the conquerors,—1. The *municipia optimo jure*, or of the first class, the inhabitants of which, whenever they visited Rome, were allowed to exercise there the complete rights of Roman citizenship; 2. The *municipia* without franchise, which enjoyed indeed the title and burdens of citizenship, such as the service in the legions, but were debarred from the suffrage, and from the civil offices of the republic; 3. The cities which had renounced their ancient usages to embrace the laws and institutions of Rome, but yet were not entitled to the name of Roman. But below the *municipia* was yet another class of *prefecturae*, towns subjected to the government of a Roman officer or prefect, under the forms of Roman jurisprudence. These prefectures were generally so classed by way of precaution or punishment. Such was the state to which Capua was reduced after a revolt in which she imprudently engaged against the Romans. Such were the various grades of subjection granted according to the terms of capitulation in each case. There was still a lower rank in the descending scale, that of the *dedititii*, or people who had been reduced by the fortune of war to unconditional submission; these were required to deliver up their arms together with hostages, to raze their walls or to receive a garrison within them, to pay a tribute, and to furnish besides a contingent to the armies of the republic.

The allies, as they were designated, of the republic were a class of states differing in some particulars from all these. They were the dependents of Rome, but flattered themselves that they were not her subjects. The

Senate indulged them in a delusion which soothed their pride, and made them more serviceable as auxiliaries than they would have been as indignant bond-servants. Tarentum was allowed to retain the name of a free state, though here the Romans went so far as to level the walls of the city and establish a garrison in its citadel. Neapolis was free, but required to furnish vessels for the Roman marine, and contribute to the pay of its mariners. The Camertines and Heracleotes were declared "equals" of Rome (*æquo fœdere*), on terms of mutual defence. Tibur, Præneste, and most of the Etruscan cities, ranked in the same class; but the Romans took care to foster in all these cities a party of their own friends and creatures, to mould the external conduct of this free state, and, if occasion required, to find them a pretence for interfering with its domestic affairs. Such was the policy of the republic in its relations towards its conquered enemies. It is characterized by a studied absence of general measures, and of uniformity of treatment. It is deliberately framed to maintain and intensify the actual diversities of nations and circumstances. With this view, every possible hindrance, often amounting to specific prohibition, is laid in the way of common action among them, of commerce, and even of intermarriage. Gradually, however, as the power of Rome extended, her jealousy relaxed, and these distinctions, long maintained, became more and more effaced. They subsided at last into three classes and conditions of rights: the *jus civitatis*, which conferred a share in the sovereignty; the *jus Latii*, which gave access or eligibility to the franchise; the *jus Italicum*, of which the burdens were greater and the prerogatives inferior. This graduated scale of privilege continued to exist under the same name down to a late period in Roman history, and was extended to the later possessions of the republic, long after the obliteration of all political distinctions between the Romans, the Latins, and the inhabitants of the peninsula generally.

Neither the interest the more favored of the Italians might be expected to take in the Roman franchise, to which they were admitted, nor the gratitude of the rest for the remnant they were allowed to retain of their own nationality, could be regarded as sufficient security for their permanent submission. Throughout the length and breadth of the peninsula Rome established her armed garrisons under the form of colonies. In the spot selected for such a military station, a large portion of the national territory was confiscated by the conquerors, and some thousands of the citizens selected by lot, or on their own demand, to receive it in full possession, engaging in return to defend the interests of the republic, which were thus identified with their own. The administration of the colony thus formed, and thus strictly attached to the parent state, was organized on the model of the city. The colonists, as Roman citizens, met in their public assemblies, and chose their decemvirs and their decurions to represent the consuls and senators. Their residence was in every case, perhaps, not a new stronghold constructed for the purpose, but the fortified city of some conquered people, dispossessed even of their habitations to make way for them. Such cities were chosen, of course, for their natural strength or their commanding situation.

To bind all these places together, and afford the means of rapid transport for the legions from point to point, the whole peninsula was traversed by numerous roads, generally branching out from Rome to every extremity. In the midst of the great Samnite wars the censor Appius commenced the construction of the Appian Way, which led from Rome across the Pomptine Marshes to Capua. From year to year this example was followed by other munificent officers of the republic; and before the conclusion of another century, the Valerian Way connected the city with Corfinium; the Aurelian coasted the shores of Etruria; the Flaminian reached Ariminum on the frontier of the Cisalpine, and the Æmilian prolonged this



line as far as Placentia, on the Po. These roads were "built," according to the phrase of their constructors, with several layers of concrete and masonry, and paved with solid blocks of stone cemented together, which in many places have survived the revolution of centuries, and retain their position at the present day.

"And what a race of men these new masters of Italy were! Their private virtues legitimized their power; and it was in their manners, not less than in the ability of their Senate, that the secret of Rome's greatness resided. These conquerors of Etruria and Tarentum held poverty, discipline, and devotion ever in honor, and their patriotism partook of a religious sentiment. Three Decii surrendered their lives for the Roman army, and Manlius immolated his son to the genius of discipline. The censor Rutilius, reelected at the expiration of his term in 265 B.C., convokes the people, and solemnly rebukes its assembly for having conferred such important functions on the same citizens twice in succession. If, on the one hand, a Rufinus must be degraded from the Senate (275 B.C.) notwithstanding his two consulships, a dictatorship, and a triumph, for possessing ten pounds of silver plate, when he was allowed no more than eight ounces; if the consul Posthumius compelled 2,000 legionaries to reap his corn or to clear his woods; Atilius Serranus, on the other, received the consular purple behind his plough; Regulus, though twice consul, possessed no more than one little field in the barren district of Pupinia; and Curius, like Fabricius and Æmilius Pappus, prepared his simple meal with his own hands in wooden vessels. The same Curius refused the gold of the Samnites; Fabricius that of Pyrrhus; and Cineas, introduced into the Senate, imagined that he saw before him an assembly of kings.

"By their rigid virtues and austere manners the Romans of that age deserved their empire: by their discipline and their courage they had acquired, by their union they retained it. The perils of the war with Sam-

nium had in fact restored peace between the two orders of citizens. Petty rivalries had been extinguished in the face of the public interest; the emancipation of the plebeians had been effectually accomplished; and the new generation of patricians, bred in the camps, had lost its bitter recollection of the popular victories. The 'new men' were now not less numerous in the Senate than the descendants of old curial families; nor did the services and glory of Papirius Cursor, of Fabius Maximus, of Appius Cæcus, and Valerius Corvus, efface the services and the glory of the three Decii; of Publilius, four times consul; of Mænius, twice dictator; of Cæcilius Metellus, who commenced the illustration of the family of which Nævius was afterwards to declare, 'the Metelli are born consuls at Rome;' finally, of Curius Dentatus and Fabricius, plebeians, and not even of Roman origin at all.

"There was union because there was equality; because an aristocracy of blood was no longer recognized, nor was more honor paid to that of fortune. At this epoch the Roman constitution presented that safe combination of royalty, aristocracy, and democracy which Polybius, Machiavel, and Montesquieu have so much admired. The consulship gave it unity in command, the Senate experience in counsel, the people strength in action. By these three powers, mutually restricting themselves within just limits, all the forces of the state, formerly turned one against another, had found at last, after a struggle of more than two centuries, that happy equilibrium which made them all concur, with irresistible power, in working towards one common end, the greatness of the republic."

This glowing panegyric on the character of the Roman people in the best age of the free state may be fairly deduced from the histories of the time which have come down to us. Doubtless in those histories much allowance must be made for a spirit of exaggeration and patriotic coloring in painting the actions and principles of the heroes of the republic. Nevertheless there seems

sufficient reason for admitting the general truthfulness of the accounts we have received of this period, and accepting as commonly authentic what professes to be the history of Rome, at least from the time of the wars with Samnium and with Pyrrhus. It will be well to pause, then, at this point, and indicate briefly what may have been the sources of Roman history at this period.

The first writers of early Roman history in a connected form were Greeks—such as Diocles of Peparethus, Timæus, and Hieronymus. Aristotle had already obtained a glimpse of the rising republic, and had signaled the taking of Rome by the Gauls; but it was not till the Romans entered into relations with Alexander of Molossus, and with Pyrrhus, that their existence became a matter of interest to the people beyond the Adriatic. The first Greek writers on the subject of this Italian city would naturally resort to the colonists of Magna Græcia for such information of their neighbor as they could furnish, and this would be derived, in the first instance, from the floating traditions which, during the preceding century, had reached Neapolis or Tarentum, conveyed by word of mouth, rather than ascertained from the scanty writings and historical monuments which might exist in Rome itself. Hence, no doubt, these original historians gave a prominent place to the stories which connected Rome with Greece—to the legends of Evander and Æneas, of recourse to the Delphic oracle, or to the records of Athenian legislation, which thus obtained a credit not their due with succeeding inquirers. It is probable that the writings of these foreigners first excited the emulation of the Roman annalists, such as Fabius Pictor and Cincius Alimentus, who began in the sixth century to construct a vernacular History of Rome. We have no reason to suppose that historical composition was an art of native growth at Rome, any more than among other western nations, all of which, including the civilized Etruscans themselves, seem to have been wholly strangers to it. But the Romans,

when they applied themselves to the art, had access to other sources than the Greeks who preceded them, and could combine the traditions and fabrications of the Greeks with the meagre chronicles and other fragmentary records existing among them. Thus we know that from a very early antiquity the priests had kept a register of the events in which they were themselves chiefly interested, such as omens and natural phenomena, to which they attached a religious significance; that there were also certain *Fasti*, or lists of magistrates, dating from a primitive epoch; and we may surmise that here and there a political incident was noted in one or other of these journals. It is certain, moreover, that the Romans, with their intense family feelings, left some private memorials of their own ancestors, and refreshed their recollection of them from time to time by domestic ceremonies and funeral laudations. The highly romantic character of so much of the early history may lead us also to conjecture that some popular traditions were preserved in the form of poetry, though of this we have no positive testimony whatever; and the inference is by no means strong enough to bear, in default thereof, the elaborate superstructure built upon it by Niebuhr and his followers. The notion, indeed, so suddenly enunciated and so hastily adopted by the students of Roman history, that our early accounts are mainly founded on a defunct series of ballads and epics, may be regarded as already exploded. Thus much, however, is certain, that as far as the memory of long past events was entrusted to a mere oral tradition, its preservation was in the utmost degree precarious; while the monuments, however scanty, of written history were subjected to the sweeping devastation of the Gallic conflagration. The Romans indeed pretended that the Capitol at least had escaped the capture of the city; but no reliance can be placed on their account of the retreat and discomfiture of the Gauls; and there is good reason to suppose that their city, fortress and all, fell into the hands of the destroyers.



Very few, therefore, of their records can be supposed to have escaped; it may be doubted whether the two or three documents of a previous period, which Polybius or Pliny believed they had actually seen in their own time, were genuine monuments of the age to which they were presumed to belong. That from that period a systematic fabrication commenced of records pretending to an anterior date may easily be believed; and it is from such fabrications, grounded more or less upon current traditions, that the first annalists of Rome, both Greek and Roman, drew, it may be presumed, a great part of their materials. We see, then, that, down to the period of the Gallic war, there is no firm ground for the historian of Rome. The events recorded he must suspect of being pure inventions; in the pretended progress of the constitution he will trace only a confused attempt to account for political arrangements existing at a later period. But in the sources of history posterior to the great conflagration a great change becomes apparent. Whatever the value of contemporary records may have been, however much they may have been embellished and falsified by family or national pride, we may be sure at least that they once actually existed, and continued no doubt to exist for centuries. The first annalists had materials for history, were they but endowed with discretion to sift and read them rightly. It is not to be expected, indeed, that in a rude uncritical age these materials were carefully handled; and still, at least to the time of Pyrrus, and perhaps for one generation later, many evident falsifications of history are apparent. But from the commencement of the sixth century we may be sure that the memory of events was sufficiently recent to secure the first writers of Roman history from material error regarding them. We may proceed, therefore, from this point, without misgiving, to follow the lines they have traced for us.

While Rome was completing the reduction of Italy, the republic of Carthage, on the opposite coast of Africa, was rivalling her con-

quests in the islands of the western Mediterranean. The Greek colonies in Sicily had fallen under her dominion, as well as the barbarous tribes of Sardinia. On the extinction of the Grecian power in this quarter, the two rivals were about to come into serious collision. The Carthaginians were preparing to seize the Æolian Islands, barren rocks indeed, but almost within sight of Naples and the Campanian coast. Still, however, a single stronghold withstood them in Sicily, from whence the Romans might hope to make good a footing in that important island, and check their advance beyond it. Messana was occupied by a band of buccaneering adventurers, who had recently overthrown the government, and expelled or subjugated the inhabitants, but now, pressed hard by the Carthaginian power, presumed to solicit assistance from the legitimate government of Rome. To render such assistance was contrary to the principles of international law, even as then understood; the Romans, moreover, had just before visited a similar act of lawlessness with the severest punishment. Now, however, self-interest prevailed, and it was determined to use the opportunity for establishing a Roman force in Sicily.

Such was the origin of the first Punic war, which commenced in the year 490 (B. C. 264), and lasted without intermission for twenty-two years. The great object of the Romans was to gain possession of Sicily, a rich and fertile country, and of special importance to them, from the abundance of corn which it was fitted to produce; for Rome had already become dependent in some degree on foreign importation for the supply of a population withdrawn from the pursuits of agriculture, and engaged perpetually in the barren exercise of arms. The Strait of Messana is only three miles in width, and though watched by the naval forces of the great maritime republic, the Romans had little difficulty in throwing re-inforcements across it: nevertheless, they soon found it essential to their views to contend with the Carthaginians for the dominion of the seas. At first they were

obliged to build their ships of war from the model of an enemy's vessel, cast accidentally on their coasts; but this ignorance of naval architecture was the least of their disadvantages in commencing the struggle; for they had no experience of naval tactics, nor even of navigation. Nevertheless they exerted themselves with their usual energy, constructed a numerous fleet, manned it by a conscription of the lowest class of citizens, such as was not admitted to serve in the legions, and fought their ships with crews of mere landsmen, aiming rather at grappling and boarding the enemy, than at manœuvring against him, and sinking him with the stroke of the beak. They succeeded almost from the first, though not without many reverses, sometimes from storms; sometimes from the greater skill of the Carthaginians, in keeping the sea at least on terms of equality.

In the year 498 (B. C. 256) they had so far gained the ascendancy as to be able to land a large army, under the consul Regulus, on the coast of Africa, with which they ravaged the country, and approached to the walls of the capital. But the Carthaginians, putting forth all their power, here inflicted on them a decisive defeat, making Regulus prisoner, and suffering a small remnant only to make good its return to Italy. Regulus, we are told, was afterwards sent to Rome on parole, to negotiate peace. He dissuaded his countrymen from yielding to dishonorable terms, and returned to his captors, to be put to death, according to the popular story, with tortures, but as the later Romans themselves allowed, to live some years in custody, and eventually to die a natural death. War was again renewed, and continued with alternate successes; the reduction of Panormus by the Romans (A. U. 500, B. C. 254), the defeat of their fleet at Drepanum (505, 249), the loss of another armament by tempest at Camarina, and the final victory at sea off the islands Agates (513, 241). It was terminated at last by the exhaustion of the Carthaginians, who were reduced to the necessity of purchasing peace

by the cession of all their claims on Sicily and the Æolian islands.

The Carthaginians now turned their attention to Spain, where they raised in a few years a new empire, which more than balanced the loss of Sicily, as well as that of Sardinia, which revolted from them, and fell, as did also Corsica, not long afterwards, under the power of the Romans. These great rivals remained at peace with one another for more than thirty years; but while the Carthaginians were acquiring the gold mines of Spain, and recruiting their armies with its hardy infantry, the Romans were making great advances in internal resources, and pushing their conquests at the same time in other quarters. In 525 they crossed the Adriatic, and made successful incursions into Illyria. The following year was distinguished by an embassy from Rome to Greece, where the Corinthians allowed the envoys of the formidable "strangers" to take part in the Isthmian games. About this period, however, we read of a threatened invasion of Gauls. The city was struck with panic. The priests required that two men of that nation should be buried alive, as a sacrifice, in the Forum. A state of "tumult" was declared, and the whole body of the citizens raised and armed for the defence of their country. The consul Æmilius went forth at the head of the legions, and confronted the assailants in the valley of the Po, where he gained a great victory over them, and received the honors of a triumph. In another battle the Roman leader Marcellus slew, in a personal combat, the king of the Gauls, Viridumarus, and bore his arms, the "spolia opima," to the Capitol. This eminent reward of prowess had been won but twice before by Romulus and Tullus Hostilius; nor was it ever gained by a Roman captain again. The conquest of the Cisalpine and of the Istrian peninsula followed upon this repulse of the Transalpine barbarians. Meanwhile the Carthaginians were advancing to the entire dominion of Spain. Their politic chief, Hamilcar Barcas, was succeeded in his command there by









his son Hannibal, whom he had sworn in childhood to eternal enmity against Rome; and this enmity the young captain was now about to gratify, having persuaded his government to let him lead all the forces of the province against Italy, cross the Pyrenees, traverse the friendly regions of southern Gaul, and descend from the Alps among the newly-conquered subjects of Rome, whom he expected to unite in a mighty league against their enemies and his own.

The second Punic war commenced in 536 (B. C. 218) with the destruction of Saguntum by the Carthaginians, in defiance of the Roman remonstrances. Spain was now sufficiently reduced to form the basis of Hannibal's proposed operations. Assembling an army of 82,000 foot and 12,000 horse, he commenced his march. This large force, however, was very considerably reduced by the fatigues of the march, and by the garrisons it was necessary to leave behind to secure communications through so long a route. Hannibal crossed the Rhone with little more than 50,000 men. His easiest and directest route into Italy lay by coast line, turning the lowest spur of the Maritime Alps; but this road was watched by the Roman general Scipio, and the Ligurians, into whose territory it would have led him, were less likely to receive him as a deliverer than the Gaulish tribes, such as the Boii and Insubres, who lay among the valleys of the Graian Alps, further to the north. Hannibal determined to hazard two steps, both equally bold. He allowed Scipio's army to land on his flank, at the mouth of the Rhone, and occupy the tracts which he was about to leave behind him; then taking the line of the Isere, he ventured to climb the almost inaccessible pass of the Little St. Bernard, in the middle of October, with his large force of men, horses, and elephants. He had not even assured himself of the co-operation of the rude mountaineers, who harassed and attacked him on his march, and caused him both losses and delay. Indeed that perilous enterprise, which we must suppose he undertook after

due calculation, as the only means of accomplishing his purpose, and launching a Carthaginian army into the bosom of a discontented population, cost him more than half the force with which he had crossed the Rhone; and when after pausing at the summit of the pass, and encouraging his followers by showing to them the land of promise, he descended into the valley of the Po, he could muster no more than 20,000 foot and 6000 cavalry. Nor did the Gauls in these parts manifest at first any ardor in his behalf. It was not till he had gained some notable successes at the passage of Ticinus and the Trebia that they began to throw themselves vehemently into his cause. But now his numbers rapidly swelled, and while the Romans, disconcerted by their first disasters, were recruiting their broken legions, he crossed the Apennines with a force of 50,000 men. Again the passage of the marshes of the Upper Arnus cost him a large portion of his troops, and he suffered himself the loss of an eye by fever. These troubles, however, were repaid by the great victory of the Lake Thrasymentus, where the consul Flaminius, rashly meeting him, was overthrown with immense loss, and slain. From Thrasymentus to Rome was no more than one hundred miles; nor was there any army to cover the city, for the other consul had posted himself with his legions at Ariminum, to guard the approach from the east. Hannibal had boldly out-flanked two armies, and beaten a third; but with all his boldness, he hesitated to strike at the enemy's centre, while leaving such forces in his rear. His intrigues with the Umbrians, the Etrurians, and other people of central Italy, had been unsuccessful. The country was generally animated with a national spirit of jealousy towards the foreigner. He turned aside to the left, and re-crossed the Apennines into Picenum; thence he directed his course towards the Grecian colonies in the south-east of the peninsula. Meanwhile the gravity of their danger had excited the patriotism of the Romans to the highest pitch. Vast exertions were made; another army

was raised ; and Fabius Maximus, the chief of the nobles, led it, as dictator, in quest of the enemy, who had descended along the coast of the Adriatic into Apulia. Here, too, where Hannibal had had better hopes, the population showed itself indifferent, if not hostile, to its deliverers. The Carthaginian was anxious to stake his fortunes on a battle ; but Fabius knew the value of delay, and refused to allow his raw recruits to engage with the despair of sturdy veterans and an able general. Thus matters stood for some time ; the condition of the invader becoming daily more precarious, when Terentius Varro, now consul, and enjoying command every alternate day, yielded to his own and his men's impatience, and engaged the enemy in the pitched battle of Cannæ. This was noted as the most disastrous defeat the Romans ever sustained. Æmilius, the other consul, and 45,000 of their soldiers were slain, and Hannibal sent to Carthage a bushel of golden rings taken from the persons of the knights who had fallen. It was only the extreme debility of the victor, even after this victory, that gave Rome a breathing-time, and the devotion of the citizens would not suffer them to despair of the commonwealth in the hour of her greatest humiliation. Hannibal was admitted into Capua ; but this was almost the only fruit of his triumph ; and the allurements of this luxurious retreat were more fatal to the discipline of his army, and to his own reputation, than even a defeat.

Hannibal now urged his government to send him re-inforcements ; but a rival faction predominated in the Carthaginian Senate, and caused the resources of the country to be diverted to Spain ; indeed, he possessed no port on the coast of Italy at which an army could have made good its landing. The Roman forces grew, in the language of the poet, from defeat, as the branches of the ilex under the pruning-knife. Numerous fleets and armies were speedily arrayed, and Hannibal found himself surrounded in Capua by 220,000 men in arms. During the following years he

was occupied painfully, and with little success, in the siege of the strong places around him, while Fabius gained the title of *Cunctator* ("The Delayer"), from the cautious tactics with which he shunned encountering him in the field. At last Hannibal was obliged to make his escape from the toils which were closing around him by a rapid retreat into Apulia, leaving Capua to the vengeance of the Romans, who treated it as a revolted dependency. When it surrendered, after a long blockade, seventy of its senators were scourged to death, three hundred nobles thrown into chains, and the whole population sold as slaves. Such was a sample of the policy of the republic towards a people whom, on the principles of national law then recognized, it might justly regard as rebels.

Disastrous, however, as Hannibal's affairs in Italy now were, he was able to get some respite by the diversions his intrigues effected in other quarters. The Romans were obliged to send Marcellus with a powerful fleet to chastise the defection of Syracuse, which was only taken after a long siege, rendered memorable by the ingenuity employed in its defence by the mathematician Archimedes. Marcellus himself fell soon afterwards into an ambuscade in Apulia. Scipio, who had conducted several campaigns in Spain, allowed Hasdrubal, the brother of Hannibal, to escape him, and cross the Alps with a large re-inforcement. Hannibal collected all his resources to effect a junction with this powerful auxiliary. Rome put forth her full strength to encounter the double danger. Livius confronted Hasdrubal in Umbria, while Claudius Nero encamped before Hannibal. But Nero, with happy temerity, broke up from his quarters with a picked division of his troops, and joining Livius, surprised Hasdrubal on the River Metaurus. The united forces of the Romans obtained a complete victory ; and Hannibal was first made aware of this terrible disaster by receiving the head of his brother thrown exultingly into his camp.



The Romans, notwithstanding the occupation of so large a part of their own territories by a hostile force, had continued to maintain an army in Spain, and persisted in the task of wresting that important province from Carthage. In the course of this war two Scipios perished; but a third, the most distinguished of this illustrious house, known afterwards as the elder Africanus, completed the conquest, and, flushed with victory, urged the Senate to transfer the contest to Africa itself. This bold manœuvre was opposed by the cautious Fabius, but the enthusiasm of Scipio prevailed; and when a Roman army was landed in the neighborhood of Carthage, the enemy were compelled to recall Hannibal for the defence of their own homes. Hannibal effected his retreat, quitting Italy after an occupation of fifteen years; but it was only to encounter a general of equal skill, and an army not less trained to conquer than his own, and to suffer the decisive overthrow at Zama, which laid his country prostrate at the feet of the Romans. Carthage sued for peace, but was required to surrender all her remaining possessions except the district immediately adjacent, together with her ships, her elephants and her treasure. She still retained her brave commander Hannibal, and allowed him to take the lead in her councils, in which he was still animated by the same hatred of the Romans and zeal for the advancement of his country's interests. The Romans watched his proceedings with jealousy, and he was soon obliged to flee to the distant court of Syria, lest they should insist on his being delivered up to them. The second Punic war, thus brought to a triumphant close, was the most important struggle in which Rome was ever engaged—one of the most important perhaps in the history of the human race; the event of which, instead of crushing the rising fortunes of the republic, established her in the secure enjoyment of the greatest power in the civilized world, and was the harbinger of the rapid succession of triumphs which

made her, in the course of another century and a half, mistress of the fairest regions of Europe, Africa and Asia.

Already, during the occupation of southern Italy by Hannibal, the Romans had been taught to regard the King of Macedonia as an enemy, who watched every opportunity to crush them, and whose blow they must not hesitate to anticipate. The overthrow of Carthage had hardly been accomplished when the Senate insisted on declaring war against this distant intriguer, and urged the reluctant commons of the city to pour forth their blood and treasure again without a moment's respite. At this period, indeed, and for many years afterwards, Rome acted like the spendthrift who squanders his capital in the enjoyment of the hour. The blood of Rome and Italy was lavished without stint, and the Senate, in its selfishness and short-sightedness, was content to receive in its stead a constant influx of foreigners and barbarians, captured in war or purchased in the slave-market, and condemned to cultivate its fields in chains. The fatal result of this policy will be soon exhibited; at this era it was not foreseen, or was recklessly disregarded. The cries of the Achæans for protection against Philip were eagerly listened to, and an army was sent to rescue the feeble remains of Grecian liberty, as it styled itself, from the menace of a second Macedonian conquest. The teeming population of the Hellenic peninsula, which had formerly been maintained by the commerce of the world, had found vent, during the last century of decay and impoverishment, in a constant stream of emigration to Asia and Africa. As colonists, as traders, as mercenary soldiers, the Greeks were scattered through both continents; but Greece herself had begun to experience a rapidly-increasing depopulation, and her military force and military spirit had sunk to a very low ebb. Sparta, indeed, made an attempt to revive the warlike institutions of Lycurgus; and Philopœmen, the general of the League, displayed many of the highest qualities of

his noble race; but the nation was quite unable to defend itself against the enemy, who had planted himself in so many important positions within its territory. The aid, however, of two Roman legions, backed by the alliance of *Ætolia*, sufficed to drive Philip within his proper frontiers; and though one Roman army was ignominiously defeated, Flaminius with a second routed the Macedonian phalanx at *Cynoscephalæ*, and established the superiority of the Roman tactics. The consul proclaimed the restoration of Grecian independence, presided in person at the Isthmian games, and declared that the Romans themselves were descended from *Æneas*. The Greeks in return dedicated their offerings to "Titus and Hercules," to "Titus and Apollo."

Though the Romans were thus moderate in their conduct towards Greece, they took care to establish such a balance of power between the *Ætolians*, the *Achæans* and *Nabis* the tyrant of *Sparta*, as would secure a perpetual recurrence of strife among them, and require their own intervention in due season. But their policy was furthered by a movement from without. *Hannibal*, whom they had demanded from *Carthage*, had taken refuge with *Antiochus*, King of *Syria*, and was urging his patron to send him with an army into Italy. *Antiochus*, shrinking from such a hazard, ventured to confront the Romans in Greece, incited thereto by the *Ætolians*; but both he and his new allies were easily routed. In 562 (B.C. 129) the Romans gained a complete victory over him at *Thermopylæ*; he was driven back from Europe, and compelled to take what measures he could for closing the continent of Asia against the triumphant advance of the legions. The Romans, however, secured the alliance of *Macedon*, *Rhodes* and *Pergamus*, and obtained the necessary means of transport. In 564 they set foot for the first time in Asia, and after a short campaign engaged the enemy at *Magnesia*, defeating him, according to their own account, with unparalleled disproportion of loss, and

reducing him at one blow to terms the most humiliating. *Antiochus* consented to relinquish almost all his possessions in *Asia Minor*, together with his elephants and 15,000 talents in money. Here, as in Greece, the republic, unprepared to occupy the vast regions it had so suddenly conquered, abstained from all territorial annexation, and contented itself with dividing the country between its faithful allies. In the heart of *Asia Minor* Rome encountered again her ancient enemies the *Gauls*. Upon these people she made war separately, and reduced them to dependence upon *Eumenes*, King of *Pergamus* and *Phrygia*.

The desultory and occasional relations which Rome had hitherto entertained with Greece became now constant, and rapidly increased in closeness and mutual influence. This influence is conspicuously apparent in the shape which the old mythology of Italy began now to assume, in the disappearance of many ancient national divinities, and the introduction of Greek deities in their place. The Sabine names of *Consus*, *Lunus*, *Juturna*, *Feronia*, and others, are lost altogether, or merged in those of foreign divinities, whose attributes are supposed to resemble their *Apollo*, first honored with a temple at Rome, A.U. 324, advances in estimation among the citizens, and obtains the distinction of public games in 542. *Æsculapius* is evoked from *Epidaurus* by a decree of the Senate in 463. *Cybele*, or as the Romans call her, *Bona Dea*, is invited to Rome in 547. The introduction of the *Bacchanalia*, or mysteries of the Grecian *Bacchus*, caused so much disturbance or jealousy that the Senate in 568 issued a decree for their suppression in Rome and Italy. But the sceptical philosophy of Greece followed quickly in the train of her religious ceremonies. The poet *Ennius* introduced the rational explanations of ancient belief recommended to his countrymen by the Greek *Euemerus*; and from rationalism the step was easy to doubt, and finally to disbelief. The magistrates of Rome maintained the ceremonial of processions, sacrifices, and



auguries, as an engine of state policy, but the higher classes almost wholly renounced their fathers' faith in them, and had little scruple in openly deriding them. From the time, indeed, that the plebeians had been admitted to the priesthoods and augurships, the nobility of Rome had slackened in their zeal for the maintenance of the old traditions. The Potitii abandoned to their slaves the cult of their patron Hercules. Marcellus threw into the sea the sacred fowls which refused to present a favorable omen. The common sceptical disposition of the day is represented by the expression of Ennius: "If there are gods, at least they do not trouble themselves with the care of human affairs."

At this period the Roman nobles began to make use of the Greek language, and got themselves instructed in it by slaves or clients of Greek extraction. They employed Greek writers to compose their history for them. Diocles of Peparethus, as has been said, was the first who composed a narrative of the foundation of the city. The freedmen, to whom the task was now naturally assigned of celebrating the exploits of their patrons' families, were doubtless prompt in embellishing them. Hence we may ascribe to this period the rage for discovering a Grecian extraction, or a Trojan, which was considered equally honorable, for the Roman gentes. Æneas and Hercules, with their sons and comrades, were made to serve as founders for many patrician houses. As soon as the Romans set foot in Phrygia, they recognized their pretended connection with the restored city of Ilium. The Scipios and other magnates paid court to Grecian poets and historians, and received the incense of flattery in return. Ennius, the first of the Roman poets, a native of Calabria, who pretended himself to a Grecian origin, and was equally versed in the Greek and the Latin tongues, introduced the works of Homer to the Italians by imitation and translation, and was long held by his grateful countrymen as a worthy rival of the father of epic verse. Instruction in the Greek language and literature became,

under the name of Grammar, the most essential part of a liberal education, and every Roman mansion had its Grecian pedagogue to train the children of the family in this necessary lore. The Greek women, fascinating and accomplished, completed the subjugation of the Roman conquerors. The rough and homely matrons of Sabellia could no longer retain the hearts of their spouses, ensnared by the wiles of these foreign slaves and mistresses. The injured women were not slow in avenging themselves. The first divorce at Rome had taken place in the year 520. About half a century later, in 586, occurred the scandal of the Bacchanalian mysteries, at which many hundreds of Roman matrons were found to have devoted themselves to orgies of the most fearful licentiousness.

If we take a further glance at the manners and customs of the Romans at this period, we may observe how the life of the city becomes distinguished from that of the country, and that of the Campanian baths or watering-places, from both or either. The first was the life of the Forum and the temples; the stated performance of civil and religious acts; the holding of levees of freedmen in the mornings; giving of legal opinions to friends and clients; public business in the Forum or Senate-house towards noon; preparation for public speaking with hired rhetoricians; retirement for sleep at mid-day; the exercises of the Campus Martius, swimming, wrestling, and fencing, in the afternoon; the supper, diversified with singing and buffoonery; and so to bed at sundown. In the country there was the superintendence of the farm and household; hunting, fishing, and other field-sports; the employment of leisure hours in reading, writing, or dictating, generally on a couch or even in bed; sleeping much in the day, but watching with the dawn of morning. At the baths there was a complete holiday from all duties, public or domestic; throwing off the toga, going barefoot, and lightly clad in a Greek dressing-gown; lounging through the day, gossip-

ing with idle acquaintances, indulging in long and frequent ablutions, invoking the aid of foreign artists in song and music to while away the hours of vacant indolence. While, indeed, the Roman was equally proud of the austere discipline of the city and the fields, he was ashamed of his recreations at the sea-side, and regarded it as an indulgence almost akin to vice to relax even for a moment from the stern routine of self-imposed duty. But the siren sloth was gradually gaining his ear, and every further step he took into the realms of Grecian luxury and voluptuousness estranged him more and more from the love of business which he had embraced as a passion, and become inured to as a second nature. The domestic morality of the Romans was thus already undermined in many of its dearest relations, when a guilty ambition began first to prompt them to seek, in the conduct of public affairs, a personal and selfish aggrandisement.

At this period, indeed, the high civil position, maintained by a narrow oligarchy of noble families closely connected with one another by marriage, which shared among themselves all the great offices of the commonwealth, might naturally foster such irregular aspirations, and point to the establishment of a monarchy, limited by the jealousies of its aristocratic assessors, in the place of a republic which was democratic in name only. To Scipio Africanus, in the exuberance of their joy at his triumphs, the people had offered, of their own accord, a consulship for life. This would have made him at once a constitutional sovereign, a doge, or a king. We are told that he declined the proffered honor: moderation both in pleasure and in ambition was his characteristic quality. But at a later period, when any such prudent and temperate resolution had become impossible, Cicero takes a melancholy pleasure in representing another Scipio, the immediate descendant of the elder Africanus, as praising in a limited monarchy the best ideal of government. Had the nobles been left to work out their own career, this

is the consummation to which it might soon have been brought; but their career was rudely intercepted by the torrent of national corruption which now broke down every moral barrier; the pride and luxury engendered by their Greek and Asiatic triumphs produced a sudden re-action in the popular mind against them. When Cato the elder, a rude but vigorous scion of the Latian homesteads, took on himself to rebuke their abandonment of national usage and tradition, he found the people well disposed to support and urge him onwards. The poet Nævius, the first of the Roman satirists, had met with popular sympathy in his gibes against the haughty Scipios and Metelli; he had been banished through their influence to Africa; but the spirit of criticism and railery survived. Cato served the state in war and peace, and was carried through the career of honors to the consulship, and eventually to the censorship, from which last office he derived the title by which he is distinguished in history. In every place, and on all occasions, he rebuked the pride of the nobles and abated their insolence. He caused their chiefs to be cited before the popular assembly, but they had yet authority enough to repel the charges against them by such language as that of Æmilius Scaurus: "Varus accuses Æmilius of corruption; Æmilius denies it: Romans, which do you believe?" Scipio Africanus disdained, on a similar occasion, to reply at all; and only exclaimed as he surmounted the Capitol—"This is the anniversary of my victory over Hannibal: Romans, thank the gods, and pray that you may always have such a champion!" Nevertheless Scipio was compelled at last to withdraw from affairs, and ended his life at a private residence in Campania, directing these words to be inscribed upon his sepulchre:—"Thankless country, thou shalt not possess even my bones!" Further prosecutions were directed against his family for accepting bribes from Antiochus; and Cato had the satisfaction of thoroughly humiliating the chiefs to the Roman oligarchy.



Hannibal, driven from the court of Antiochus to that of Prusias, King of Bithynia, and again demanded by the Romans, had poisoned himself about the year 572 (B.C. 182), and thus relieved from equal anxiety both his friends and enemies. The authority of the republic was becoming consolidated throughout Greece and Asia Minor, when Perseus, the son and successor of Philip, undertook to form a general confederacy of the eastern powers against them. Before, however, this alliance had been effected, he precipitated himself rashly into arms, hoping to cement it by victory; and though he obtained at the outset a brilliant success, he was mortified to find himself still imperfectly supported. Alone, or with no other aid than the neutrality of the states invited by Rome to attack him, he still maintained the contest, defeating the enemy in several engagements, till they sent against him their veteran general Paulus Æmilius, with an overwhelming force of 100,000 men. Once more the Macedonian phalanx seemed on the point of recovering the charm of invincibility; but after a fierce struggle, the fortune of the legion prevailed: Perseus was vanquished on the field of Pydna, in one of the most decisive battles of Roman history, and soon afterwards taken. The kingdom which he had hazarded and lost was annexed to the dominions of the republic, and Perseus himself led at the ear of his conqueror to the Capitol, thrown into a dungeon, and suffered to languish miserably till his death, two years later. The last of the kings of Macedonia was long remembered as one of the most formidable enemies Rome had ever encountered, along with Hannibal and Pyrrhus.

The overthrow of Perseus was followed by an attack on the precarious independence still allowed to Antiochus. The King of Syria, after the check he had received in the west, had turned his arms southward. He had almost effected the conquest of Egypt, the ally of Rome, when Popilius Lænas, the envoy of the Senate, required him to desist from his enterprise. He demanded some

time to deliberate, but Popilius drew a circle around him in the sand with his stick, and peremptorily forbade him to pass it till he had given his response. Antiochus, baffled by this firmness, acquiesced in the demand, and retired home crestfallen. The Senate divided between two rival brothers of the house of Ptolemy the throne which it had saved to their family.

The kings of the earth bowed in succession before the assembly of kings. Masinissa acknowledged that to them he owed the crown of Numidia. Prusias saluted them as his gods and saviours, and confessed that he was no better than a client or freedman of his mighty masters. Phrygia, Greece, and Rhodes were each subjected in different measures to the anger of the republic, which they had failed to defend against the late attack of the Macedonians. The Greeks, irritated and alarmed, at last took up arms in their own defence; but the march of Rome was irresistible; and in 608 (B.C. 146) her barbarity was signalized by the sack and conflagration of Corinth under Mummius. Of all her heinous acts, this was one of the most memorable. By the Greeks it was never forgotten; the Romans themselves, at least in later times, were ashamed of it. The same year saw another melancholy catastrophe, the final destruction of Carthage, which had ventured to rise a third time against her triumphant rival, and was taken and razed to the ground by Scipio Æmilianus. At the sight of this fearful ruin the accomplished Roman could not but think, it was said, with a sorrowful foreboding, of the time when his own city might be destined to a like fate, and repeated the lines of Homer predicting the overthrow of Troy divine.

It was from a reminiscence of the terror they had so long felt in the rivalry of Carthage that the Romans persisted for ages in characterizing her, in history and poetry, as the type of faithlessness and impiety. But they deigned to give the title of a *second Carthage* to a city of much less fame and importance, though rendered memorable in their

annals by the obstinacy of its defence and the grandeur of its fall. The perseverance of many Roman generals, among them of Cato, and finally of Sempronius Gracchus, had effected the pacification, as it was called, of the Iberian peninsula. But such pacifications were never complete or lasting. The Celtiberians in the north had continued to harass the Roman outposts, and the prætors commanding in the province had made their hostile attitude an excuse for repeated massacre and pillage. Sulpicius Galba had disgraced the Roman name by treating with the Lusitanians, and treacherously slaughtering them to the number of 30,000. The consul Lucullus acted with equal baseness towards the Celtiberians. Driven to fury by such provocations, the mountaineers became more implacable than ever. Viriathus, the gallant chief of the Lusitanians, maintained the war for five years with unexpected success; and uniting in confederacy with the Celtiberians, forced the Romans at last, after many defeats, to conclude peace with him on equal terms. When hostilities again broke out, Cæpio found means to assassinate this formidable enemy, and the Lusitanians were at length reduced to submission. The last place that now held out was Numantia, a city of the Celtiberians in the upper valley of the Douro. Several consuls and prætors had failed in their attempts to reduce this fortress, and Fabius Servilianus had suffered a disgraceful defeat before it. Mancinus brought the defenders to terms; but the Senate was dissatisfied with his concessions, disavowed the treaty, and at the same time, from a feeling of superstition, not of honor, delivered its author to the enemy. It was reserved for Scipio Æmilianus, the conqueror of Carthage, to reduce Numantia at last by blockade. In the extremity of famine, the survivors of many victories fell at last on one another's swords.

While interfering pertinaciously in the affairs of all the kings of Asia, the Romans had hitherto abstained systematically from annexing any portion of their territories.

They conducted their astute policy by means of commissioners rather than of legionaries. They left the ancient thrones erect, but they occupied them with creatures of their own. The princes of Egypt, as well as those of Cyprus and the Cyrenaica, which had been constituted separate states, held their crowns under the patronage or direct appointment of the Senate. The republic had retained a son of Antiochus Epiphanes as a hostage, and interfered with powerful authority in the nomination of his successors. He designated the heir of Eumenes, King of Phrygia; and at last, in the year 621 (B.C. 133), allowed Attalus III., the last of his race, to bequeath his kingdom to Rome. Aquilius was sent with an army to enforce the ratification of this testament; and thus the republic became possessed of the magnificent territory which she entitled the province of Asia, and which she continued always to regard as the most choice and valuable of her acquisitions.

The power of Rome was now paramount in the four great peninsulas which project into the Mediterranean, together with its principal islands, while her influence and authority were recognized at almost every point along its far-reaching coast-line. Italy, the centre and nucleus of this power, was either "Roman soil," or placed under the ultimate control of the prætors and magistrates of Rome. Spain, Greece and Asia Minor were reduced substantially to the form of provinces; so were also the islands of the Tyrrhene, the Ionian, and the Ægean seas. Another province was constituted on the opposite coast of Africa, comprising the dominion of Carthage; while the kingdoms of Numidia on the west, and of Cyrene and Egypt on the east, were, as we have seen, in a state of pupillage and dependence. At the eastern end of the Mediterranean the Jews had entered into alliance with the republic; the independence of Syria was imperfect and precarious; Rhodes was indulged with freedom, which she was fain to purchase with impious flattery, in erecting a statue to the divinity of Rome; while a few petty states



of Asia Minor existed only on sufferance. The rugged districts of Illyria offered little temptation to Roman cupidity; but the subjection of Macedonia was fully assured. Massilia and Narbo cultivated the alliance of the Senate, and were about to invite its assistance against the surrounding barbarians, and lay the first foundations of a province beyond the Alps.

While Rome was subduing her provinces, the provinces were re-acting upon Rome. We have already caught a glimpse of this foreign invasion which was filling Italy with a base mixture of the blood of every conquered nation, and sending myriads of slaves from every quarter of the world to till the fields from which the free native population was carried off by the unceasing drain of war. The legionary, if he survived the long series of distant campaigns from which, while his manly strength endured, he was not permitted to extricate himself, settled for the most part in the countries which had become more familiar to him than his own; while the slave, if attached to the service of a Roman citizen, might hope, after some years of bondage, for personal enfranchisement, and the acquisition of a qualified franchise, and a family settlement in Italy. In the second or third generation the *libertini* of Rome became generally citizens, with the full right of suffrage, property, and marriage. Thus the Roman people, still so entitled, still preserving its political continuity in its rites and traditions, and even in its names (for the freedman entered into the *gens* of his former master, and assumed its name), became from year to year more alien in blood from the genuine stock of Romulus and Quirinus, from the Latins, the Sabines, and the Etruscans of primitive antiquity. Priests and magistrates, to whose vigilant guardianship the purity of the national religion and polity was entrusted, shut their eyes to the revolution thus accomplishing itself; but every now and then an expression or a gesture showed that they were not really blind to its progress, and that in their hearts they despised that

scum of nations which had settled on the surface of Roman society. One day, when Scipio Æmilianus was interrupted in the Forum by the clamors of this mongrel populace, he exclaimed, "Silence, false sons of Italy: think ye to scare me with your brandished hands, ye whom I led myself in bonds to Rome!" In this memorable sentence we read the character of the times, and trace the interpretation of much of the history which is to follow.

But though these foreign freedmen succeeded to the votes of the genuine citizens they did not take their place on the soil from which their predecessors had been transplanted. The legionaries had been recruited from the fields, from the small farms of Latium and Sabellia, from the well-tilled allotments of seven jugers (about four acres) to which the plebeian citizen was restricted. But as these modest proprietors were decimated by war, their vacant homesteads were bought up by the capitalists of the city, the knights and senators, and annexed to those wide tracts of public domain which they were permitted to hold rent-free from the state. These possessions, thus greedily appropriated, these *latifundia*, as they were called, were cultivated for the most part by troops of slaves, imported by purchase or as the spoil of war from beyond the sea, chained to their work in the factories, or guarded by armed retainers in the fields by day, and huddled in prison dormitories during the night. Throughout large districts of Italy, particularly in the south, the free cultivators or *coloni*, of an earlier period, had almost disappeared, though in other parts they continued still to linger, and wage an unequal struggle for existence with the great landlords and their armies of servile laborers. Thousands of these small proprietors, thus hardly pressed, migrated into the cities, and particularly into Rome, and there mingling with the herd of foreign-born freedmen, maintained themselves by petty merchandize and handicrafts, by the *sportula*, or dole of victuals at the patron's gate, or by the distribu-

tions, wholly or in part gratuitous, of bread, oil, and wine, made regularly by the state, and enhanced occasionally by magistrates or candidates for the magistracy.

Such was the state of things in Rome and Italy, full of anxiety for the present and fatal warning for the future to the few statesmen who marked the signs of the times, when the young Tiberius Gracchus, a plebeian of the Sempronian gens, well born, and connected through his mother Cornelia with the blood of the Scipios, remarked with dismay, as he traversed the plains of Etruria, the decline of cultivation and the depopulation of the fields and farms. He observed that the slave labor, ruder and more reluctant than the free labor it had supplanted, was less available for the operations of husbandry, which require care and skill, and that large tracts of land once arable had been converted into pasture, and gave employment to a few herdsmen only. Tiberius resolved to restore a Roman population to the territories of Rome. The cause of the evil he deplored seemed to be the extensive occupation of public land by the nobles by an evasion of the limitations of the Licinian law. He persuaded the people to elect him tribune in 621, and exerted himself in that capacity to carry a new agrarian law, more strict and general than those of ancient times, by which the domain of the state should be divided in full ownership among the whole body of citizens, instead of being held in fee by a small and favored aristocracy. He demanded that the state should assert its ownership of the estates now let at a nominal rent to the nobles, in order to this new distribution. Of this measure, so much debated at the time and since, it may be enough to remark that, in strict law, it was quite constitutional, in equity it was harsh and unjustifiable, while in policy it was totally nugatory. Whatever were the true merits of the question in debate, they were soon lost sight of in the passions of two classes it set in array against each other. The names of patrician and plebeian were now obliterated; the real

combatants were the rich and the poor. Many, however, of the rich and noble were found to place themselves, from patriotism or faction, at the head of the commonalty; while the aristocracy of landlords found means to enlist on their side more than one of the tribunes, their natural opponents. It was by this manoeuvre that Tiberius was ultimately baffled. Though he succeeded in getting his measure passed, under the pressure of the popular enthusiasm, he was not allowed to put it himself in operation: on attempting to exercise the powers he had reserved himself for allotting the lands he had acquired for the people, he was confronted by one of his colleagues named Octavius, accused to his own party of aspiring to the tyranny, and in the course of the tumults which ensued overpowered and slain. Three hundred of his followers fell with him in the affray. This, it was said, was the first blood shed at Rome in a popular tumult.

The leaders, however, of the popular movement, though stunned for the moment, were not discomfited. They formed an alliance with the Italians, who were excluded from the franchise of Rome, and engaged to aid them in suing for the boon of citizenship. Caius, the younger brother of Tiberius Gracchus, took the lead of this combined party. Scipio Æmilianus, twice consul, and a chief of the oligarchy, stepped boldly forward and undertook to advocate the claims of the Italians; but this redoubted champion was found soon afterwards dead in his bed, and it was natural to believe that the nobles had procured his assassination. Caius was got rid of for a time by an appointment beyond the sea. Fregellæ, an Italian town, thinking its cause abandoned, rushed desperately to arms, but was worsted and sacked by the consul Opimius. Caius now, feeling that he had been cajoled, hastened back to Rome and secured his election to the tribuneship, from which ground of vantage he aimed some hard blows against the most eminent of his opponents, protected his own partizans, founded colonies, and executed great public



works. He was the delight and pride of the citizens. His eloquence was not less popular than his manners and his policy. He caused the position of the rostrum, from which the orators harangued the people in the Forum, to be changed, so that the speaker should no longer turn towards the comitium, the place of the patrician curies, but towards the masses of the commons stationed in the opposite quarter. He raised the knights to a share in the *judicia* or tribunals; he strove to extort the franchise for the Italians. The object of this bold demagogue's reforms was the exaltation of the commons into a distinct community, rather than the fusion of the nobles and the commons in a single body—such at least was the judgment passed upon them by public writers, who affirmed that Caius made the commonwealth “double headed.” At any rate, his efforts, though but partially successful, led to a severance in public feeling which precipitated a general commotion; and he fell himself prematurely, as soon as he had finished his year of office, in a tumult which he had himself unwarily excited. The Romans long continued to honor the memory of the Gracchi as the ablest of the early chiefs of the democracy, and erected statues to them, and altars on the spots where they had fallen. Yet the prejudices of the nobles prevailed in the long run, and in the great body of Roman literature the Gracchi are represented to us as the eponyms of factious ambition, rather than of patriotic policy. Cornelia, the mother of the ill-fated tribunes obtained a purer fame, and continued to be remembered among the most honored matrons of the republic. Opimius, having obtained a second triumph over the disturbers of his faction's supremacy, erected a temple to concord in arrogant imitation of Camillus, the second founder of Rome. In the course of the next fifteen years the nobles, now unchecked, effected the formal repeal of the measures of the Gracchi. The knights were expelled from the tribunals; the lands remained in the occupation of the rich lords;

the Italians were left beyond the pale of the Roman franchise; finally, the aid of the censors was invoked to expunge from the list of knights and senators all those members of either class who were suspected of leaning towards a reform of the constitution.

Meanwhile the kingdom of Masinissa, which he had held as a dependent upon Rome, had been divided on his demise between his three sons, and again on the death of two of these, had coalesced into a single sovereignty. Micipsa, the survivor, proposed to divide his dominions between his two legitimate children; but a natural son named Jugurtha, more able than either, and trained under Roman generals in Spain, intrigued for the succession, assassinated one of the princes, defeated the other, and hastened in person to Rome to engage its sanction to his usurpation. The Senate repulsed him; but on his return home he boldly took up arms and defended himself by force, with the full support of his countrymen, against the best captains of the republic. Metellus, a chief of the Optimates, reduced him to great straits, but he extricated himself again with wonderful ability. This war, long protracted with various success, brought forward the remarkable talents of C. Marius, a soldier who rose from the ranks to the consulship, and was sent with the acclamations of the popular party, whose child and champion he proclaimed himself, to bring the struggle to a termination. The Numidian chieftain was thus at last driven to bay, and captured by the dashing exploit of an enterprising young officer, Cornelius Sulla, and carried to Rome. There he followed the triumph of Marius in the year 650, and was cruelly put to death. Numidia was divided into three portions: the western part was annexed to Mauretania, the realm of Bocchus, who had proved himself a faithful ally; the eastern was united to the Roman province of Africa; the remnant of the ancient kingdom was allotted to two princes of Masinissa's family, through whose feuds the republic might hope to secure its own supremacy over both.

The perils of the great Jugurthine war were long celebrated by the Romans, and furnished a theme for one of their masterpieces in historical composition. We may regret that we have no Sallust to recount for us the still more terrible struggle of Rome with the Cimbri and Teutones, in which the services of Marius were even more transcendent. The republic had first interfered in the affairs of Massilia, a Greek commercial city on the Gallic coast of the Mediterranean, in the year 600, when she wrested some territories from the barbarians at the request of that unwarlike community, and bestowed them upon it. In 629 she undertook a campaign against the tribes of the lower Alps, and founded the Roman colony of Aquæ Sextiæ (Aix), at the same time making a further addition to the realm of her Grecian clients. Further complications with the Gaulish states speedily ensued. The Romans won a great battle over the Arverni and Allobroges in 623; and in a short time the south-western corner of Gaul, beyond the Alps, was become a Roman acquisition, and received the special designation of "the Province." Roads were now constructed across the Alps, and the dominions of the republic advanced to Narbo, beyond the Alps, and Tolosa, on the Garonne. While, however, the Transalpine province was thus growing and flourishing, it was well nigh overwhelmed by a terrible disaster. Tribes sprung from the remotest parts of Germany, known to Roman writers by the name of Cimbri and Teutones, poured with an armed immigration towards the northern portions of the Roman empire. On the eastern side of the Alps they were repulsed by treachery rather than by arms, by Papirius Carbo; but they swept round the skirts of the mountain barrier, and appeared again on the Rhone and the Isère, spreading fire and devastation in the Roman province, and threatening now to scale the western Alps and thence descend into Italy. Five consular armies were sent against them, and suffered five defeats, each more

terrible than the last. Rome was in consternation, but breathing-time was afforded by a diversion of the main body of the barbarians into Spain. Marius was hastily recalled from Africa, before the final completion of the Jugurthine war, and the peril of the crisis compelled the nobles to allow of his election again and again to the consulship, till he had succeeded in arresting and finally crushing this formidable onslaught. Marius gained the great victory of Aquæ Sextiæ in 650, in which he destroyed the Teutonic division of the enemy; he then hastened into Italy, whither another swarm had already penetrated, and overwhelmed the Cimbrian invaders with a second and not less complete success at Vercellæ, in the following year. By the time he found leisure to return to Rome, he had enjoyed in succession the unprecedented number of five consulships.

The disasters of foreign war had been aggravated by a servile insurrection in Italy itself, and the necessities of the state had compelled the nobles to relax their hold on the privileges they so jealously maintained. A tribune named Domitius had wrested the appointment of chief pontiff from the priests' college, a body highly aristocratic, and had given it to the people. This afforded them important protection against an unfair exercise of the political instrument which called itself the national religion. Another tribune, Servilius Glaucia, restored once more the *judicia* to the knights. Marius, though himself no party politician, and with motives merely personal, was put forward by the popular faction as their champion, and raised to a sixth consulship in 694. His election had been carried by intimidation and the threats of his licentious soldiery, whom he had enlisted for the first time, under the pressure of public calamity, from the Proletarii, the rabble of the Roman people. His measures were as violent as his manners were unpolished. He ventured so far to stretch the prerogative of his office as to confer the franchise on a thousand of his



soldiers levied in an Italian municipium; and when remonstrated with on the illegality of the act, coolly replied, "Amid the din of arms I could not hear the voice of the laws." Backed by the tribune Saturninus, he continued to reward his rude warriors with the boon of citizenship, and quartered many thousands of them on the lands belonging to the colonists in the province, which he had rescued, as he boasted, from the hands of the barbarians. The nobles resented these irregular proceedings, and tried to interrupt the assemblies convened to sanction them, by alleging the frivolous omens, such as rain or thunder, which were allowed to dissolve the comitia. "Be still," cried Saturninus, "or it shall presently hail." Tumult ensued in the city; the tribunes gained the upper hand, and drove Metellus, the chief of the nobles into banishment. Saturninus continued to maintain his influence over the people, and the Italians, it is said, offered him kingly authority. But the nobles were still the stronger party when they acted together with vigor, and under the leadership of Memmius, Marius at this time shrinking from the furious violence of his late adherent, drove the tribune out of the Forum into the Capitol. There Saturninus defended himself with arms; but the notion that he aimed at the tyranny was circulated among the people, and, whether it were true or false, it sufficed to turn their feelings against him. The water-pipes that supplied his fortress were cut, and he was forced to descend from it. Marius indeed guaranteed him his life; but the people were not to be controlled: they forced themselves into the hall in which he had taken refuge, and slew him, with the remnant of his followers.

This was perhaps the last moment at which the establishment of a limited and constitutional monarchy, the dream of Scipio and the regret of Cicero, might have been possible at Rome. Had the popular faction possessed among them a man of enlightened integrity as well as of ability, in whose

favor they could have agreed to exercise the power which had exalted Marius to six successive consulships, and had given authority in periods of public emergency to the tribunes of the last few years—had the nobles been directed by men of sense and patriotism, to yield to the just claims of their own commons and of the Italians—the usurpation, fifty years later, of Cæsar and Octavius might have been anticipated under happier auspices. The mass of the citizens was still sound at heart, and not incapable of the self-control required for the due exercise of high political rights. While it placed all private ambition under the check of a sovereign authority, it might still have kept a check on the sovereign himself by its own firmness and moderation. Public virtue, indeed, could not have been maintained without recognizing on a wider scale the proper claims of humanity, without renouncing the hateful privileges then generally accorded by the conqueror over his subjects, and the master over his slaves. But neither the philosophy nor the religion of the day set forth any principles of action adequate to commend such an apparent sacrifice; and it must be confessed that the elements of a secure and tranquil government, by a limited kingly power, were hardly to be found at this time throughout the heathen world. We shall presently see that neither the aristocracy nor the democracy of Rome was capable of maintaining the equilibrium of the commonwealth, and that the unmitigated despotism under which she ultimately fell was the only possible solution of the antagonism so long prevailing in the elements of her polity.

For some time past the Italians, as we have observed, had been putting forth claims to the Roman franchise. If we would analyse, in a small compass, the motives from which this pretension was generally urged, we must reject, in the first instance, the notion, so natural to our modern ideas of equity and inherent rights. "Rome for the Roman"—the enjoyment, that is, by the conquerors

of all the fruits of conquest—was the fundamental principle of Roman policy, the moral basis of which was unquestioned by any subjects or dependents of the republic. If, under any circumstances, she relaxed from this primary idea of her government, even the states she favored would only regard it as a concession extorted by some necessity of the moment, which it would have been preposterous to claim as a right. The road to Roman honors and magistracies might have charms for a few distinguished personages in an Italian burgh, but to the population generally the Roman franchise offered, for a long period, few attractions. The severe discipline to which the Roman commons were subjected, the constant military service demanded of them, the harsh prohibition which long prevailed of the exercise of trade and arts, the jealousy with which the avenues to office were guarded, must have rendered the exchange of country (for the Italian who acquired the Roman franchise lost his own) a very slender gratification to the multitude. There was, indeed, some immunity in matter of taxation to be set against these drawbacks; but the advantages to be derived from a share in the provincial administration were confined to a small class, and could hardly be accessible to a "new man" from Italy. The pressing motive which inspired the cry now raised for this questionable privilege was suggested by the agrarian struggles of the Gracchi. The public domain within the peninsula being now occupied chiefly, as we have seen, by noble landholders, was sublet by them to the natives. The Italians, deprived of the legal possession of their own soil by the conquest, became virtually re-possessioned of it by the mere abuse of proprietary right, which allowed a few great families to enjoy the usufruct of the national territory. But from the strict division of this territory among the citizens, as demanded by the leaders of the movement, it would result that the Italian sub-tenant would be ejected from his farm to make way for a plebeian

proprietor. The measures threatened by the Gracchi were really more formidable to the Italian than to the Roman aristocrat himself. They touched the pride and the privilege of the latter; but they menaced the means of existence of the former. It was open to the Italian either to join with the nobles in resisting the claim of the people, or to urge his own admission to the franchise, and so come in for a share with the people in a new distribution of property. This latter course was that which he adopted; and probably it was the most sagacious. The leaders of the plebeian agitation found themselves at the same time leaders of an Italian agitation also; the two movements proceeded together, and during the external troubles of the republic were suspended together. When security was restored from without, the cry of the Italians rose louder than ever; and it was plain that the next great struggle of the governing classes at Rome would be against the intrusion of their own subjects within the pale of Roman property and privilege. But the knights availed themselves of this foreign aid in their contest with the Senate; and thus the noble party, the Optimates as they were called, found themselves arrayed against the wildest and most formidable coalition they had yet encountered, in defence of their prerogative.

The strength of the Optimates, sapped and battered as it was, still lay in the remnant they had preserved of their old control of the state religion, by which they could at times make an effective appeal to popular interests and prejudices; but more in their own military organization, and the well-trained bands of clients and retainers, trained to the use of their suffrage as well as of their arms. They effected the disgrace of Marius and the recall of Metellus; and in 659 (B.C. 95) required the consuls to expel from the city all the Italians who had sought a domicile within its walls. The Italian faction was now headed by a tribune named Livius Drusus, one of the most popular of



the demagogues, of whom it was long remembered that, when his architect proposed to build him a house in which he might screen himself from the observation of his neighbors, "Build it so," he had answered, "that every citizen may witness every action I perform." The labors of this man in the cause of Italian emancipation seemed approaching to success when, in the midst of the struggle, he was suddenly struck down by the poniard of an unknown assassin. The nobles, and especially the consul Philip-  
pus, incurred the odium of the deed.

Measures of proscription against individuals were now threatened and carried alternately on both sides; but all semblance of legal procedure was soon cast away, and the Italians rushed to arms. Their forces were derived chiefly from the Marsians, the Picentines, the Vestines, the Samnites, the Lucanians and the Apulians; and thus the allies of the Roman state, as they were specially denominated, became its open and avowed enemies. In the course of the campaigns which followed, the Etruscans also joined the coalition; and the object of the war, which was at first the acquisition of the Roman franchise, became no other than the extermination of the Roman republic. It was proposed to organize and maintain a great Italian confederacy, of which Corfinium, under the name of Italica, should be recognized as the capital. On the Roman side the names of Cæsar, Crassus and Pompeius, destined to re-appear in the next age in fatal combination, obtained their earliest illustration; on the Italian, Judacilius, Pompædus and Motulus were the most distinguished leaders. The chief successes of the Romans were gained by Marius and his former lieutenant Sulla, who crushed and, as it was said, destroyed the Etruscans; nevertheless, the power of the republic would not have sufficed for the complete reduction of the insurgents; and the discretion which dictated a substantial concession, saved her from an exhaustion of blood and treasure which no barren victory could have compensated.

The *lex Julia* conferred the franchise on the Umbrians and Etruscans in 664; the *lex Plautia Papiria* in 666 extended it to all their Italian allies. Every Italian who chose to come to Rome and claim the boon within sixty days, was received into the bosom of the commonwealth. Ten tribes were added to the thirty-five already existing. The boon after all was not very generally accepted. The Roman religion required that every legal measure should be sanctioned by certain ceremonial observances, and these could only be transacted within the sacred precincts of the city. It was admitted on all sides that the suffrage could only be exercised at Rome. Accordingly the franchise offered little attraction to distant citizens, who were required to forego their local citizenship for a privilege which they had little opportunity of exercising. After all the blood which had been spilt in the struggle, the Italians found themselves content, for the most part, to retain their old position. The roll of the Roman citizens, which in the census of 640 numbered 394,336, in that of 668, the next of which we have the account, had not increased beyond 463,000, and sixteen years later was only 450,000. But the precedent now set for the first time on so large a scale bore ample fruit in the course of Roman history. The full franchise was conceded in special instances to various states in Spain, Gaul and Africa; while the Latin, which conferred, as we have seen, a certain eligibility to the Roman, was even more widely diffused. Pompeius Strabo extended it to the entire nation of the Transpadane Gauls. On the whole, the liberal concessions of this period evince in a marked manner the prudence of the Roman government at one of the most perilous moments of its career. The strong national prejudice against which they were carried was now fully overthrown, and the Roman writers uniformly agree in applauding the policy which dictated them, and ascribing to it the preservation of the state at the time, and the unabated vigor of its subsequent progress.

At a critical period of the late war Marius, in a splanetic mood, had quitted the camp and buried himself in a distant retreat, leaving Sulla as consul, in 666, to bring the contest to a close. The younger champion was now in the ascendant. Mithridates, King of Pontus, had defied the republic, had overrun the province of Asia, and caused the massacre of the Roman colonists and traders, amounting, as was loudly proclaimed, to not less than 80,000 souls. Sulla was appointed to carry on the war against this formidable enemy; but before he could set forth on his mission, Marius, alarmed for his own pre-eminence in public affairs, attempted to create a revolution in the city. Sulla recalled his troops, which had not yet quitted Italy, drove before him the Marian forces, and entered Rome in military array. Marius, flying for his own life, concealed himself in the marshes of Minturnæ. He was discovered and siezed; but the Cimbrian captive who was sent to despatch him in prison, fled in terror from before him, and he was allowed to escape once more, and make his way into Africa. Reclining among the ruins of Carthage, he meditated the recovery of his power. On Sulla's departure for the East, the Marian faction again made head under Cinna, but was put down again by the Senate and the consul Octavius. Cinna fled into lower Italy, and raised some levies of turbulent banditti. At the same time Marius re-appeared suddenly in Etruria, and both chiefs approached Rome simultaneously from opposite quarters. They entered the city, overcoming all resistance, and executed a sanguinary proscription of their enemies. Marius became consul for the seventh time in 668, and though now seventy years of age, prepared to lead an army into Asia, to supplant his rival Sulla. At this crisis, however, the old man died suddenly. Cinna succeeded to his power, and sent Valerius Flaccus to assume command of the Roman forces in the East. Scarcely had Flaccus crossed the Hellespont when he was assassinated in the camp by one of his own officers.

Sulla was enabled, by the ascendancy of his character, to join the legions of Flaccus to his own, and, thus re-enforced, put Mithridates to the rout, and led his combined forces against the enemies of the Senate at Rome. Cinna had now been murdered in his turn. Carbo and a son of Marius were the chiefs of the popular faction, but they could make no head against the military talents and the veteran legions of Sulla. In the battle of Sacriportus, and again before the Colline gate of Rome, the Italian militia who supported them went down before the conquerors of Mithridates. The senatorial party received their avenger with exultation, not unmixed perhaps with fear, and stood horror-stricken by his side while he did bloody and remorseless executions on the abettors of the late revolution. Sulla massacred several thousands of his disarmed prisoners in the Campus Martius, and organized a system of terror and proscription for the extirpation of the popular leaders.

It still remained to re-establish the supremacy of the nobles on a legal basis, and to this purpose the conqueror now applied the powers of the dictatorship which was now conferred upon him without limitation of time. He was even allowed to retain it, together with the consulship, in the year 674.

Rome had hitherto been peculiarly fortunate in her political revolutions. With whatever violence they might have been conducted, they had perhaps uniformly worked for her ultimate advantage. But this was because they were all the offspring of a natural progress in the life of the people. The re-actionary system of Sulla was, on the contrary, the greatest disaster in her annals. The aim of this despot was to undo all the popular measures of the last half-century; to check the progress of agrarian distributions; to suspend the plantation of colonies; to thwart, if he could not abrogate, the late enactments for the enfranchisement of the Italians; to destroy the popular authority of the tribunes; to repel the knights from the



judicia; to reserve the government of the provinces, with all the advantages thence accruing, for the first estate, the senatorial families only. The utter prostration of the opposite party enabled him to carry out all these plans for the moment, and the high character borne by some of his coadjutors, such as Catulus, contributed to render them palatable. The opening career of the young Cnæius Pompeius, the bravest of his lieutenants, whom he had seduced from the politics of his family and placed in the first rank of the senatorial partisans, augured brilliantly for the military triumphs of the faction to which he devoted him. Having effected the reforms he judged necessary for his views, filled the city and magistracy with his friends, and the provincial governments with his creatures; having attained, for his uniform successes, the surname of *Felix*, "the Prosperous" from an admiring generation, Sulla ventured to resign his dictatorship, and retired abruptly into private life. His good fortune still befriended him: none of his enemies, no friend of his slaughtered victims, molested him in his defenceless retreat; and he died in his bed, though harassed indeed by a loathsome infirmity, in the year 676, at the age of sixty.

The establishment of the Sullan oligarchy was a severe blow to the ambition of large classes at home, to the knights and other new men who were striving by their wealth, or their credit in the courts and the Forum, to thrust themselves into public office, for which they had no claim from birth or family illustration. It was an attempt to restrict to a group of two or three hundred ancient houses the honors and emoluments of the government of the world. The time, indeed, was passed when such a retrograde step could be permanent; but in the meanwhile the provincials were even greater sufferers than the citizens themselves. Great as had been the cruelty and oppressor of the governors, their subjects had hitherto had a remedy in the appeal to the tribunals at Rome, to the judges of peculation and extortion. This

appeal, however, would have been of little service but for the jealousy of parties in the city. As long as the knights contended with the senators for the *judicia*, and the Marians with the nobles for the magistracies, advocates might be found, and the machinery, however imperfect, of Roman justice might be employed for redress. Proconsuls charged with extortion towards their subjects might sometimes meet with punishment, as well as those whose crimes had been committed against the state itself. But when the *judicia* were restored wholly to the Senate, when the popular leaders were utterly silenced, the magistrates enjoyed, at least for a moment, complete impunity, and the provincials found, whatever their sufferings, that redress from a senatorial tribunal had become entirely hopeless.

It was fortunate for the subjects of Rome that the rampant supremacy of the Sullan oligarchy could not long be maintained against the numbers, the activity, and the skill of the party over which it had triumphed. The complaints of the oppressed were encouraged by the chiefs of the opposition, and all the force of forensic eloquence was employed to bring the oppressors to justice. The judges were more accessible to bribery than to eloquence; but by means of the one or the other many of the Optimates were thus smitten with judicial sentences, while the feelings of the public were roused against them, and a strong prejudice excited against the monopoly of power which they so fearfully abused. The case of Verres, the plunderer of Sicily, and of other provinces before, who was dragged at last before the bar of justice by the youthful orator Cicero, and forced to abandon his defence in despair, shook the authority of the nobles, while it vindicated in one conspicuous instance the rights of the subject provincials.

But the Marians were not satisfied with these legitimate modes of warfare. Immediately on the decease of Sulla, Lepidus, then actually one of the consuls, took up arms ostensibly in their interest, but was put

down by his colleague Catulus. A remnant of the party, turbulent and self-willed, and impatient of their loss of power, attached themselves to an Italian officer named Sertorius, who raised a revolt in Spain, and maintained a war there for several years against the best generals of the Senate. After defeating Metellus, he kept the brave Pompeius at bay till he was murdered, in 682, by Perperna, one of his own lieutenants, after which event the movement was quickly suppressed. This was another great service done to the state by one who was now acknowledged by the nobles as the foremost man in the republic. The title of *Magnus* ("the Great"), with which Sulla in his lofty generosity had already saluted him, was ratified by the consent of the dictator's faction, and recommended by them to the general approval of the citizens. The popular party were indeed not without hopes of gaining him to their own side. Flattered on all hands, he trimmed from side to side, and his estimation still rose higher as fortune gave him opportunities of distinction. He was still absent in Spain when Rome was terrified by the revolt of Spartacus and a handful of fugitive gladiators, soon swelled to an army by opening the *ergastula*, or slave-prisons. More than one legionary force was defeated by them: they were checked at last and crippled by Crassus; but by this time Pompeius had been recalled in haste to combat them, and his opportune arrival completed their discomfiture, while it earned him the whole glory of the victory (A.U. 683, B.C. 71). Such was the favor in which this lucky general was now held that he could lend a helping-hand to Crassus, and raise him together with himself to the consulship; an act of condescension of which his colleague ever retained an uneasy recollection. Courted by both parties, the two consuls combined in their policy, and exerted their authority on the side of the Marians. They restored the tribuneship, and transferred the *judicia* to the knights; and thus the chief measures of Sulla were abrogated by the leaders he

had left behind him, after only eleven years' continuance. The consuls were supported in their reforms by the talents of the rising orator Cicero, who formed in his own mind an ideal, too bright for realization, of the harmonious co-operation of all classes in the state, and strove to secure for the second order its fair share in the administration, notwithstanding the selfish resistance of an unconvincible oligarchy.

During the last few years a fresh war had been in progress with the indomitable King of Pontus. The Roman armies were led by Licinius Lucullus, an able commander, but not vigorous enough to cope with the vast resources and energy of Mithridates. While the republic was drained of men and treasure in this unprofitable warfare, it was still more painfully harassed by the pirates of Cilicia, who, since the decline of the Greek maritime powers, had covered the eastern Mediterranean with their vessels, and carried their predatory enterprises to the coasts of Italy, and even to the Pillars of Hercules. It was necessary to make an effort to suppress them, and powers such as had never before been conferred on a single commander at Rome were given to Pompeius by the Gabinian bill for the purpose. He was constituted captain-general of all the forces of the republic throughout all her coasts, and fifty miles inland. Such a command was practically unlimited; such a commander was virtually the autocrat of the empire. Nevertheless the result, complete and speedy as it was, seemed fully to justify it. The naval campaign, in which Pompeius collected all the maritime resources of the republic and her dependencies, drove the pirates from sea to sea, and at last crushed them in their own harbors, was an achievement as brilliant as it was unique. Its effect also was permanent: from henceforth the police of the seas was kept so well by Rome that piracy never made head again in the Mediterranean during the existence of her dominion. But while Pompeius was thus gaining the most honorable of his distinctions, the "piratic



laurel," one of his creatures in the city, named Manilius, took advantage of his increasing popularity to obtain for him the command against Mithridates (A.U. 688, B.C. 66), and over the eastern half of the empire. This enormous grant, far exceeding the powers ever before confided to a proconsul, was advocated by all the eloquence of Cicero; and Lucullus was directed to resign his command to the favorite of the people, and return as a private citizen to Rome. Lucullus was one of the chiefs of the oligarchy; and this insult to the individual was felt more acutely by his party than by himself, for by temper he was unusually indifferent to public distinctions, and betrayed at least no annoyance when on his return he withdrew himself from affairs, and gave his leisure to the enjoyment of luxury, and to private works of munificence. But the jealousy with which the Senate had begun to regard their pretended champion Pompeius was much exasperated: he repaid their suspicions with haughty scorn, while the chiefs of the opposite party fanned the flame of discord between them. Cicero rose into distinction with the general favor bestowed upon his patron. In the year 688 he was chosen prætor, having already served the lower magistracies; and now in the full career of honors, he might well hope, new man though he was, without fortune or connections of his own, for the crowning glory of the consulship.

The nobles loudly asserted that their champion Lucullus had already broken the power of Mithridates, when Pompeius was thrust forward to reap the honor of his successes. Certain it is that the King of Pontus sued for peace on the first arrival of his antagonist; but it was not the object of Pompeius to gain a bloodless triumph, and he refused to treat with the enemy till he had reduced him to unconditional submission. Mithridates withdrew from Asia Minor, but he retired through the difficult country of Iberia and Albania to his dominions in the Tauric Chersonese, and thither Pompeius tried in vain to follow him. Some political

complications occurring seasonably in Syria, the baffled Roman made them an excuse for desisting from the pursuit; and turning southward, he arranged the affairs of the province, and decided between the claims of rival pretenders in Palestine. Pompeius was the first Roman that entered Jerusalem, where he penetrated into the Temple, and even into the Holy of Holies. Meanwhile Mithridates fell by private treachery in 691, being slain by one of his own sons, Pharnaces, who obtained in recompense a confirmation by Pompeius of his claim to the throne of the Bosphorus. On the eastern frontier of Asia Minor, Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, Galatia, and Comana were formed into dependent sovereignties; their territories were declared free states in the centre of the Roman provinces; but the greater portion of the peninsula, including Syria, was definitely annexed to the empire. Palestine became a vassal monarchy under the Herods. Beyond the Euphrates, Armenia still retained a nominal independence; but the efforts of Rome were constantly directed to preventing her from falling under the sway or influence of the Parthians. Pompeius the Great, the conqueror and organizer of the East, might regard himself in either capacity as the rival of the great Alexander.

During the absence of Pompeius in Asia the extreme section of the senatorial party, well pleased at the removal of a champion they suspected and feared to so distant an exile, placed themselves under the guidance of their natural chiefs, men of ancient lineage and ancestral honors, such as Catulus, Lucullus, Servilius, Lentulus, and Marcellus. But none of these were men of commanding ability, nor even of commanding energy. A large number of the principal nobility were engrossed by luxury and indolence; and the eloquence of Hortensius, their best speaker, was speedily eclipsed by that of the upstart Cicero. In this dearth of talent among them they suffered a prominent place to be taken by Cato, the great-grandson of the censor, a man who resembled his illustrious ancestor

in the antique rigor of his manners, a pedantic assertor of the old senatorial privileges, and inflexible in the maintenance of his hereditary politics. This dogged resolution and dense obstructiveness were as valuable qualities perhaps as a chief of the Optimates could at that time possess; for Cato knew how to keep his position by sheer obstinacy long after a reasonable statesman would have confessed that it was untenable, and he protracted the contest with the ever-increasing power of the popular faction through many a vicissitude of triumph and defeat, as accident favored or depressed him. But fortune was on the whole against him; and the chance which arrayed the unequalled genius of C. Julius Cæsar in the first rank of his opponents, was alone sufficient to overwhelm the resistance of abler men than Cato.

Cæsar was descended from a noble family, sprung, as is pretended, even from a Trojan origin. His ancestors had enjoyed the highest honors of the state, and were naturally attached to the party of the Senate which some of them had defended in arms during the Social and Civil wars. But he was at the same time nephew to Marius, and he had married a daughter of Cinna. These connections outweighed in his mind the prejudices of his birth, and inspired him with the ambition of ruling Rome at the head of the democracy. In early youth he had been marked out by Sulla as the heir of his rival's principles, and a possible successor to his own ascendancy. Cæsar had escaped the proscription of his party, had served abroad while it was dangerous to appear in Rome; and when on his return he found his friends once more drawing breath and recovering their spirits, he had thrown himself manfully into their cause, and insisted on restoring the trophies of Marius, displaced by his successful enemy. During the absence of Pompeius he pushed himself with undaunted energy into the first rank of the popular faction; he dismayed the nobles by calling to account the instruments of Sulla's vengeance, and by inciting the people to inflict a public slight

upon Catulus. The Optimates were already tottering under the repeated blows he thus dealt them, when an event occurred which gave them an opportunity of strengthening their position. Suddenly the commonwealth was threatened with a ruinous disaster. Fortune gave the nobles the means of averting it by an act of extraordinary vigor, and recovering thereby the prestige which a series of weaknesses and defects had well nigh lost them. The conspiracy of Catilina and the courage of Cicero gave the Senate another lease of power for fourteen years.

Amid the contests of ostensible parties in the state there lurked a greater and nearer danger in the numbers of discontented bankrupt youths thrown loose upon society by the accidents of civil commotion. These pests of the commonwealth fell at this moment under the lead of a profligate monster, L. Sergius Catilina, who, having failed of his election to the consulship, intrigued against all constituted authority, and formed a conspiracy to seize the government by force. The existence of such a plot had been vaguely apprehended from the moment of Catilina's defeat, and it was with the presentiment that a man of vigor would be required at the helm that the nobles, notwithstanding his ignoble birth, allowed the election of Cicero, whose abilities they knew, and on whose vanity they could play, to the consulship for 691. Cicero soon made himself master of the plot, surprised certain envoys from the Allobroges with whom the traitors had been tampering; but not daring to seize the chief conspirator himself till he could make his guilt patent to the citizens, denounced him in the Senate-house, and drove him in guilty agitation from the city. Catilina threw himself prematurely on the feeble levies he had prepared in Etruria; while the consul arrested his chief adherents, some of them men of rank and distinction, strangely mixed up in so desperate an enterprise, brought them before the Senate, disclosed their guilt by incontrovertible proofs, and demanded their punishment. The temper



of the people, it seems, could not be trusted; and notwithstanding the enormity of the guilt thus fastened upon them, it was dangerous to allow them the appeal which the law permitted. The nobles were well pleased at the opportunity of showing their confidence in their own power, and proving that they were not afraid to act with the vigor of the ancient oligarchy, even in the absence of Pompeius and his legions. They had armed the consul with the "ultimate decree," requiring him to provide, by whatever arbitrary measures, for the safety of the state; and this stretch of their prerogative they did not scruple to enforce with the instant execution of the criminals. Cicero was hurried along by his enthusiasm, as the saviour, for such he was loudly proclaimed, of his country. He lent himself to the rash policy of his supporters and patrons; dazzled by the splendor of his extraordinary position, intoxicated by the incense of aristocratic flattery, and the assurance that he had secured a permanent rank among the haughty oligarchy of Rome, he consented to an act of dubious justice and expediency, of which he had cause bitterly to repent not many years after. The presumed associates of Catilina, whose actual guilt is affirmed only on *ex parte* evidence, were strangled in prison; Catilina himself, brought to bay in the Apennines, was defeated in open battle by the forces of the government, and slain, fighting bravely in the field.

Cæsar, as the chief of the popular party, the representative of its constitutional traditions, had protested against the infliction of capital punishment on the conspirators. It required great courage to take this part; for the nobles had tried to incriminate Cæsar himself in the plot, and he had with difficulty extricated himself from their meshes. Such, moreover, was the influence they had now acquired over the passions of the knights and men of property in the city, that he was threatened by their poniards on the steps of the Senate-house. But the reckless populace whom he swayed with a handful of trusty adherents, by unbounded profusion of money,

reigned in the comitia. He was chosen prætor and chief pontiff; and in the year 693 went forth, with money borrowed from Crassus, to gain his first laurels as a governor in the further Spain. Pompeius, returning this year, found himself the object of jealousy, not unmingled with scorn, to his own party, elated as they were by their recent triumph, and believing themselves strong enough to cast off his odious patronage. On reaching the shores of Italy, such was his confidence in himself, and in the position he supposed himself to hold, that he magnanimously disbanded his army, and took his seat as a private citizen in the Senate. But this moderation served only to confirm the shortsighted vanity of the Optimates. They amused themselves by treating him with the most marked coldness, kept him waiting a year for the triumph he had so well earned, and put off from day to day the ordinary compliment of ratifying his acts or political arrangements in the East. Upon this point, indeed, he could get no satisfaction till he had formed a coalition with Cæsar and Crassus, by which they entered into a mutual pledge to support each other's pretensions to the highest offices and commands, and to share, in fact, between themselves the actual government of the state. Cæsar was suing for the consulship; Crassus was desirous of some lucrative command; Pompeius, who had attained the summit of his ambition, wanted only the confirmation of his acts, the reward of his legionaries, and the solemn recognition of his pre-eminent deserts. He felt as yet no jealousy of his associates; the one he regarded as a fashionable debauchee and spendthrift, the other as a selfish and indolent miser. He hoped to use them both as the props of his own supremacy, and to cast them away whenever he had recovered that authority with the nobles which he considered due to his merits, whatever attitude he might assume towards them. Such was the origin of the compact of three private citizens for the control of the republic, known by the name of the First Triumvirate, the

fruits of which were soon seen in the success of Cæsar's application for the consulship, and in the bold popular measures he was enabled to carry. On the expiration of his term, he quitted Rome for the province of Gaul, where he found himself suddenly engaged in wars with the Helvetians and the Suevi. The Optimates recovered in his absence the curule chairs, but their consuls fell under the patronage of Pompeius, who now reigned paramount in the city. Jealous of the renown Cicero had acquired in the affair of Catilina, Pompeius allowed the infamous demagogue Clodius to accuse him, as tribune, before the people, and obtain a sentence of banishment against him for the execution of the conspirators without due form of law. Cicero retired into Macedonia, and thence into Greece, and lowered his character, spotless as it was, by his unmanly lamentations. Pompeius managed also to degrade the rigid Cato by sending him on a harsh and unjust mission to dethrone the King of Cyprus, and annex his dominions to the empire.

Cæsar had entered his province in 696, and during the following years was intently occupied in subjugating the tribes of Gaul from the Rhone to the Rhine and the Atlantic. According to the usual policy of Rome and of other conquering races, he effected his purpose by directing the passions of the native tribes against one another, rather than by the strength of Roman arms and the effusion of Roman blood. The *Ædui* and *Arverni* in the centre of Gaul, the *Remi* in the north-east, were disposed, with selfish views of their own, to assist in the ruin of their common country, and the incursions of the Germans from beyond the Rhine furnished the invader with an excuse for proclaiming himself the protector of the Gauls. In 697 Cæsar broke the confederation of the Belgic tribes in the North. The next year he worsted at sea the naval power of the *Veneti* in Brittany, while his lieutenants subdued *Aquitarina*. In 699, he threw a bridge across the Rhine, and penetrated for an instant into the German forests. In the

autumn of the same year he crossed with a powerful armament into Britain, and made a second attack upon the islanders in the succeeding summer. Landing on each occasion on the coast of Kent, probably on the beach at Walmer, he made in his second campaign a rapid march into the interior, forced the passage of the Thames some miles above London, and defeated the King of the *Trinobantes*, the most powerful of the southern chieftains, before his stockade in Hertfordshire. But his success was not such as to encourage him to leave a garrison in the country, or effect a permanent lodgment there. He was satisfied with the promise of a slender tribute; and this, in all probability, was never paid after the return of the legions. The expedition, indeed, had been undertaken rather for the amusement of the citizens, who listened with interest to their hero's despatches, and for the gratification of the soldiers' cupidity, than with any view of annexing a new province to the empire.

During the progress of his campaigns, whatever their immediate purpose, the vigilance of Cæsar was never entirely diverted from the march of events in the city. Year after year, when the season for military operations was closed, he repaired to the baths of Eucca on the frontier of his province—for the laws did not suffer an *imperator* to enter Italy while retaining his command—and there concerted with his friends, who flocked to him in numbers from Rome, the measures most conducive to the interests of his party and of himself. He had carried his warfare against the nobles to the furthest limits of the law, and had provoked and alarmed them beyond the possibility of forgiveness. In his distant command he was beyond the reach of their enmity: they were well pleased at his absence, and did not grudge him the term of five years which he had in the first instance required. But he knew whenever he returned as a private citizen to Rome he should fall easily into their power, and he had no trust in the support of either of his confederates. From the



moment that the compact had been made between them he had felt the necessity of binding Pompeius to himself by a stronger tie than political interest; for Pompeius could not persuade himself that a party chief as yet so little distinguished could do him more than a momentary service. With a keen discernment of character, Cæsar perceived how this reserved and selfish magnate could be worked on through his sentimental affections. Though advanced in years, and older indeed than Cæsar himself, Pompeius had consented to give his hand to his rival's youthful daughter, and had devoted himself to her as the most uxorious of husbands. He had thus been easily blinded to the schemes of the Gaulish proconsul which kept the Senate in alarm. His attention, indeed, was diverted from them by the turbulence of Clodius and some popular tribunes, whose intrigues for harassing and dividing the nobles were so propitious to Cæsar's views that we must suspect him of covertly instigating them. Pompeius, on his part, was well pleased to see the Senate humbled. When, however, he was himself insulted, and his life threatened, he thought that their degradation had gone far enough, and joined with Crassus to secure the election of vigorous consuls, and tribunes devoted to himself. He countenanced the turbulent agitation with which Milo, a creature of the Senate, rebutted the violence of Clodius, and finally obtained the recall of Cicero from banishment. The people, with their usual fickleness, turned their backs upon Clodius, and received the patriot orator with acclamations. Cæsar congratulated him with a warmth congenial to his generous character, and heaped favors on his brother Quintus, then serving in his army. Pompeius, indeed, looked coldly upon him. The nobles, who had got, as they thought, all the use that was to be made of him, were indifferent to his further career, and he remained for some years in a subordinate position, seeking to keep himself before the public by puerile appeals to his former services, and by hollow

flattery of the men really in power. But Pompeius required his own services to be amply requited. On the occurrence of a scarcity in the city, the Senate hastened to confer upon him extraordinary powers for its relief, and Cicero was required to recommend this commission to the people.

Crassus was now impatient of the inferiority of his position. He was not a great military chief like Pompeius; he had conferred no commands, and bestowed no crowns; he was not a popular leader like Cæsar, with a crowd of hungry dependents urging him on for their own advancement; he was not even to be compared as an orator to Cicero, though he had made some useful connections as a pleader and patron; but he was the richest of the Romans, and he represented one marked feature in the character of his countrymen in his sordid pursuit of wealth and love of accumulation. His career had been that of a banker and money-lender in the city; his acquisitions, however great, had been slow and gradual; now, advanced as he was in years, his ambition began to reach further: he coveted the fame of a commander and a conqueror, and lusted for the plunder of a province or a foreign kingdom. After fulfilling his term of office as consul, he demanded of the Senate the government of Syria, and avowed as he set forth from Rome his purpose of making war upon Parthia. The nobles, who were unable to refuse him the proconsulate, professed a pious horror at these unprovoked hostilities, and engaged the tribune Ateius to denounce it as a sacrilege—to meet him as he issued through the gates of the city, and devote him, with awful solemnities, to the vengeance of the offended gods. The minds of the soldiers were painfully affected by this formidable ceremony, and it was with difficulty that Crassus could overcome their terrors, and engage them by redoubled promises to follow him on his ill-omened expedition.

Then did the Senate watch and strain every nerve to baffle the movements of the triumvirs. But the coalition was too power-

ful for it. While Crassus was gratified with his eastern command, Pompeius claimed and obtained the provinces of Spain and Africa, which he governed by lieutenants, remaining himself in the immediate neighborhood of Rome; and Cæsar's command in Gaul was prolonged for a second period of five years. The power of the triumvirate was thus apparently confirmed; but the Senate turned with a gleam of satisfaction to the enterprise of Crassus, the disastrous issue of which was already augured from surer tokens than those of the diviners. Crassus was quite incompetent for the task he had undertaken. Having defied the Parthians upon frivolous pretences, he led his army across the Euphrates, and directed his march across the desert which divides that river from the Tigris. The Parthians retreated before him till they had enticed him to a considerable distance, and finally attacked him with overwhelming force when his men were exhausted with fatigue and heat. A Roman army of three legions was routed and almost destroyed in the terrible battle of Charrhæ and the disastrous flight which followed. The proconsul was induced to sue for terms of capitulation, and then treacherously slain. A remnant of his army was saved and conducted back to Antioch by Cassius Longinus, the ablest of his lieutenants.

The triple league thus suddenly dissolved had already been shaken by the death of Julia, the daughter of Cæsar, espoused to Pompeius. The nobles saw their opportunity, and exerted themselves diligently to improve it. They renewed their overtures to Pompeius, who was becoming jealous of the advance of Cæsar in power and general estimation, and allowed him the unprecedented distinction of holding the consulship for six months without a colleague—a kind of dictatorship without the name, for which the disturbances in the city seemed to afford an excuse. The Gauls, once apparently conquered, had risen again in a wide-spread revolt, and the position of the conqueror had become imminently precarious. Pompeius,

who had suffered from a dangerous sickness, was elated by the extravagant acclamations of the citizens on his recovery, and the Senate easily persuaded him that he could stand alone at the head of the government, and, even if Cæsar escaped the perils in which he was involved, securely spurn his alliance and defy his enmity. But all these calculations were doomed to disappointment. The abilities and fortune of Cæsar triumphed over the Gauls, and he was enabled to complete his conquests, and recruit his exhausted legions from the flower of the Gaulish youth. Before the expiration of his second term of office, he had finished the task he had undertaken to accomplish, and found himself in a position to demand the consulship a second time. The Senate, alarmed at the prospect of his return, required him to relinquish his command before venturing to sue for a civil office; but he was well aware that, once divested of military support, he would lie at the mercy of unscrupulous enemies; and he retorted with the demand, which he knew would not be complied with, that Pompeius, who at the moment held the command of the armies in Spain, while continuing to reside within sight of the city, should at the same time surrender his extraordinary appointments. Both parties could appeal to the letter of the law; but on both sides the appeal to the letter of the law was a mere pretence. Party animosities and private ambitions had come to such a head that Cæsar could not be safe without the guarantee of a high official position; the Senate could not be safe without degrading and trampling him under its feet. A contest had become inevitable, and it was little matter from which side the first blow actually came.

Still, with a people devoted like the Romans to the observance of constitutional fictions, it was an object of some importance to preserve a mere show of legality; and this advantage, such as it was, was secured to Cæsar when two of the tribunes, who had protested against the fierce demands of the Senate, fled from Rome by night, affecting



alarm for their own safety, and sought refuge in the camp of the proconsul, which he had advanced to the frontier of his province. The news of their flight outstripped their own arrival; and Cæsar, with his usual lightning-speed, crossed the Rubicon with a few battalions, and met them at Ariminum, proclaiming that he entered Italy in arms to vindicate the majesty of the law. Thus outraged in their persons, Pompeius and the Senate were dismayed at the boldness of this movement. Slender as were the forces of the invader, they were unprepared to meet them in arms. Their legions were scattered in Spain and in the East, and the raw levies of the city were not fit to oppose to the determined veterans of the Gallic wars. Pompeius required the knights and senators to quit the city and retire with him to the south of Italy. The negotiations with which he sought to amuse the assailant had no effect in retarding him. One fortress after another fell with their garrisons into Cæsar's hands; the population of Italy rose to welcome him; and he well-nigh succeeded in surprising Pompeius in Brundisium, and intercepting his escape into Illyricum. But the Senate had possession of the sea, and for the present their enemy was unable to follow them. Cæsar then retraced his steps to Rome, where the people received him with acclamations. He summoned a Senate of the remnant of the order, seized the treasures of the state, which Pompeius in his haste had neglected to secure, gave an assurance of his favor to all the nobles who would abandon the falling fortunes of the fugitives, and defied the abdicated government as traitors and rebels.

In sixty days Cæsar had driven his enemies out of Italy. He had cut their position in two. The best half of the Pompeian armies were quartered in Spain; but Pompeius had more reliance on the resources of Greece and Asia, which he had so long wielded, and left his lieutenants in the west to defend themselves as best they might, while he raised the forces of his own division of the empire, Roman and barbarian; and trained them to-

gether for the future invasion of Italy. Cæsar, as we have seen, had no ships for transporting himself across the Adriatic. He was aware also that it would take a long time to equip the Pompeian armaments in the East. But meanwhile the base of his own resources in Gaul was threatened by the forces of the enemy in Spain, and his first operations were directed to crushing this stronghold of the senatorial party and securing his own rear. He led his legions along the coast of Italy and Gaul; besieged and reduced Massilia, which ventured to rise against him in the interest of the oligarchy; crossed the Pyrenees, and attacked the Pompeian lieutenants in the north of Spain. Having mastered his opponents in a brilliant campaign, he returned swiftly to Rome, quelling a mutiny among his own soldiers at Placentia on the way, assumed the dictatorship with a faint show of legal forms, and proclaimed himself once more the champion of the state against every foreign and domestic enemy. Collecting his forces, to the amount of about 30,000 men, at Brundisium, he effected the passage of the straits by skill and good fortune, in the face of a superior fleet, and conducted operations against Pompeius, who had assembled a large but ill-disciplined armament on the coast of Epirus. It was the policy of Pompeius to avoid an engagement. He suffered himself to be blocked up in his camp on the land side, having still the command of the sea, and Cæsar found himself baffled and reduced to straits for the support of his army. When at last he made a desperate attack on the Pompeian lines he was repulsed with some loss, and was obliged to break up from his position. Military critics have affirmed that the younger captain had been out-generalled by the elder. But this is hardly a fair account of the matter. Cæsar's policy required him to fight against odds both of numbers and position. It was no disparagement to his military talents that he failed under such conditions. But his peril was now extreme. Retreat across the sea, could he have hazarded a retrograde move-

ment, was intercepted. He boldly dashed into Thessaly, in the heart of the enemy's country, in the hope of drawing Pompeius from his impregnable stronghold in pursuit of him. The Pompeians, elated with their success, followed him with exultation, and insisted on their leader accepting the battle so urgently demanded. Pompeius hesitated, and only yielded to the importunity of the civilians against his own judgment. His forces doubled those of his antagonist, but they were not equally serviceable.

The armies met at last on the plain beneath the hill-fortress of Pharsalia; and on the 9th of August, 706, the great battle was fought which utterly broke the power of the Senate, scattered their leaders, and drove Pompeius across the seas as a suppliant to the coast of Egypt. Cæsar was intent on following the steps of his great adversary, more formidable to him than all the rest of his party; but from the want of shipping he was obliged to lead his troops by a long circuitous march through Asia Minor and Syria. Meanwhile the young Ptolemæus, who owed his throne to the man who now sought his protection, was persuaded by his ministers to sacrifice him. Pompeius was inveigled out of ship, stabbed in the boat which conveyed him to the shore, his head cut off and sent to Cæsar.

After Pharsalia the nobles for the most part made their submission, and the clemency with which Cæsar treated them, so different from the measure dealt to their conquered enemies by a Marius or a Sulla, gained him the fervent applause both of his contemporaries and of posterity. A remnant indeed of the defeated faction, under the indomitable Cato, effected their escape to Africa, and raised the standard of the oligarchy at Utica; but the greater number of the senators and nobles returned to Rome, and acquiesced without a murmur in the acclamations with which the people conferred the dictatorship on their favorite for the second time. Cæsar meanwhile was received with hollow demonstrations of respect by Ptolemæus in Egypt,

and he remained there for some months, fascinated, it was said, by the charms of the king's sister Cleopatra. He supported her claims against her brother, seeking perhaps an opportunity for demanding money, of which he was much in need; but the Alexandrians, on discovering how slender his forces were, rose in arms against him, and he was reduced to the direst peril, till relieved by the advance of re-inforcements from Syria. Had Cato's Senate acted with energy at this crisis, it would seem that it might easily have crushed him. Possibly it was hampered by want of means for moving an army by sea. It is difficult to understand the next movement of Cæsar, who it seems did not hesitate to leave such an enemy to gather force in his rear, while he led his own troops through Syria into Pontus, and occupied himself with waging war against its king, Pharnaces, the son of Mithridates. He could describe, indeed, his success, which was rapid and complete, by the three words *veni, vidi, vici*; and here, too, we must suppose that the motive of his delay was the need he felt for money to satisfy his rapacious mercenaries. From Asia he repaired to Rome, and assumed the dictatorship for the third time; but before the end of the year (A. U. 707) he sallied forth again to confront the remnant of the senatorial party, and landed with a large force near Adrumetum. The battle of Thapsus in 708, in which Cato's troops, with their ally the Numidian Juba, were routed, completed the overthrow of the senatorial faction. The chiefs of the party were slain in the battle or the pursuit. Cæsar's soldiers wreaked their fury upon a large number of the captives. Cato, finding it impossible to hold out in Utica, recommended his followers to make their peace with the conqueror, and consummated his career of futile self-devotion by throwing himself on his own sword.

Cæsar returned once more to Rome to celebrate a series of triumphs, to reform the laws, and lay the foundations of an empire. The battle of Thapsus is the termination of



the republic. Though the old offices of the free state were to be preserved; though the consuls, prætors, and tribune were to be selected as of yore by the assemblies of the people, and to issue from Rome for the government of the provinces, the forms of the commonwealth were really to be subordinated to the will of a single autocrat; and the title of *Imperator*, "a commander," which Cæsar now assumed, not to denote an occasional and temporary office, but a permanent distinction, symbolized the rule of the sword, which was henceforth to become actually predominant. Nevertheless, Cæsar is not to be regarded as a vulgar despot, who seizes his opportunity to suppress the liberties of his countrymen, and convert a free state into a tyranny. Cæsar considered himself the sovereign, not of the ancient Roman people, but of the world, their subjects. His aim, from an early period, had been to carry out to the fullest practicable extent the principle, long admitted but imperfectly exercised, of provincial emancipation. The popular party which he led had incorporated itself with the Italians; his policy was to incorporate it with the nations beyond Italy. He had enlisted the subject Gauls in the legions, and placed them side by side with the Roman soldier. He had conferred the citizenship on the Cisalpine population. He now threw open the doors of the Senate to the chiefs of Gaul, Spain, and Africa, and filled the mansions of Rome with men of strange garb and uncouth idioms, that all the nations which owned the sway of the republic might learn to know each other, and mingle at last in one homogeneous community. He did not scruple to proclaim his passion for the Græco-Egyptian princess Cleopatra, to invite her to Rome, lodge her in a Roman palace, and allow one of his creatures to propose a dispensation to enable him to marry her. He suffered himself to be adored with the title of a divinity, and his statue to be consecrated in the temple of Mars. Such acts as these, in daring violation of the national prejudices, announced a new era in public ideas.

If Cæsar should succeed in effecting them, he would lay the basis of a new national edifice; he would be the last and the greatest founder of Rome. But though he was thus unscrupulous in overthrowing the ancient fabric of the constitution, he was considerate and clement in the treatment of parties; for, the moment that they laid down their arms, he regarded his adversaries in the same light as the rest of the citizens. He suffered no punishment, no confiscations. He took their chiefs into his favor, and admitted them to his counsels. When he celebrated his four-fold triumphs over the Gauls, the Egyptians, over Juba and Pharnaces, he allowed the greatest of his victories to be passed over in silence. He pretended to be still the father of his country, and accepted with a pride which he himself believed to be legitimate, this title, the proudest which any Roman had ever won from his countrymen. Rome had indeed yet a series of revolutions to undergo before this idea of a universal empire could be carried out, and when finally established, the empire was a doubtful blessing at best; but it must be remembered that the continuance of the free state, with the incitement it gave to lawless and turbulent ambition, had become manifestly impossible; and further, that the only possible solution of the political problem, the establishment of a monarchy, had been long the half-conscious object of the great bulk of the Roman people. The consummation, it must never be forgotten, had not been averted, but only delayed, for forty years, by the bloody occupation of the Sullan oligarchy. The fall of the terrible dynasty of the Epigoni, so to term the political heirs of the dictator, was regretted neither by the citizens nor the subjects of Rome.

As chief of the empire, Cæsar effected many great works; the building of temples, the construction of posts, the establishment of colonies, the restoration of the great cities, once the redoubted rivals of Rome, henceforth her sisters, Capua, Corinth and Carthage. He projected a complete survey

of Italy and the provinces, as the basis of the imperial finance; the codification of the laws and usages of the republic, which no doubt he would have applied to every subject nation; and he executed a correction of the calendar, not the least practically useful of these reforms, which has lasted, with trifling rectifications, even to our own days, and become the common heritage of Europe.

The power of the senatorial faction had been completely broken at Pharsalia and Thapsus, but Cnæus and Sextus, the sons of Pompeius, with a few desperate adherents of his family, rather than of any public cause, raised their standard again in Spain, where they found recruits among the Roman residents and the still turbulent natives. Cæsar hastened from Italy to crush this revolt, which he could easily have effected had his own soldiers been disposed to fight as constantly as hitherto in his behalf; but even the tenth, his favorite legion, had been debauched by victory and plunder, and could hardly be brought to engage till he threw himself into the midst of the enemy's ranks, and called upon it to deliver him. The battle of Munda ended in the final overthrow of the opponents of the empire. Cnæus was slain in the pursuit; Sextus escaped to lurk for some years longer among pirates and outlaws. Returning to Rome, Cæsar assumed the consulship with his friend M. Antonius for the year ensuing; but now that all resistance had been quelled, and no further heights of glory and ambition remained to be scaled, a change seems to have come over the calm serenity of his temper, and that perfect self-command and clear perception of his aims which had so long distinguished him. The possession of unlimited power still left a void to be filled up. He became proud towards his nobles, harsh and tyrannical towards his weaker subjects, impatient in his temper, restless in his schemes. While the whole Roman world lay before him to be moulded into an empire of uniform laws and usages, he was bent on prosecuting a vast scheme of foreign

warfare, chastising the Parthians, recovering the standards won from Crassus, exploring the recesses of the Mithridatic realms on the further coast of the Euxine, and uniting to the empire the yet untrodden regions between the Don and the Danube. These dreams of the imagination were destined to be rudely broken. While in the first months of the year 710 he was intent on his military preparations, and was sending forward the legions designed for his expedition, Rome was filled with rumors that the dictator, not satisfied with the glorious titles he had acquired, desired to be saluted with the odious style of king. This was the device so often repeated whenever the nobles of Rome wanted to raise the people against their champions, which had never perhaps failed of success; and it seems more probable that the charge was invented by Cæsar's enemies than that he should have actually imperilled his life and fortunes for an empty sound. Yet, none perhaps can tell what influence a sound may exercise on the imagination of a man like Cæsar, who had attained the substance of all that he desired, and still craved for something more to attain. All Roman antiquity agreed in imputing this insane caprice to the wisest of the Roman heroes, and refused to believe the denial of it which it allowed him to have openly expressed. Antonius, we are told, thrice offered him the diadem, and on hearing the murmurs of the citizens, he thrice rejected it. But the jealousy of M. Brutus was aroused. This man, son-in-law of Cato, had submitted after Pharsalia to the conqueror, who treated him with peculiar indulgence, and gave him the Cisalpine province to govern. He had acquiesced, however reluctantly, in the usurpation, and had even consented to serve it; but his character for patriotism stood high with the people; he was reputed a descendant, on the father's side, from Brutus the liberator, on the mother's from Servilius Ahala the tyrannicide; his own imagination had fed on the lessons of a self-devoting philosophy; and when the conspirators against Cæsar's



life looked for a name under which to range themselves, they found none so suitable as his for their purpose. Brutus was won over to join them, with Cassius and others, who for the most part were galled by personal slights, or inflamed by petty jealousies. Brutus, indeed, such was the judgment of the Romans themselves, was the only one amongst them whose aims were really pure and patriotic. Though Cæsar had renounced many of his highest qualities, his courage had not deserted him. No tyrant was ever so fearless, so confident in his fortune, and in the greatness of his own destiny. His legions had quitted Italy; he had refused the bodyguard offered him by the Senate. He traversed the streets of Rome in the midst of all the factions he had outraged with no other attendants than his troop of private friends and clients. His person was assailable at any moment; and the conspirators selected the Senate-house itself as the spot in which to attack him. On the Ides of March, the 15th of the month, they fell upon him with poniards borne beneath their robes; and he fell, pierced with thirty wounds, at the foot of the statue of Pompeius.

Cicero, who had accepted the supremacy of the popular leader even before the battle of Pharsalia, and had submitted, with the sorrow of a philosopher and patriot, to a revolution which he had himself long felt to be inevitable, was no party to this act of personal animosity. But when the deed was done, and the assassins proclaimed themselves the deliverers of their country, he too indulged in the dream of reviving liberty, and cited many an ancient precedent to justify the crime. Cicero now united himself to the band of self-styled patriots in the Capitol, whither they had repaired for fear of the populace, and assisted them with his advice. It had been well, indeed, for the cause of the oligarchy, if the men who now assumed to be its champions had listened to his counsels. But they suffered themselves to be cajoled by Antonius; and that skill-

ful partizan, having obtained permission to celebrate Cæsar's obsequies in public, contrived to play on the feelings of the multitude, and raise a storm of grief and indignation which completely paralyzed them. The people insisted on burning the body in the Forum, and erected a chapel on the spot, which was afterwards converted into a temple. The murdered Cæsar was advanced to the honors of divinity, which had not been offered to Marius, or Scipio, or Camillus, before him. His soul, it was declared, was borne to heaven in the comet which appeared conspicuously about the period of his decease. Not the citizens only but foreigners of every nation residing in Rome, and particularly the Jews, united in these demonstrations of sorrow, and showed that the death of Cæsar was regarded as a general calamity to mankind.

Antonius and the liberators had combined together in proclaiming a general amnesty; but such was now the state of irritation in the city, that the actors in the recent tragedy for the most part withdrew from public sight. During the dictator's lifetime the friends of freedom had comforted themselves, in the eclipse under which it had fallen, with the remembrance of his advanced years, of the perils into which he was continually thrusting himself, and of his having no direct descendant. He had left, however, a nephew, the son of an Octavius, whom he had adopted as his son, and who now bore the name of C. Julius Cæsar Octavianus. This youth was at this time only nineteen, and at the moment of his uncle's death he was absent with a military tutor in Illyricum. Few supposed he would have the courage to proclaim himself the heir of the murdered usurper, to claim his private property, which Antonius had got into his own hands, still less to assert his legitimate title to the championship of the popular party, and to the first place in the commonwealth. But the ambition of the young Octavius (such is the name by which he is most commonly designated) was equalled by his confidence, and

these again by his cunning and ability. Throwing himself boldly into the midst of the citizens, he cajoled Cicero with the warmest professions of patriotism, while he demanded the restitution of his private inheritance from Antonius. The field gradually cleared around him. Brutus and Cassius, finding themselves unpopular and even insecure in the city, retired first into Campania, and then to their provinces Macedonia and Syria. Antonius put himself at the head of some legions, prepared to fight for pay and plunder under any commander, and took up a threatening position in the Cisalpine. The Senate, inspired with energy by the eloquence of Cicero, who thundered forth the series of orations against the traitor to which he gave the name of *Philippics*, armed the consuls Hirtius and Pansa, and sent them to confront him; while Octavius led an army of his own, the most devoted of his uncle's battalions, ostensibly to support the government, but really to watch the event, and attach himself to the party which should prove the stronger. A third division of the Cæsarean force had also assumed an attitude of observation under Lepidus in Gaul. In the spring of 711 Antonius came to an engagement with the consuls near Mutina, in which, though he was himself defeated, both Hirtius and Pansa were slain. This event proved a death-blow to the Senate. Octavius, instead of pursuing the routed Antonius, as he was expected to do, chose rather to unite himself to him, and concert a coalition with Lepidus and Antonius for the joint usurpation of the empire. This combination, known by the name of the Second Triumvirate, was effected in an island of the River Rhenus, near Bologna. The contracting parties agreed between themselves to exercise consular power in common for five years, to dispose of all the offices of state, and to enforce their decrees as the law of the republic. They assigned the two Gauls to Antonius, Spain and the Narbonensis to Lepidus, Africa and the islands to Octavius. Italy

was to remain neutral ground; the provinces of the East were to be left for future division, when Brutus and Cassius should have been overthrown by their united forces. This compact was followed by the proscription of their enemies in Rome, each triumvir claiming to insert the names of those most odious to himself, and each sacrificing in return friends and kinsmen of his own. Antonius demanded the head of Cicero, which Octavius ungratefully surrendered to him. Their edicts were immediately put in execution. Some hundreds of the senators and 2000 knights were destroyed by hired assassins: Cicero, though long warned of his danger, neglected to make his escape till too late, and was overtaken and slain at his country villa.

An interval of eighteen months had elapsed since the retreat of Brutus and Cassius into the East before the triumvirs were at leisure to engage in a campaign against them. During this period the republican chiefs had foreseen the struggle that was impending, and they had not been remiss in assembling troops, and collecting money and munitions. But their armies were for the most part composed of raw levies; and in the indifference manifested by the populations of Greece and Asia to the watchwords of party in the West, they had been obliged to extort treasure by force, sometimes to inflict cruel chastisement on the reluctant provincials. Brutus himself had sullied his great name by these terrible exactions. As the crisis of the struggle drew near, and Octavius, with Antonius at his side, led their formidable forces into Macedonia, his fortitude seems to have forsaken him; the peaceful philosopher was haunted with a vision of Caesar's ghost, and he was impatient for the day which should end, either by death or triumph, the perturbation of his afflicted mind. When the opposing armies met at last on the plains of Philippi, Cassius, a more experienced officer, would have postponed the combat, but Brutus insisted on precipitating the crowning struggle.









Brutus was confronted with Octavius, Cassius with Antonius. Brutus had gained the advantage on his side of the field; but Cassius, dismayed at his own partial failure, threw himself on his sword. The survivor now found himself obliged to withdraw. Nevertheless, circumstances were still in his favor; the enemy was straitened for supplies, and delay might even yet have secured him a bloodless triumph. But again his impatience was not to be controlled; and in a second combat, twenty days later, on the same ground, he suffered a defeat, which, by killing himself, he rendered irretrievable. His party, deprived of both its leaders, was now utterly broken. Several of the officers, chiefs of the nobility, put an end to their own lives; but the conquerors showed more clemency in the hour of victory than at the outset of their enterprise, and allowed their enemies for the most part to save themselves by submission. Some of them escaped by sea, and attached themselves to the fortunes of Sextus Pompeius; but the republican party never rallied again in the cause of liberty, and the battle of Philippi closes the annals of the Roman free state.

The battle of Philippi had been won by the efforts of two only of the triumvirs, and the third found himself from this time wholly set at nought by his more vigorous colleagues, the masters of the united forces of the empire. But the union of these mighty potentates was of short duration. Antonius assumed the command of all the regions of the East; and while he amassed plunder for himself, or squandered it upon his followers and parasites, he fell into the toils of Cleopatra, the fascinating queen of Egypt, who sailed from Alexandria to Tarsus to captivate him. Returning with her to the banks of the Nile, he abandoned himself without remorse to voluptuous pleasures, which degraded him in the eyes of the Romans, while his late colleague, now his rival, Octavius, was governing Rome and Italy with a prudence and self-control which won the applause of the citizens. Here the wife and brother of An-

tonius intrigued against him, and raised the standard of faction. The brother was overcome at Perugia; and, though spared himself by the policy of the conqueror, three hundred of his most distinguished adherents were sacrificed, according to the popular story, to the shade of the murdered dictator. The wife retired to join her husband in the East, but was ill-received by him, and died, perhaps of mortification, soon after. A new alliance was now formed between the rival leaders, who could not divide the empire between them, or contend for its sole possession, till they had united to put down Sextus Pompeius. The treaty of Brundisium, effected by the agency of Cocceius, Pollio, and Mæcenas, provided for a combined effort against this annoying adversary, and was cemented by the marriage of Antonius with Octavia, the sister of his ally.

Sextus, at the head of a piratical flotilla, occupied the seas between Italy and Africa, and held some maritime stations in Sicily. In this situation he was able to cut off the corn ships which supplied Rome, and the city was reduced from time to time to the direst necessity. The rule of Octavius at Rome was shaken at every access of scarcity and impending famine; and the suppression of this cause of annoyance was of more vital importance to him than to Antonius. Octavius therefore undertook the conduct of the war; but he prudently invited the enemy to come to terms, and they arranged a treaty at Misenum, by which he was admitted to a definite share in the empire. To him were assigned the three great islands of the Tyrrhene Sea; and the families of Pompeius and Octavius were further united by a marriage (A.U. 715, B.C. 39). Octavius was now at liberty to turn his arms against some revolted tribes in Gaul, while Antonius undertook to lead an expedition into Parthia, and avenge the disaster of Crassus. The first soon executed his purpose with his usual promptitude; the other lingered indolently in Greece. Sextus meanwhile failed to surrender some places he had previously occu-

pied on the coast of Italy, and again intercepted the supplies of the city. Octavius had no alternative but to make war upon him. He summoned his colleagues to his aid. Lepidus promised, but delayed; Antonius sent him ships, but demanded soldiers for his Parthian expedition in return. Octavius, however, was better served by the skill and spirit of his friend Agrippa, who gained him victories at sea, and repaired the disasters which he experienced in his own person. The struggle ended in the complete overthrow of the armaments of Sextus, from which the chief himself escaped only to perish miserably a few months afterwards. At the last moment Lepidus rashly committed himself to an act of hostility against the victorious triumvir. He was instantly worsted; and though his life was contemptuously spared, his armies and his provinces passed finally into the hands of Octavius.

The contest for empire was now reduced to a struggle between two competitors, and it was not long before it came to the arbitrament of the sword. While Octavius was winning golden opinions in Rome and Italy by the plausible moderation of his manners, and by the ability of his government, in which he was seconded by Agrippa and Mæcenas, his rival was falling more and more into contempt. Antonius undertook indeed an expedition against the Parthians; but the issue was disastrous; and the mortification of the citizens was redoubled when their worsted champion quitted his flying troops to fling himself into the pleasures of his Egyptian capital, and celebrated, with Cleopatra at his side, the mockery of a Roman triumph in a foreign dependency. He had already renounced the amity of Octavius by repudiating the sister, whom he had taken to wife. He now devoted himself wholly to Cleopatra, and passed his days and nights in sensual revelry. These eccentricities, reported, perhaps with some exaggeration, at Rome, caused the deepest feelings of disgust; and disgust was succeeded by alarm when he was said to be preparing an attack on the

Empire of the West, and Cleopatra was declared to have boasted of the laws she would issue from the Capitol. By this time Octavius had recruited his legions, and amassed treasure. When he found the minds of the citizens fully enlisted in his support, he came forward as the protector of the state—the champion of the Senate, the people, and the gods of Rome—and led all his forces in person across the Adriatic. Antonius, on his part, had not been slack in preparations. He too advanced, with Cleopatra in his train, and brought all the resources of the wealthy realm of Egypt to support the presidiary cohorts of Greece and Asia. Armies, numbering more than 100,000 men on either side, confronted each other on the coast of Acarnania, near the entrance of the Ambracian Gulf; but the fortune of war was first tried by the rival fleets off the promontory of Actium. The vessels of Antonius were bulkier and more numerous; but the light barks of Octavius, under the command of the experienced Agrippa, were more skillfully handled, and fought more gallantly. The issue of the combat, however, was still doubtful, when Cleopatra, through fear or treachery, gave her own squadron the signal of retreat, and carried off with her sixty galleys of Egypt. Antonius madly rushed away to follow her, leaving his ships and armies to their fate. His ships, indeed, still continued the combat under every disadvantage, and were finally overpowered, and for the most part destroyed. His legions, however, finding themselves thus miserably deserted, refused to fight for their betrayer, and surrendered without a blow. The battle of Actium, fought on the 2d Sept. A.U. 723 (B.C. 21), threw the whole military force of the empire into the hands of Octavius, and assured him of a complete and speedy triumph over the remnant of his rival's resources.

Antonius and Cleopatra reached Alexandria; but the Roman was indignant at the conduct of his mistress, to whose base desertion he ascribed his overthrow, and at first refused to see her. Blinded, however, by



his passion, he yielded again to her blandishments, and she amused him with schemes, sometimes for defence against the expected enemy, at other times for flying beyond the southern sea, and reigning in remote security over some Arabian province. She hoped probably to make her own peace with Octavius by the sacrifice of her infatuated admirer. The conqueror at last appeared on the frontier. Antonius went forth gallantly to meet him, and gained some partial success. But Cleopatra meanwhile had betrayed her fleet to the invader, and the gates of Alexandria were opened to him without resistance. Antonius, in his frenzy, threatened to destroy his ensnarer, and she took refuge in a tower, and sent him word that she had killed herself. The passion of the insensate Roman revived; he stabbed himself, and while slowly dying, caused himself to be removed beneath the windows of her place of retreat, and entreated her attendants to place him beside her body. Cleopatra caused him to be lifted into her chamber, and he expired immediately in her arms. She now exerted all her artifice to obtain terms from the conqueror. She had vanquished both Cæsar and Antonius by her charms, and she still hoped to prevail over the youthful Octavius. Admitted to an interview, he resolutely kept his eyes averted, and she despaired of moving his sensibility. She could consent to surrender her kingdom, but she spurned with indignation his cruel demand to exhibit her to the Roman citizens in his triumph. When he still insisted, though with the fairest words and promises, she had no choice but death, and as he set a guard over her to prevent her using the sword, she contrived to get an asp conveyed to her in a basket of figs, applied it to her arm, and perished.

The expected triumph of Octavius was deprived of its most coveted ornament; but Egypt was straightway annexed as a province to the empire; Cæsarion, a son of the dictator by Cleopatra, put to death, and the sons of Antonius by the deserted Octavia carried to Rome to be bred as scions of the conqueror's

own family. Octavius made a progress through the eastern provinces on his return, receiving the homage of dependent potentates, putting down the partizans of his adversary, and setting up his own in their place, securing the fidelity of the Roman garrisons under officers of his own choice. When he arrived at his capital in the year 725 he had consolidated the whole empire under the government of his single arm, and the republic of Rome was finally exchanged for a monarchy.

About this great political fact there could be no doubt then or since; but the genius and the merit of Octavius consisted in the specious disguise which he succeeded in throwing over it. At the moment of his return to Rome the ancient constitution was still existing in all its forms; the Senate still possessed the ample prerogatives assigned to it of old, and the people were still the legitimate depositaries of power in the last resort. Octavius affected still to recognize the paramount authority of the public will. He professed to have wielded hitherto only delegated functions, and in these he pretended to have followed the spirit of established precedents. In all extraordinary emergencies the Romans had had resort to extraordinary commissions. Such were the dictatorships of the early republic, the repeated consulships of Marius, the permanent dictatorship of Sulla, the vast military charges and the sole consulship of Pompeius. The "triumvirate for the arrangement of public affairs" was itself the application of an ordinary title to one of these extraordinary commissions. But this commission, constitutional or not, Octavius had scrupulously resigned at the expiration of the term to which he had restricted it; it was as consul and the elected of the popular assembly that he had conquered at Actium and subjugated Egypt. The regulation he had made of the affairs of the empire in the East, after the manner of Pompeius and Sulla, still awaited the formal sanction of the Senate; and the Senate was supposed to retain authority for granting or withholding

from him the triumph he had so gloriously earned.

The "acts" were duly ratified, and the triumph was accorded. When the ceremony, together with the shows and festivals and glowing acclamations which accompanied it, had reached its termination, the emperor still stood at the head of the legions which had followed his triumphal car. According to the laws of the free state, Octavius must now disband his army or resign it to the disposal of the Senate; for with the triumph his *imperium* was become extinct. But he evaded this necessity. He allowed the Senate, prone as it was to flatter and caress him, to give him the title of Imperator in the same sense in which it had been conferred upon Julius Cæsar, thereby proclaiming him commander-in-chief of the national forces, placing every legion under his auspices, and every officer under his orders. As emperor, he retained the right of bearing, even in the city, the sword and cloak, the ensigns of military power; but this prerogative he cautiously refrained from using. The fate of Cæsar had warned him to accept less than was offered him. Content with the substance of power, he declined all invidious shows and titles. Though the people, in their enthusiasm for him, would have acceded to any usurpation on his part, he knew that neither king nor dictator would have been safe from the daggers of the senators. It was to exalt the estimation and give a fair shadow of authority to the Senate that his next efforts were directed. Having obtained the powers of the censorship, he proceeded to revise the list of senators, to eject the unworthy, to endow the impoverished, and create a body distinguished for its family and personal influence. Cæsar had degraded the order in its own eyes by intruding into it foreigners and base-born citizens. The triumvirs had been tempted to carry this practice still further. Octavius now retraced his steps. He reduced the number from 1000, to which Antonius had swelled it, to its proper limits of 600, and required a considerable property

qualification. To the Senate, thus re-modelled, he left its ancient distinctions, and the greater part of its ancient prerogatives, directing its decisions in political and legislative affairs by management rather than by strict control; but he settled the course of his administration with the help of a private council of fifteen assessors, and decided the vexed question of the *judicia* by appointing a court of salaried judges, one hundred in number. To the people he left the old forms of popular assembly and the election of magistrates; but here again he interfered so far as to nominate the candidates to be submitted to their choice. The names and generally the functions of these magistrates remained as of yore. But in order to secure an easy means of guiding the Senate, Octavius revived in his own behalf the title of "Princeps," which gave him the first place and the first voice in the curia. This purely civil dignity, ennobled by some illustrious occupants under the commonwealth, had been always held for life, and accordingly Octavius could venture to accept it in perpetuity, while he demanded the powers of the censorship for five years only, and offered, with much appearance of earnestness, to resign the imperium after ten. He allowed, however, both these powers to be renewed to him for successive terms to the end of his career.

The consulship Octavius continued to exercise for several years successively; but he ultimately renounced the title, though he retained its powers by an extraordinary prerogative. Invested with the *potestas consularis*, he occupied the highest place in the city, and was recognized as the chief of the state, the head of the legislative and executive, the organ of its foreign policy. When the consul quitted his post in the city, he carried to the frontiers of the empire the same supreme authority which he had before wielded at Rome. When he vacated the office, and assumed the government of a province, he commanded the soldiers and citizens as emperor, and reigned as procon-



ful over the subjects of the state. But Octavius allowed himself to claim proconsular power together with the consular. As imperator, he had divided with the Senate the direct administration of the provinces, choosing for his own all those in which large armies were maintained for aggression or defence, and leaving to chiefs appointed by the Senate a civil supremacy in the unarmed and tranquil; but his proconsular authority was extended alike over all, and he asserted paramount powers, when occasion required it, in every quarter of the empire. The circle of the imperial prerogatives was completed by the powers of the tribuneship. This *potestas* was also declared perpetual, though renewed nominally from year to year. The authority this power gave the emperor in the Senate was a safeguard against any possible insubordination in that assembly; but its chief value lay perhaps in the continued popularity of its name. The populace of the city still regarded the tribuneship as the legitimate guardian of its rights and interests, and hailed Octavius as its proper champion, its protector against the sinister intrigues of the Senate. It gave a sanctity to his character, and rendered his person inviolable. When to this was added, at a later period of his career, the dignity of sovereign Pontiff, he acquired the control of the instrument of the state religion; and the defence of the citizens against the machinations of the nobles was supposed to be complete.

The assumption of all these offices and functions was not effected at once: Octavius ascended to the summit of his ambition cautiously, and step by step. Meanwhile he discreetly waived every designation which should imply in itself the sovereignty he affected to disguise. Antonius had abolished the dictatorship to gratify the people, and Octavius took care not to revive it. No voice was suffered to hail him with the title of king. Nevertheless he was ambitious of a distinctive appellation; but it must be personal, not official. He would not be called "Quirinus"—such a title would be extrava-

gant; nor "Romulus"—the name was of evil omen. To the epithet of "Augustus," which was next suggested, no objection could attach. It implied the nobleness of his character and functions; it had an air of sanctity, and even divinity; it bore an auspicious reference to the anticipated increase of his honors through time and eternity. The worship of Octavius as a god was rapidly spreading in the provinces; in the city, it was only permitted to pour libations to his genius—a distinction hardly palpable in the purest ages of religious usage and belief, and which court poets and flatterers could now easily obliterate.

Octavius, or, as he may now be styled, Augustus, retained the sovereign power to the end of his career, a period of more than forty years. During all that time his life and fortunes were assailed twice or thrice, but only by private conspiracy among the nobles, never by any movement of the people. From first to last no audible murmur was raised against his ascendancy. This must be accepted as a proof how welcome were the safety and tranquillity he offered to the Romans, after a century of intestine divisions and sanguinary struggles; but it proves beyond this, that, in the deliberate judgment of the nation, a limited or veiled autocracy was the form of government which, in the advance or decline of civilization, whichever we may deem it, had become most advantageous for them. Doubtless their first impulse was to hail the victor of Actium as the restorer of peace, and the saviour of the state from foreign aggression and domestic dissensions. The remains we possess of the literature of the period breathe this spirit of intense satisfaction, as at the revival of a golden age. The mission of the Romans is now declared to be, not to conquer all nations, to trample upon all national usages, or to luxuriate in the enjoyment of the world's wealth, but to bind all peoples together in one common union; to bend the necks of rebellious potentates to the yoke of international law; to quell all unruly ambitions, and inaugurate

a reign of universal contentment and moderation. Once before, and once only, the ancient world had been brought under the sway of a single sceptre, and enthusiasts might have indulged under the Macedonian Alexander in such dreams of human happiness; but the fair vision had been quickly overclouded when his premature death left his empire to be torn in pieces by rival generals. The great bulk of the Roman people had no other anxiety about the empire of Augustus but the fear lest at his decease—and his constitution was weakly and his health precarious—the solid fabric of material prosperity he had raised should crumble under the violence of mere selfish usurpers. The idea of hereditary succession in political office had hitherto met with no favor in the republic; but the circumstances of the time now strongly recommended it; and without any formal concession of the principle, the minds of the Romans became implicitly reconciled to the anticipation of a dynasty of Cæsars.

But this favorable disposition on the part of the people would have been of no avail to maintain and perpetuate the empire had not Augustus been himself singularly endowed with the temper and talents required for advantageously using it. Heartless and cruel as he had proved himself in the pursuit of his ambitious projects, he henceforth prescribed to himself a career of clemency and considerate indulgence. He opened the field of public honors to men of all parties, and caressed with marked favor the kinsmen of his own most noted opponents. Even on those who actually conspired against him, he could not always be brought to inflict punishment. He gloried in constraining his public enemies to become his private friends. There may have been little genuine feeling in this course of policy—the Romans themselves may not have been wholly deceived by this pretended generosity; but while they enjoyed the benefit of it, they did not criticise it too closely: Augustus succeeded in his object of securing their confidence and affection. He was not satisfied, however,

with enlisting their personal feelings in behalf of his government. His ambition was not wholly selfish; he undoubtedly looked beyond his own greatness, his own security or even the establishment of his family in greatness and security after him. He looked even beyond the establishment of his own future fame. He had a true and earnest desire to revive the fortunes of the Roman state, and launch it again, after the terrible crisis of the civil wars, on a fresh career of prosperity and glory. Unfortunately his views were warped by the common spirit of antiquity, the spirit of heathenism, which, devoid of a faith in Providence and hope for the future, always placed its ideal of excellence in some dreamy misconception of the past. Augustus sought to re-animate the life of Rome by restoring the ideas and principles of a shadowy antiquity. These ideas, indeed, in so far as they had really guided the actions of the Scipios and the Camilli, had sprung from the laws and usages of their times: it followed then, so he fondly reasoned, that by restoring the usages the ideas themselves would be revived. By a strict execution of the functions of the censorship, by sumptuary laws, by police regulations, by reviving the honor of matrimony and the priesthood, by restoring the temples of the gods and the temple services—by these and such like measures he hoped to create again the people who had rejected the bribes of Pyrrhus, and retorted the invasion of Hannibal by an attack on Carthage. These efforts were no doubt wholly unavailing: the Roman people had lost its belief in religion, and therewith the only potent principle of self-control; the springs of public and private life had been poisoned by selfish and criminal indulgence; and by drawing closer the bands of law, Augustus only produced some outward decency at the expense of honesty and self-respect. The corruption of the times is more painfully marked in the affected decorum of Horace than in the glaring coarseness of Catullus; in the easy indifference of Ovid than in the open infi-



delity of Lucretius. In his vigilant control of the public administration, the imperial reformer was more successful. The ordinary procedure of justice was conducted with a firmness and equity unknown probably in the best times of the republic. A strong check was imposed on the violence and rapacity of the officials in the provinces. The Romans and their subjects were taught to regard each other with mutual respect. On the whole, whatever its drawbacks and defects, the policy of Augustus must be pronounced eminently successful in promoting the happiness and prosperity of the Roman world. Few or none of the citizens could look beneath the fair surface then presented to them, and anticipate the decay of public feeling, the decline of high principles, the growing acquiescence in merely sensual enjoyments, which would surely ensue from the stagnation of public life, and the concentration in a single hand of all the powers of the government. The Romans had had no example, on a similar scale and under similar conditions, of the transition from freedom to subjection. The autocracy of Augustus was an experiment in politics, from which they hoped the best, of which possibly they augured the best, but of which, whatever they might hope or augur, they felt in their inmost hearts the absolute and over-ruling necessity.

On the restoration of universal peace, Augustus closed the temple of Janus, an act of grace which the citizens, who could record but two previous instances of it, celebrated with the loudest acclamations. His own military ardor was satisfied by the victories he had won over domestic enemies by the hands of Agrippa; he had no ambition for the fame of a conqueror; and henceforth he only led his legions to repress the brigandage of the Iberian mountaineers, or sent a grandson to demand from the Parthians the long-abandoned standards of Crassus. He allowed some minor expeditions to be undertaken against the predatory hordes which infested the frontiers of Egypt or Mauretania; and

he sanctioned one wild and profitless expedition against the nomade tribes of Arabia. The border warfare on the Rhine, of which more special notice must be taken presently, was another exception to this pacific policy; but generally the arms of Rome, under Augustus, were confined to securing the peace of the empire, and sedulously withheld from aggression in every quarter. A long period of repose was required to consolidate the heterogeneous elements which composed this vast dominion. Italy, the centre of the empire, and now made to comprise the whole peninsula from the Alps to the Straits of Messina, was divided into eleven regions, and placed under the direct control of the prætor in the city. The rest of the empire was apportioned, as we have said, between the emperor and the Senate. The imperial provinces were the *Tarraconensis* and *Lusitania* in Spain; the whole of Gaul beyond the Alps, divided into several commands, including the Upper and Lower Germanies, as they were called, on the Rhine; *Pannonia* and *Macedonia*; *Cœlesyria*, *Phœnicia*, *Cilicia*, *Cyprus*, and *Egypt*. To the latter were assigned *Boëtica*, *Numidia*, *Africa*, the *Cyrenaica*, *Achaia*, and *Asia*. *Dalmatia*, including *Illyricum*, at first given to the Senate, was soon afterwards taken by the emperor in exchange for the *Narbonensis* and *Cyprus*. Before the end of his career, Augustus annexed *Palestine* also to the empire, which then extended over every coast and island of the Mediterranean. In some quarters, as in Gaul and *Pannonia*, the sway of Rome penetrated some hundreds of miles into the interior of the continent; but the regions remote from the great inland sea, the highway of international traffic, were almost wholly barbarous. Gaul and Thrace were little better than vast forests; only a small portion of their soil was as yet subjected to cultivation. The great cities of the empire, the marts of human industry and emporia of commerce, were for the most part seated on the shore, or on the banks of navigable rivers. When the Romans boast-

ed of having subdued the world, they really confined their view to the Mediterranean and the countries immediately bordering upon it.

When Augustus had consolidated under his sway the regions between the Rhine, the Danube, the Euphrates, and Mount Atlas, the empire reached the farthest limits that it ever permanently retained. The population it embraced at this period may be approximately calculated at a little less than 100 millions; but it may be fairly supposed that, under the general reign of peace and domestic prosperity which prevailed throughout it, the number continued to increase at least for another century. With regard to the interesting question of the population of the great city, "the head and mistress of nations," now at the zenith of her glory, if not yet of her grandeur, some calculation will be exhibited in another place. It will be sufficient here to estimate it roughly at 700,000, and to add that this continued also to increase perhaps even after the general population of the empire had become stationary, or even declined, though it may never have much, if at all, exceeded one million. One of the principal cares of the new emperor was the embellishment of Rome. With this view, he erected himself many temples and public buildings, and he stimulated the great nobles of the city to follow his example. In this and in every other object of his policy he was ably seconded by his friend Agrippa, whose valor had won some of his most important victories, whose counsels were not less useful to him in peace than in war, and who distinguished himself above all his countrymen by the loyalty with which, having secured beyond dispute the second place in the commonwealth, he abstained from aiming at the first. More than once Agrippa was entrusted with the command of all the eastern provinces; but he executed his charge with an unshaken fidelity, which it was hardly less honorable in Augustus to appreciate without fear or jealousy. On the death of the young Marcellus, sister's son to the em-

peror, and his presumptive successor, Agrippa received the widow Julia, the daughter of Augustus, in marriage. Caius and Lucius, the eldest children of this union, were brought up as heirs to the empire, but both of them were cut off prematurely. Agrippa himself died many years before his patron, and Julia was married a third time to Tiberius Claudius Nero, the stepson of the emperor, whose mother Livia, a clever intriguer, contrived to secure the succession for him over the heads of her husband's direct descendants. The ambition and the vices of his own family caused Augustus, particularly in his latter years, more disquietude than the government of the empire.

Besides the advantage he derived from the assistance of Agrippa, Augustus was supported, throughout the earlier part of his reign, by the tact and prudence of Mæcenas. This man had administered for him the government of Italy during the period of the struggle with Antonius. He continued to be his chief adviser in the settlement of the empire; and the Romans ascribed to him the first delineation of the principles of government which they saw gradually extended and confirmed from one reign to another. A popular tradition, for which there is probably no other foundation than the temper generally attributed to the men respectively, affirmed that when Augustus deliberated about resigning his power, he allowed Agrippa and Mæcenas to discuss the question in his presence, and that Agrippa counselled the restoration of the republic, Mæcenas the retention of supreme authority. The private manners and habits of the minister were not less serviceable to his master's position than his political counsels. Mæcenas contrived to attach to the new system many of the best and ablest public men of the day, while he secured in its favor the suffrages of the literary class. The table at which Virgil and Horace, Varius and Pollio, conversed genially together, under the patronage of Mæcenas, and in the presence of Augustus himself, was the field on which all the adverse theories of politics and philos-



ophy laid down their arms and came to an amicable understanding. Never was a state revolution so gilded with the flattery of poets and historians as the seasonable usurpation of Augustus.

Nevertheless, successful as the emperor had been in the execution of his great enterprise, and in confirming its results, his latter years were not unclouded by reverses. While the citizens were getting at last a little weary of the monotony of his long despotism, suffering some disgust at the disgraces of his family, some apprehension at the prospect of an unpopular successor, they were suddenly alarmed and dismayed at the occurrence of a great military disaster. Though Gaul had long been pacified, the frontier was subject to the incursions of restless hordes from Germany, and it was necessary to keep up a large force and legions, as we have seen, in stationary camps on the Rhine. The temptation to employ these troops in aggression, no less than in defence, proved irresistible. These scions of the Cæsarean family were anxious for opportunities of military distinction. Augustus allowed his stepsons, Drusus and Tiberius, to conduct expeditions into Germany. Drusus penetrated as far as the Elbe, but died in early life from an accident. His successors in the command established the Roman outposts as far at least as the Ems or Weser, and the district between the Mayn and the Lippe was beginning to assume the form of a province, when the government of this district fell into the hands of Varus, a pedantic official, who so mismanaged his affairs as to excite against himself a general conspiracy of the natives. Entangled in a country with which they were imperfectly acquainted, his legions, three in number, were attacked by overwhelming numbers, and destroyed in the forest of Teutoburg. Varus was slain, the whole Roman establishment overthrown, and the remnant of its soldiers and civilians driven in confusion behind the Rhine. In the face of such a disaster Augustus, now old and timid, gave way to nervous alarms. He

trembled for the tranquillity of the city, for the loyalty of the citizens, much more than for the defence of the provinces. With the assistance, however, of Tiberius, he acted with sufficient vigor in recruiting his forces and restoring confidence. The younger Cæsar took the field, and made a show at least of offensive operations against the victorious Germans. He did not venture, however, to occupy again the footing lately held beyond the Rhine. Augustus, who died soon afterwards, in the year 767, left it in charge to his successor not to extend in any direction the limits of the empire.

Tiberius, now in his fifty-sixth year, had discharged the most important offices in the Senate and the field, and was regarded as an able and accomplished prince. But the state of constraint under which he had lived as the presumptive successor of the empire, under a jealous and exacting stepfather, together with some sacrifice of the affections which had been extorted from him in his youth, had soured a temper naturally reserved and proud. For a time he had withdrawn altogether from public affairs, and during his retreat at Rhodes rumor had been busy in representing him as indulging in the grossest vice and cruelties. But his mother Livia, an able intriguer, watched over his interests. On the death of Augustus, the Senate learnt that he had been appointed the head of the Cæsarean family, and they readily, and indeed with much eager flattery, thrust upon him all the public honors and functions which Augustus had vacated. For some time he enacted the farce of pretending to refuse them; but this affectation was speedily overcome, and he retained a deep grudge against those among the senators who had been blunt enough to take him at his word. His first act, an omen of a bloody reign, was the assassination of a surviving son of Julia and Agrippa, called Posthumus, as having been born after his father's death; a youth of acknowledged evil temper and defective understanding, whom Augustus had himself removed from public affairs and rele-

gated to an island. The jealousy of Tiberius soon extended to his nephew Germanicus, son of his elder brother Drusus, whom Augustus had required him to adopt and place on the same line of succession with a son of his own. Germanicus was a great favorite with the people. He seems to have been a man of military genius, which he exercised with considerable success against the Germans beyond the Rhine, though a naval expedition under his order suffered a terrible disaster from tempest. He had formed a plan for the complete reduction of the country as far as the Elbe, and the spirit of the barbarians had been so far broken, in spite of the gallantry of their hero Arminius that in another campaign he might possibly have succeeded; but Tiberius was jealous of his fame and popularity, and forbade any more blood and treasure to be lavished on conquests beyond the bounds of the empire, as he had received it from Augustus. Germanicus was recalled to Rome, and allowed the empty honor of a triumph. The emperor was glad to rid himself of his presence on the first opportunity, and soon after dispatched him into the East, to overawe the Parthians. Not content with removing him from Rome, he deputed—such at least was the common belief—an officer named Piso to watch his conduct, and connived at this man's thwarting and disobeying his legitimate commander. Germanicus ordered Piso to surrender his office in Syria, but at the same time he found himself attacked by a debility, which, after a short interval, terminated in his death. His family accused Piso of foul play either by poison or at least by magical incantations. Agrippina, the spirited consort of the deceased prince, prosecuted a charge of murder against him at Rome. Confident in the emperor's favor, Piso did not shrink from meeting it; but when he found that the emperor looked coldly upon him, and was disposed to abandon him to his fate, he anticipated the decision of the judges by a voluntary death. But the suspicions of the people were not thus averted from Tiberius. The deep sor-

row they evinced at the loss of their favorite gave great umbrage to the tyrant, and induced him to treat with jealousy and harshness the widow and her children.

From the first, Tiberius had dissembled with the Senate, and he naturally distrusted them; while towards the other classes of his subjects, and particularly in the provinces, his conduct, though stern, was equitable; he took every opportunity to trample on the pride of the senators, to lower their estimation, and to make them feel his superior power. It was a great relief to them when, towards the middle of his reign, after devoting himself to the business of state with unwearied assiduity for many years, and never quitting Rome even for ordinary relaxation, he began gradually to withdraw more and more to the solitude of the isle of Capræ, an imperial domain purchased by Augustus, in which he took great delight. Though the popular notion, repeated by the historians, that he here abstained altogether from public affairs, and suffered the conduct of the administration to slip from his hands, seems to be grossly exaggerated, it was impossible but that an inordinate share of influence and power should accrue to the confidential minister whom he must leave in his place at Rome. Sejanus, the notorious favorite of Tiberius, had risen by artifice and ability to the highest office of state. He ventured to pay his addresses to a kinswoman of the emperor himself, and though he awakened thereby the emperor's jealousy, he seems not to have been unsuccessful. At all events, he effected the removal of some of his master's nearest relations, among them the luckless Agrippina, and the common rumor may not have been ill founded, that he aspired to imperial power. But Tiberius, it seems, had dissembled with Sejanus, as with others, and had allowed him to suppose himself more necessary to his master's policy than he really was. Once fully persuaded of the extent of his views and of his own danger in consequence, Tiberius had the energy to strike him down at a blow. Seja-



nus was in the city, in the ripeness of his power, surrounded by the senators and the soldiers; and Tiberius, now old and feeble, with scarcely a guard about his person, in his distant retreat, with only his ships to rely on for escape if the blow should fail. Great circumspection and artifice were required, but the tyrant was equal to the crisis. The missive which he sent to be recited to the Senate, in which he flattered and honored his victim till he had thrown him completely off his guard, and then ordered the consul to arrest him, is celebrated as a masterpiece of king-craft. Sejanus fell amidst the execrations of the senators, who up to this moment had caressed him, and the people declared, with thoughtless exultation, that the state had been saved in the safety of Tiberius.

The citizens indeed were willing to persuade themselves that the tyranny under which they had lately suffered was due to the vile counsels of the upstart favorite, rather than to the evil disposition of their emperor himself. They entreated Tiberius to return to Rome, and administer the government in the presence of the people, as their potentates had done before. That the head of the Roman commonwealth should lead the life of a voluptuous loungeur in the Grecian villas of Campania, seemed to them monstrous and degrading. Of a noble Roman who could so forget his country, and his duty to it, any horror might easily be believed, any crime, or vice, or unnatural torpitude, might be plausibly imputed to him. If, then, the account we have received of the vile debaucheries of Tiberius at Capreae exceed any modern instance of human depravity, it is not much more than might fairly be expected from the tongue of popular rumor exasperated at this glaring dereliction of duty and renunciation of conventional principle. Considering the sources from which we seem to have derived them, some shade of doubt must certainly attach to these reputed enormities. But even if we admit them in their fullest extent, we must still acknowledge that, frightful as they are, they

may be paralleled perhaps in every particular in the conduct of less notorious personages of heathen antiquity. The cruelty and impurity ascribed to Tiberius belonged to his class as much as to himself, and were exercised by many a noble Roman at home and abroad, among their subjects and their parasites. The horrors of imperial vice have become especially notorious, from the pre-eminence of the personages to whom they were imputed in the histories of the times; but they were not the excesses of imperial power uncontrolled by law, so much as of our common human infirmity unsustained by religious principle. However this may be, Tiberius deserves credit as a ruler, for wielding his authority twenty-three years almost without drawing the sword, and for leaving his dominions in peace and prosperity. His end was precipitated, at the advanced age of seventy-nine, and on a sick-bed from which he could hardly again have risen, by the hands of an attendant in the interest of his grand-nephew Caius Caligula, impatient for the succession, and not without apprehensions for his own life.

Caius Cæsar, the son of Germanicus and Agrippina, had been bred in his father's camp, and received from the soldiers the familiar nickname of Caligula (from the *boot* or *caliga*), by which he is most commonly known at least in later history. He was adopted by Tiberius on the same footing as a younger Tiberius, the emperor's own grandson. As a few years older than his cousin, he was allowed, indeed, to regard himself as the immediate heir to the empire, though, according to the loose ideas of hereditary succession still current among the Roman statists, Tiberius was considered as having a presumptive claim to be associated with him when he should arrive at manhood. Thus Augustus had delegated a portion of his authority, first to Agrippa, and at a later period to the elder Tiberius. His successor, indeed, had never prevailed on himself to make any such surrender of his sole autocracy, nor was it possible, perhaps, for two kings to reign together

again at Rome. From the first the young Caius, who assumed the empire at the age of twenty-five, felt the deepest jealousy of his unfortunate kinsman, and it was not long before he invented a pretext for destroying him. At first, indeed, no prince was ever more popular than this child of the people's favorite, succeeding as he did to a morose and odious tyrant. During the first months of the new reign both prince and people seemed to be equally intoxicated. The provinces partook of the exultation of the citizens. When the furious dissipation into which the young man plunged had prostrated him with an alarming illness, the Romans and their subjects combined in the expression of the deepest distress, and in frantic vows for his recovery. This assurance of his people's devotion seems to have removed from its object all sense of shame or apprehension. He indulged in every excess of vice and turpitude without scruple. Utterly devoid of the conscious reserve which had induced Tiberius to veil his indulgences from the prurient curiosity of his countrymen, Caius was equally free from the jealous fears which harassed his predecessor. Whether from the wanton gaiety of his disposition, or from a touch of actual insanity, he had none of the cowardice which generally accompanied tyranny. From the second year of his reign he continued to provoke the patience of the world by a series of indignities and injuries such as the provinces might have sometimes suffered from the worst of the proconsuls, but such as had never yet fallen upon the Romans themselves. His cruelties and oppressions were indeed generally inflicted upon the nobles, who had lost the respect and could no longer command the affection of the populace, while the populace itself he soothed and caressed by the profuseness of his shows and largesses; yet his blows fell sometimes among the crowd also, and the Romans shuddered at the terrible exasperation with which he uttered a wish that the whole people had but one neck.

The frantic dissipation in which this Cæ-

sar indulged, kept his mind and body in constant fever. His haggard countenance, his shattered frame, his agitated gait, his frenzy by day and sleepless perturbation at night, as described by the historians, form one of the most fearful pictures on record of the consequences of guilty indulgence. Shocking as such a picture must be in the case of a private individual, in a king of men—the tyrant of a hundred millions of fellow-creatures—it is truly awful. Caius had imbibed from the Jewish chief Agrippa, the companion and counsellor of his early years, the oriental idea of monarchy. He scouted the restraints of Roman law and usage; he tore away the veil of republican forms by which Augustus and Tiberius had disguised the real extent of their power; he determined that all his subjects should know that he was a despot, and that his will was practically as unrestrained as that of a king of Babylon or Alexandria. He scorned to dwell in a mansion suitable to a Roman noble, such as the palatium of Augustus and Tiberius, and covered a large part of the Palatine Hill with additional buildings, which he connected with the Capitol by a bridge flung boldly across the valley of the Velabrum. Over this bridge he marched in pomp to the temple of Jupiter, seated himself by the side of the god himself, and affected to whisper in his ear, and suggest the counsels of Providence. He aped the dress and style of the deities himself; and when his sister Drusilla died, with whom, like an eastern potentate, he had lived in incestuous commerce revolting to the feelings of the Romans, he declared that she had become a divinity, and required his subjects to pay her worship. He encircled his own head with the oriental diadem armed with spikes or rays, the well-known symbol of divinity in the East. Augustus had been honored after his death with a temple and a priesthood at Rome—a tribute of respect which the Senate had refused to Tiberius; but had Caius lived a little longer, we can hardly doubt that he would have insisted on receiving divine worship himself



from the citizens, as well as from the subjects of the state.

The extravagances of this wretched tyrant were chiefly shown in the games of the circus, in which he took a frantic pleasure, so as to threaten, it was said, to make his favorite horse a consul. The bridge of boats which he constructed across the Bay of Puteoli, for the sake of driving in triumph upon the ocean, was an extraordinary freak of reckless ostentation. The story, that instead of leading his troops, as he had promised, into Britain, he drew them up with great parade on the shore at Boulogne, and then bade them pick up shells, and return laden with "the spoils of the ocean" to Rome, may possibly be a misrepresentation. The account we have received of his expedition into Gaul, and his aimless enterprises in that quarter, is not much to be relied on. The commander of the forces on the Rhine had ventured to defy Tiberius in the old age of that timid emperor, and it was an object not unworthy of the boldness of Caius to throw himself in person into the camp of his formidable lieutenant, and inflict condign punishment upon him. We are loath to believe that a prince who could act so promptly and courageously on a suitable occasion, should have debased himself by the wretched trivialities imputed to him in connection with this expedition; nevertheless, we must remember that we are reviewing the career of one who can hardly be regarded in any other light than as a madman.

This career, disgusting as it is, was happily cut short before the end of four years by the blows of an assassin. A madman in the possession of unlimited power must be considered beyond the pale of moral sanctions; and if there was no other way to remove him, no one would judge severely the man who wielded even the dagger against him. But Caius was not doomed to the death he so amply merited by the decree of the outraged Senate, or the general rising of an indignant people. He had provoked a domestic enemy in the person of an officer of his guard, and

he was stabbed by a band of private conspirators in the vault of a passage in his palace. The blow was quite unexpected, and surprised both the Senate and the imperial family alike. There was none to claim the succession on the one hand; there was no plan for assuming the government on the other. After a moment's delay, the consuls, finding the throne vacant, proclaimed the restoration of the republic; but the citizens were wholly unprepared for such a revolution, and the soldiers of the guard, anxious only for the largess with which the accession of a new emperor must be accompanied, seized on Claudius, the uncle of the deceased, whom they found by accident lurking in a corner, carried him on their shoulders to the camp, and announced to the still trembling senators that they had chosen a chief for the republic.

Resistance was perhaps impossible; none at least was attempted. The consuls took at once the oath of devotion to the new emperor, and the Senate and people followed their example. Tiberius Claudius was brother to Germanicus, and uncle to Caius. He had reached the age of fifty, during which his natural taste for retirement and study, as much perhaps as the jealousy of the heads of his family, and the weakness of mind and body currently imputed to him, had kept him almost entirely in a private station. He had applied himself to abstruse studies, and composed elaborate treatises, but he had made no acquaintance with the conduct of affairs, either military or civil. He was addicted to women, and had generally allowed himself to be swayed by them and by the freedmen who surrounded them. His accession to power was regarded as no augury of good government by any portion of his subjects: it was a relief, however, to be rid of the furious caprices of their last tyrants; and the pledges Claudius gave the Senate of deference to their counsels were accepted with grateful acknowledgments. Though betrayed occasionally into acts of harshness and cruelty towards men of distinction through his

weakness rather than tyranny, Claudius continued throughout his reign to respect the character of the senatorial order. His principle of government was to follow the example of Augustus—to restore and confirm ancient usages, to maintain the ancient laws, to enact the head of the family rather than the emperor of the state. His assiduity in business was extraordinary; presiding day by day at the tribunals, he tired out, infirm as he was, the judges and officers; and if at the close of an exhausting session he indulged with indecent avidity in the pleasures of the table, his excesses may be partly accounted for and excused by the exhausting labors to which he had devoted himself. His manners and his measures were equally those of a pedant on the throne; his awkward figure, rendered more uncouth by the effects apparently of a paralytic seizure, gave occasion for much ribald mockery; but on the whole we must in fairness pronounce that his efforts at governing the world under such formidable disadvantages were truly meritorious, and his failure in a task to which he was constitutionally unequal a matter of commiseration rather than of ridicule.

Nor was it only in the city and on the judgment-seat that Claudius felt it incumbent on him to carry out the complete idea of the prince and emperor of the Romans. Augustus had placed himself at the head of the legions; feeble though he too was in bodily frame, he had fought against the enemies of Rome, and merited the glories of a triumph. The successor of Augustus must not shrink from following him in this field also. Cæsar had imposed a tribute on the Britons; Augustus had insisted on its payment; but these obligations had been long evaded, and the threats of Caius had resulted in ridiculous failure. Claudius determined to seek his laurels in an enterprise against these distant enemies. He sent a lieutenant to secure a landing and make good a footing on the island; but he followed himself without delay, traversing the whole of Gaul at the head of his army; and after crossing the

Thames he succeeded in bringing a British potentate to an engagement, and obtaining a decisive victory. The foundation of a colony at Camalodunum, or Colchester, secured the conquest of the southern part of Britain; and Claudius fully deserved the triumph with which his ambition was gratified. This success, though shaken by a later disaster under the emperor that followed, seemed to be completed by the capture of the bravest of the Britons, the renowned Caractacus. It does honor to Claudius, unless it may be ascribed to the greater humanity of the times—inhuman as in too many respects we must still regard them—that, instead of being strangled in his prison like Jugurtha or Pontius under the republic, this fallen enemy was treated with the consideration due to his valor, and suffered to live in freedom at Rome.

The contempt with which the character of this unfortunate emperor has been loaded, has been chiefly derived from the mishaps of his domestic life, and the fatal effects of the influence exerted over him by his worthless consorts. He had been more than once married as a private citizen; after he became emperor he united himself to Valeria Messalina, a woman whose name has become a byword for the excess of female dissoluteness. In his relations to this wanton woman, Claudius is represented as a miserable wittol, cajoled by a partner who hardly deigned to throw a veil over her flagitious infidelities. To her fatal sway were imputed many acts of cruelty and rapacity, covered by the name of the emperor. If she ruled him, she shared her influence with Pallas and Narcissus, freedmen and favorites of his court, who amassed vast fortunes by the crimes to which they extorted his consent. At last, to the relief of the Roman world, these hateful confederates fell out among themselves. Narcissus vowed to effect the ruin of Messalina. Her own conduct, now become utterly unguarded, soon furnished an opportunity, which he was bold enough to seize. Having fixed her roving passions on a torrefied young



noble named Silius, she had the incredible audacity, so we are assured, to insist upon his publicly espousing her. Besides the monstrous impiety of the act in the eyes even of that careless generation, it was an open avowal of treason. Silius could have no other course but to overthrow, by force or fraud, the prince whom he had so grossly outraged. Not without difficulty did Narcissus open the eyes of Claudius to the insult he had sustained; with still greater difficulty he inspired him with courage to inflict a suitable punishment. The freedman insisted, and the emperor yielded: Silius and Messalina were arrested and slain; and the execution was hardly over before the stupidest of husbands was found to have forgotten all about it.

Such is an outline of the story related or confirmed by all our authorities. It is evidently derived from one source; but whether that source be the actual truth of the occurrence, or the fabrication of one whose position was such as to confer on it unmerited authority, may still be considered as doubtful; for Messalina was succeeded by another wife, Agrippina. Messalina left a son, Britannicus. Agrippina had also a son, Domitius. The great object of this last of the empresses was to advance the fortunes of this son by an earlier marriage, to secure for him the succession over the head of the orphan Britannicus. The wickedness of this intriguing woman is at least as well accredited as Messalina's, and it may easily be supposed that she would scruple at no falsehood to exasperate her husband against her predecessor, and to persuade him that Britannicus could not really be a son of his own begetting. However she may have represented the affair to Claudius, it is probable that in the memoirs of her times, which she is known to have written, she colored them to suit her own purpose and deceive the citizens. The child of Messalina was to be disparaged in their eyes as well as in the emperor's, and the narrative of a palace scandal from the pen of a mistress of the

palace was likely to meet with ready acceptance from the prurient curiosity of the Roman people. It is no unreasonable scepticism to withhold implicit reliance from the story of Messalina, even though told us by Tacitus.

The young Domitius was two or three years older than Britannicus, and when Claudius was persuaded to adopt him, as he came, under the name of Nero Cæsar, the presumptive heir to the purple. Thus far successful in the accomplishment of her cherished object, Agrippina was now only solicitous to anticipate a reverse of fortune, and for this end she did not scruple to compass the death of the now doting emperor. She caused poison to be administered to him in a dish of mushrooms, and he died from the effects of it in her presence, almost at table, in the year of the city 807. She continued to conceal his decease till she had completed her arrangements for securing the succession to her son, who was led to the camp by Burrhus, the prefect of the prætorians, and accepted without hesitation, on the promise of an ample donative, as the heir of Claudius and the descendant of Germanicus. The Senate hastened to ratify the choice of the soldiers.

The exultation with which the accession of Caius had been received on the demise of Tiberius, was renewed with increased favor on the auspicious transfer of imperial power from the old imbecile Claudius, to the gay young prince who now united the suffrages of all classes of citizens. With their late emperor, whether from the real defects of his character, or from the misrepresentations of it with which their minds had been abused, the Romans had become thoroughly disgusted; but the youth and beauty of Nero had made a very favorable impression on them, and this was heightened by the artful terms in which his accomplishments, his abilities, and his temper had been described to them. Seneca the philosopher, a man of known acquirements, and at the same time of popular manners, had been given him for his tutor.

The young man had been bred in the school of wisdom and morality, which the sage seemed to find means to reconcile with the tastes and habits of the day. Nero was to combine the man of virtue with the man of fashion, and the world was invited to admire in his person the harmonious results of an alliance between things which the precepts of the schools and the experience of men had hitherto pronounced incompatible. But the world accepted the announcement without misgiving, on the word of the philosopher, and echoed the applause with which he greeted the work of his own hands, anticipating in the advent of this favorite of fortune the return of a golden age, the descent of an Apollo upon the earth.

Nero possessed perhaps some graces of person, and some natural abilities. He was not devoid of natural feelings, of kindness, and affection. With an impulsive temper, and a rather feminine susceptibility, he was easily led to seek the applause of those around him, and to shun their disapproval. The objects of interest which his tutor set before him were no doubt pure and virtuous, such as the love of his kindred, respect for his mother, regard for the common weal and for the pleasures of the people. But if Seneca led his pupil well, he exerted no moral power in controlling him. From the moment that the youth began to press upon the reins, Seneca relaxed his restraint, and gave full course to the indulgence of his passions. He hoped to retain a little influence by yielding much, and for some years after his accession the force of habit still inclined the restless pupil to lend an ear to his occasional suggestions. The first five years of the new reign, the *Quinquennium Neronis*, as this term was called by way of favorable distinction, have been celebrated as a period of really good and conscientious government; nevertheless, they were marked by crimes of the deepest dye, and no wise man could anticipate from the weak and wicked prince who committed such enormities any other developments of his career than the fright-

ful tyranny which actually succeeded to them.

Notwithstanding the marked applause with which Nero's accession was greeted by the Senate and the people, it was soon suggested to him that he might have cause of fear in the victim whom he had supplanted. The feelings of nature were too strong for those of custom, and still regarded Britannicus, the actual son of the late emperor, a more legitimate claimant of his throne than Nero, whom he had only adopted. The usurper was easily persuaded that it was necessary to remove the rightful heir; and by the agency of the notorious poisoner Locusta, the child of Messalina was murdered, not, it may be feared, without the sanction of Seneca himself. Nero was married to Octavia, the sister of Britannicus; but this creature, though celebrated both for her beauty and her virtue, gained no ascendant over him. He fell under the fascinations of the intriguer Poppæa, whom he took from his friend Otho, and under whose influence he engaged in the horrible design of ridding himself of his own mother. The rivalry between Agrippina and Poppæa had continued for some time. In her eagerness to retain her authority in the palace, the mother, it was said, had actually tempted her wretched son to incest; but when disappointed and defeated, she began to set up a rival court, and threatened to divulge the murder of Claudius, and recommend Octavia to the citizens, he was prevailed on to sacrifice her to the anger of his mistress, and what he considered the necessity of his own position. Again, it is reported that Seneca consented to the crime; it is more probable that he was not consulted about it; but undoubtedly both he and Burrhus, who had also the character of a brave and honest man, allowed themselves to justify it when done. Under the mildest view their conduct is without excuse. Nor was it of any avail. The people were horror-struck; the Senate, awakened by some sufferings of their own to the hollowness of their prince's professions of



good government, resented it with murmurs and conspiracies. Seneca and Burrhus lost all favor and all influence, and both fell victims in a short time to their master's inappeasable jealousy. Seneca, indeed, seems to have entered into a plot for his overthrow, the discovery of which cost the lives of many distinguished nobles, as well as of an old companion of Nero, the republican poet Lucan. The cruelties of Nero were now repeated and extended, falling upon the men most conspicuous for virtue, as well as the noblest and the wealthiest. The murders of Barea Sorannus and of Pætus Thræsea, two of the staunchest professors of the Stoic creed of philosophy, seemed to aim at the "extinction of virtue itself."

Amidst these dismal excesses of an unlimited despotism, the reign of Nero is remarkable for a disaster of another kind, of which, though imputed by many voices at the time to Nero himself, the hand of man may fairly be acquitted. In the year 817 Rome was swept by a terrible conflagration, which consumed a large portion of the whole city. The populace, in their terror and distress, demanded victims, and the emperor suffered the Christians to be convicted on the charge of willfully destroying it. Against the persons thus designated, of whom there were many now at Rome (but whether they were exclusively the believers in the gospel of Jesus Christ, or, partly, at least, included the Jewish sectarians, the followers of false Christs, who had often caused disturbances even in the heart of Italy, is still liable to question), a cruel persecution, and the most cruel of punishments were directed. Death by burning was an ancient punishment of the republic for the crime of seditious incendiarism; and to this death the reputed burners of the city were devoted. They were tied to stakes and consumed in shirts smeared with pitch. The fierceness of the flames thus kindled, added to the horror of the execution, and the brutal levity of Nero in driving his chariot by the light of these human torches, heightened the commiseration

to which the fury of the people had been quickly converted; but there can be no doubt that the invention of the pitched shirt was meant to shorten and not to aggravate the sufferings of the victims.

The horror with which Nero's cruelties were regarded by the Senate was enhanced by their indignation at the levities with which he gratified his own morbid passion for applause, and courted the flattery of the populace. He was devoted to the games of the circus, and insisted on outraging decorum by driving the chariot in person. He was not less addicted to the amusement, reputed equally vile by the graver citizens, of playing and singing in public. It was said that in the midst of the general dismay at the great conflagration he had witnessed the scene from the top of a tower in his palace, and performed upon his flute the drama of the sack of Troy. This piece of unfeeling impertinence, followed by the avidity with which he seized on the space laid open by the flames to construct the immense extent of his "Golden House," gave color to the suspicion above noticed, that he had actually caused the fire, or had at least forbidden its extinction. Soon after this event he quitted Rome to seek new laurels among the games and shows of Greece, where he expected to find his peculiar talents better appreciated than by his own morose or ignorant countrymen. He traveled from theatre to theatre, and won all the applauses and all the chaplets which Athens, Corinth, and Olympia could bestow. During the course of his reign foreign affairs had proceeded on the whole prosperously. A disaster in Britain had been retrieved. Some successes had been gained, by negotiation rather than by arms, over Parthia; and Nero had got much ridicule by claiming a triumph for them. His ablest lieutenant, Corbulo, he had wantonly put to death, when the breaking out of a revolt in Palestine demanded his best generals and his bravest legions. The conduct of this war was entrusted to the veteran Vespasian; but when at last a revolt

broke out against him in his own army in Spain, he found himself without men or commanders to meet it. While he was still lingering in Greece, Galba, at the head of his forces, was marching towards Rome. The troops stationed in Gaul were induced to join the movement, or to observe neutrality. Nero returned in haste to Italy; but at the first news of some temporary success relapsed into his frivolous dissipation. The arrival of each succeeding courier roused him to paroxysms of alarm or confidence; but he made no effective preparations to repel the danger, till the Senate, seeing the defencelessness of his position, summoned courage to anticipate the arrival of the avenger, by denouncing him as a public enemy, and setting a price on his head. The wretched tyrant evinced the utmost pusillanimity in this crisis of his fortunes. He fled from the palace in disguise, but despaired of ultimately escaping, and after much hesitation, and with much childish complaint, at last gave himself the death-blow.

Galba, as he advanced towards Rome, declared that he had turned his arms against the tyrant in the interest of the Senate, and that he left to that venerable body the future settlement of the empire. He had lived to a great age in the tranquil discharge of high civil and military functions; and it is probable that he had first commenced his movement for his own safety rather than from motives of ambition. But when his enterprise was crowned with success, he could not doubt that the Senate would offer the empire to him, nor had he any scruple in accepting it. With Nero the last of the imperial race of the great Julius had perished: there remained no chief to whom the proconsul owed obedience. Galba was released from the military oath which bound him to the successor of Cæsar and Augustus, the descendant of Drusus and Germanicus. He accepted the honors proffered him, and having quelled all opposition to himself, and learnt the discomfiture of some military pretenders in the provinces, he entered the city at the

head of his forces, and assumed the empire not less as the nominee of the army than as the chosen of the Senate. Servius Sulpicius Galba was a man of good family; the heralds tried to connect him with a mythological ancestry; but the transfer of empire from the race of the Julii, of whom three at least had been enrolled among their tutelary deities, gave a shock to the national feeling from which it never recovered. Never again could the Romans surrender themselves to the illusion, that their emperor reigned by right of a divine descent; the attempt to establish such a descent, though made in favor of some later rulers, never again laid hold of the national sentiment, and established itself as a popular superstition. As regarded the successor to Nero, it was wholly futile. The manners which Galba brought from the camp to the palace were rude and harsh; his principles were austere; he was frugal himself, and parsimonious in relation to others. He refused the soldiers their expected donative; and to both the soldiers and the people showed himself a strict disciplinarian. Such a commencement of a new reign—a reign founded on favor, not on right—irritated all classes, and made them apprehend a severity more galling than the capricious cruelties of the late tyrant. Warned, but not dismayed at the murmurs he heard around him, Galba selected an associate more young and vigorous than himself, named Piso; but intrigues were already in motion against him; Otho, once the confidant of Nero, and as profligate as his master, was tampering with the prætorians. Galba had exercised his power but one fortnight when this conspiracy burst upon him, and unsupported by the people, undefended by his own guards, he fell by the sword of a mutinous soldiery.

The successor to Galba was proclaimed by the prætorians without even a pretence of consulting the senators, who tacitly acquiesced in the appointment, but abstained perhaps as far as they could from actually acknowledging it. While the emperor assumed the privilege of striking the gold and sil-



ver coinage, the privilege of issuing the more vulgar copper currency was accorded to the Senate. The fact, that no copper coinage of Otho's brief reign has been discovered, may be taken to show the reluctance of this outraged body to stamp their approval of his usurpation on the public money. But however this may be, the usurper's career was speedily cut short. The legions in the north of Gaul had already declared against Galba, and put Aulus Vitellius at their head to contest the empire with him. The report of Galba's death and Otho's succession made no difference in their measures. They wanted an emperor of their own creation, from whom they might receive a largess worthy of their services; perhaps they already thirsted for the plunder of Italy and Rome. Otho, though long steeped in luxury, was by nature gallant and high-spirited. He accepted the challenge with alacrity, and went forth to the Cisalpine to encounter the enemy. But his temper was light and capricious, and on the first check received by his followers, he resolved to put an end to the contest, of which he was weary rather than afraid, by falling on his own sword. The victory of Bedriacum thus crowned by the self-sacrifice of his rival, there was nothing to prevent or delay the succession of Vitellius to power, enforced by the swords of his impatient soldiery, and accepted with entire submission by the Senate. At the head of his Gauls and Germans, the conqueror entered the city in military array and accoutrements; and Rome, for the first time, felt herself in the power of an undisguised invader.

But the same high tide of revolution which had wafted Galba and Vitellius to Rome on the wave of military insurrection, was preparing the triumph of yet another competitor for the purple. While the armies of the West were contending for the substantial rewards of nominating to the empire, the legions which occupied the opposite portion of the Roman dominions were not less eager to strike in with a claim of their own. The

progress of the war in Paestine retarded their movements; but at last, suspending though not abandoning these important operations, which also promised abundant glory and plunder, their leaders agreed to set up Vespasian, chief in command among them, as the worthiest candidate for the empire. Vespasian indeed remained for a time in Egypt to secure the resources of that important province, and placed his son Titus in charge of the war against the Jews; but his friend Mucianus led a mighty force through Asia and Greece into Italy, and his lieutenant Antonius Primus engaged the Vitellians in the Cisalpine with the first division of his armaments. Vitellius was hardly seated in his palace, where he was disgracing himself by the vilest sensuality, and betraying a total incapacity for government, when his repose was shaken by the attack of these new assailants. A second battle at Bedriacum broke the strength of his forces. Antonius, anxious to secure the full merit of completing his success before Mucianus could come up with further reinforcements, followed on the heels of the Vitellians, and the partizans of Vespasian mustered so strongly in the Senate-house and the Forum that Vitellius, sluggish and pusillanimous, hastened to proffer his submission. Sabinus, the conqueror's brother, dictated the terms of his abdication; but his soldiers, enraged at his cowardly desertion, still retained their arms, and made a tumultuous night attack on the position of their adversaries in the Capitol. The venerable citadel of the republic was not regularly defensible. Climbing over the roofs of the adjoining houses, and flinging torches before them, they involved the august temple of Jupiter in flames, and burst in the confusion into the inclosure. Sabinus was captured and slain; Domitian, a younger son of Vespasian, escaped in disguise. Vitellius was compelled to resume the purple; but Antonius had now reached the outskirts of the city, and his opponents, who went forth without a leader to encounter him, were

beaten back step by step within the walls, which he entered along with them, filling the streets with slaughter. A remnant of the Vitellians withdrew into the prætorian camp, but their last stronghold was speedily stormed. Their wretched emperor lingered about the palace, uncertain whether to fly or sue for mercy, but was seized by the infuriated soldiery, and slaughtered with many indignities. Mucianus, following in the rear of Antonius, and bringing Domitian with him, assumed the government in the name of Vespasian; and Rome once more settled down in the hope of tranquillity under the new usurper.

Titus Flavius Vespasianus, the founder of the Flavian dynasty, had been saluted emperor by his soldiers in the East in July 822, and it was from that era that the years of his government were technically numbered; but his accession to power at Rome dates from the first days of 823 (A.D. 70), when he assumed the consulship, and received all the ensigns of imperial sovereignty from the Senate, though still absent from the city. He allowed some months to intervene before making his appearance in the capital, choosing perhaps to leave to his lieutenants the invidious task of punishing the most obnoxious of the citizens, and smoothing his entrance into power. When he arrived, about the middle of the year, he accepted the submission of the Senate with complacency, and assured it of his favor and consideration. He proclaimed the advent of a new era of peace, and this announcement was received with the same satisfaction as when Augustus closed the temple of Janus. But the announcement was at least premature, while the Jews still maintained, behind the walls of Jerusalem, their indomitable defiance of the power of Rome. Driven in three campaigns from almost every other stronghold, they defended the Holy City with desperate obstinacy. Religious fanaticism supplied the place of skill or discipline. Though weakened by internal dissensions, they repulsed every at-

tack of the enemy, and submitted to the extremity of famine rather than surrender to the sacrilegious assailant. Exhausted by a long blockade, they were at last overpowered by the perseverance of Titus; their walls were stormed one after another, the inclosure of the temple scaled, and the Holy of Holies given to the flames. The resistance was still protracted for a time in the streets of Jerusalem, and even when the city was taken and razed to the ground, a dying gleam of glory was shed over the fall of Judæa by the defence of Machærus and Massada. But Titus at length completed his bloody task, in which he had exercised relentless severity. On his arrival at Rome he was associated with his father in the honors of a triumph, commemorated by the arch, still existing, which bears his name, and received a share in the government of the empire.

The conquest of Judea had cost Rome a greater effort than any of her foreign wars since the great struggle with Carthage; but such was her energy, such at this period the extent of her resources, that she had continued to conduct it in the midst of the distractions of civil strife, and during the determined mutiny of one of her finest armies. Immediately on the departure of Vitellius for Rome, with a large portion of the Germanic legions, the German and Gaulish auxiliaries in the north of Gaul revolted against their commanders, set up the standard of a Gaulish empire, and succeeded in breaking up the whole of the Roman force in their country. Under the Batavian chief Civilis, they continued to defy the power of the empire till the overthrow of Vitellius allowed the new government at Rome to pour its legions across the Alps. Civilis was beaten in several encounters by the Flavian general Cerialis. Domitian advanced in person into Gaul to support the efforts of his lieutenant; but the resistance of the mutineers was crushed before his arrival on the Rhine, and in the north, as well as in the east, the sway of Vespasian was secured and consolidated.



This fortunate soldier held the reign of empire ten years, during which period the Senate was allowed to resume much of its ancient consideration, and the personal virtues of the ruler, his simplicity and moderation of character, exercised a favorable influence on the manners of the age. A reaction set in from the reckless extravagance fostered by the example of Nero. The fortunes of the great nobles had been broken down by the exactions of that rapacious tyrant, and had suffered still more perhaps in the confusion of the civil wars; many of the chief families had become extinguished, and their place in the Senate, and in the high offices of the state, was supplied by men of meaner birth and provincial extraction. Raised by Vespasian to their new dignities, these men took Vespasian for their model, and introduced into their households the fashion of economy and self-control. Though rude and unpolished himself, the soldier-emperor paid respect to letters, and established throughout his dominions a corps of salaried professors. On the other hand, he banished the philosophers from Rome; but to this harsh measure he was perhaps amply provoked by the pertinacity with which they preached disaffection and rebellion. Vespasian had none of the finer qualities of the high-bred Roman aristocrat; there was nothing genial or magnanimous in his character; once or twice he acted with revolting cruelty. But his rule was marked on the whole by equity and mildness, and his reign deserves to be noted as one of the brightest periods in the annals of the empire.

Vespasian had prudently erected a temple to his predecessor Claudius, and he received a similar honor after death from his successor Titus. The Flavian family was formally admitted among the tutelary divinities of the Roman people; but the hero-worship of the emperors was a service from which the life and spirit had now wholly evaporated. The conqueror of Judea, who now occupied his father's place on earth,

bore the character of a mild and studious philosopher. His conduct indeed in the field had been marked with the cold-blooded cruelty common to all the Roman generals, but towards the citizens, and especially the senators, he displayed the moderation and self-control which always commanded their warmest acclamations. Out of deference to the prejudices of his countrymen, he refrained from marrying the Jewish princess Drusilla, of whom he was passionately enamoured; and this condescension to national feelings gained him perhaps no less applause than the sentiment he was said to have once expressed, that "he had lost a day" in which he had performed no special act of virtue. There seems to have been some softness, and perhaps some effeminacy, in the character of Titus. He was addicted to voluptuous habits; he was prone to indulge in expensive ostentation; and had he not succeeded to a hoard of treasure amassed by his father's economy, which he did not live to exhaust, he might have resorted at last to the cruelties of a Nero to supply his prodigality. Though the Romans agreed in entitling this prince the "delight of the human race," they admitted that he was saved by an early death from the snares of a position to which he might have proved unequal. Titus died of a fever, his frame having been weakened by an immoderate use of the bath, after a short reign of only two years, in 834 (A.D. 81).

Domitian, who succeeded to his elder brother, had never been regarded with the same hope and favor by the Romans. His head had been turned by the glories which accrued to his family in his tender years. During the short interval in which he had exercised power before his father's arrival at Rome, he had given the rein to his youthful passions, and the evil nature thus early developed in him had been repressed but not eradicated by the control of Vespasian. The Romans declared that he had shown the cruelty of his disposition in early youth by his passion for killing flies. He seems to

have had some taste for literature; he was himself a poet; he encouraged and rewarded poets, and instituted poetical contests and prizes. He persecuted the philosophers, indeed, like his father; nevertheless the reign of Domitian did not fail to produce many brilliant writers and enduring works of genius. But the temper of this emperor was weak and cowardly; and after a few years of professed deference to the Senate, he grew weary of the dissimulation he had practised, exacted from them the grossest adulation, watched all their movements with anxious jealousy, tormented them with his miserable fears, and decimated them, on the slightest pretext, with remorseless barbarity. He was himself tormented with the desire of emulating his father and brother in their military achievements. With this view, he did not hesitate to exchange the pleasures of the capital for the hardships of war. He made one campaign beyond the Rhine, and another beyond the Danube. He pretended to obtain successes, and to celebrate triumphs over both the Germans and the Dacians; and his equestrian statue, one of the most magnificent works of art at Rome, represented him trampling victoriously on the captive enemies of his country. Whether really satisfied or not with the applauses he demanded from the citizens, he could not bear to witness the genuine glory of a lieutenant. During the latter years of Vespasian, and through the short reign of Titus, the gallant Agricola, one of the best of the Roman captains, had conducted a series of campaigns in Britain. The country south of the Humber or the Tyne had been already reduced; but Agricola undertook to complete the conquest of the island, which he was the first to circumnavigate. In the course of eight years he penetrated to the foot of the Grampians, and finished his career of victory with the defeat of the Caledonian Galgacus. He drew a line of forts from the Firth of Forth to the Clyde, which was strengthened at a later period, and established as the boundary of the Ro-

man possessions. But he would not have rested here, with his work half accomplished, had not the emperor suddenly recalled him to Rome, and reminded him of the danger of making himself too conspicuous among the subjects of so pusillanimous a master. He conducted himself at Rome with becoming modesty and reserve; but the jealousy of the tyrant was not to be appeased, and his death, which speedily followed, was too surely attributed to poison.

Domitian had purchased the favor of the populace by shows and largesses, but at the expense of the nobles, whose estates he confiscated; and as his enemies multiplied and his fears increased, he was constrained to secure the support of the soldiers by raising their pay, and indulging their indolence and vanity. The guards had now become well aware of their position as the real masters of the city and of the empire. Their vanity and their licentiousness were almost equally odious to the citizens, over whom they domineered with impunity. The life and power of the emperor were in their hands, and he was obliged to wink at their excesses. They could only be restrained by the strong arm of a soldier like themselves. They had quailed before veteran Vespasian—they had respected the victorious Titus; but Domitian, whose futile pretences to military prowess they despised, could only retain their swords by yielding immediately to all their caprices. Thus supported, however, the nobles, now trembling daily for their lives, could not venture to assail him. He continued to persecute them with unceasing barbarity, while himself so apprehensive for his own safety that he shut himself up in apartments mirrored on every side, and so thickly carpeted that his footfalls could not be heard beneath. At last, however, vengeance overtook him from the centre of his own palace. He was wont to inscribe on his tablets day by day the names of those he meant to put to death, continuing to treat them, till the moment arrived, with attentions which disarmed all suspicion.



An accident discovered the fatal record to the Empress Domitia, who was dismayed at finding her own name set down in it, together with those of others in high office about the emperor's person. To these she imparted the secret; and they all conspired together to save themselves by assassinating their treacherous master. The tyrant of Rome fell by the hand of a Greek freedman; and with him the line of the Flavian emperors came to an end. He left no children, nor would the indignant senators, who met to nominate a new ruler before the guards could recover from their consternation, have endured another scion of a stock now rendered detestable to them. Domitian was the twelfth of the Cæsars, a name or title which the Flavian emperors had continued to bear, and which was still perpetuated in their successors; but the accident, perhaps, of the *Lives of the Cæsars* by Suetonius terminating with him, has limited its special application in popular language to these twelve only.

The prætorians were irresolute, the populace was indifferent; and when the Senate declared that Cocceius Nerva, an aged veteran of high birth and character, should succeed to the chief place in the state, his election might be regarded as ratified by the suffrage of the Roman people. But Nerva, it was remarked, was the first of the emperors of Italian, not of Roman parentage. His family came from Narnia, in the Umbrian territory; and he might still, it seems, be stigmatized as a foreigner, though the Italians had now enjoyed Roman citizenship for nearly two centuries. In this respect the new appointment of the Senate was considered by some as a striking innovation on the ideas of antiquity. It was remembered, however, that the elder Tarquin, one of the most popular of the kings, was by birth an Etruscan; and a saying was current among the curious in such matters, that the Romans had generally prospered most by their native genius under foreign rulers. But such reflections as these, delivered to us by some of

their latest writers, were no doubt the sophisms of another age: at the moment, the citizens thought little of the origin of their new emperor; they were occupied with feelings of vengeance against the slaughtered tyrant, whose images they overthrew, while the Senate decreed that his "acts" should be abolished, and the honor of the apotheosis refused to him. The man of their choice was pledged to support their authority and respect their persons. Nerva bound himself by an oath that no senator should suffer death during his reign; a pledge which was formally repeated by some succeeding sovereigns. This was the charter of the Roman constitution under the new dynasty, which depended only on the word of the emperor, but was preserved inviolate at least by Nerva and his next successor. Under this pledge of personal safety the senators again raised their heads, and enjoyed a considerable share of real authority in affairs. Nerva, indeed, was a man of no great strength of character, nor were his health and vigor of body such as to allow him to enter on any struggle with the patrons who had advanced him to the head of the commonwealth. The Senate, however, on their part, fully acquitted themselves of their share in the compact implied between them, exalting the natural mildness and moderation of his temper as the highest sense of justice and most unbounded clemency. It mattered little to them that the poor old man surrendered to the clamors of the prætorians the freedmen who had slain Domitian; and when he himself put swords into the hands of some nobles whom he knew to be conspiring against him, they extolled what was perhaps mere conscious helplessness as the most magnanimous intrepidity. It was in the interest of this class that the legislation of Nerva seems to have been principally conceived. He enacted rigid laws against the informers, and screened the senators from delation, not in cases of treason only, but of other criminal charges; while he enforced the utmost severity of the barbarous law of Rome against the slaves of

their households. The reign, however, of this prince did not last long enough to try the principles on which he conducted it. He died, after holding power a little more than sixteen months, but not before he had conferred the greatest of all boons on the Roman empire, in the choice of the best and ablest of his subjects to succeed him.

This man was M. Ulpius Trajanus, a native of Italica in Spain, distinguished for his bold and straightforward character, as well as for his military capacity. It was for these qualities, and not for his rank or riches, for he was the son of a plain officer in the armies of Vespasian, that the emperor chose him for the support of his own throne, and adopted him into his family. This was, moreover, the best way of securing the tranquil transmission of the empire on the vacancy which might soon be expected to occur. Trajan was in command of the forces at Cologne at the time of Nerva's death; but not only the Senate and people, but the prætorians and the soldiers generally, acquiesced with perfect satisfaction in the announcement of his succession. He seems, indeed, to have been personally popular with all classes; nor did he, throughout the whole course of his reign, seek to ingratiate himself with any one at the expense of the others. The accounts delivered to us of this reign, as well as of others of the same period, are unfortunately very meagre. We possess, however, abundant evidence that the Romans, not then only, but for many generations afterwards, regarded it as the brightest epoch in the imperial annals. The Senate continued to enjoy the highest respect and consideration; the people were gratified by shows—not indeed the aimless extravaganzas of Nero, but the martial displays of the amphitheatre, barbarous and disgusting, no doubt, according to our ideas, yet dignified in Roman eyes by ancient national associations. The government of Trajan is also distinguished by the attention it paid, for the first time perhaps in the political history of antiquity, to the relief of poverty by eleemosynary insti-

tutions. The provision it made for the maintenance of orphans in Italy, though we can but imperfectly understand it from the notices which remain, is a marked feature in the public economy of this interesting period. The architectural works of Trajan for the embellishment of the city were conceived on the grandest scale, and executed with no want of taste. He constructed, moreover, the naval stations of Centumcellæ and Ancona. But the bent of his genius was military, and he humored the passions of the army, as well as his own, by the wars he waged against the enemies of Rome. He avenged the humiliation inflicted on the empire by the Dacians and their king Decebalus, which the pretended triumph of Domitian had failed to disguise, and reduced the countries of modern Hungary and Transylvania to the form of a province. The remains of Roman cities, and the deep root still held there by the Latin language, prove the completeness of the conquest he effected, though his next successor thought fit to resign this tardy acquisition. The Pillar of Trajan at Rome, sculptured with the events of the Dacian war, still exists as another monument of the conqueror's prowess. The emperor carried his arms also across the Euphrates, and annexed to the empire some districts in Mesopotamia. He penetrated into the deserts of Arabia, extending the empire, nominally at least, as far as the city of Medina. It is said that his lieutenants carried the eagles beyond Syene on the Nile, and subjugated Nubia. But these conquests, if they really deserve the name, were also surrendered on the death of the conqueror, which took place at Selinus in Cilicia, in the year 870, after a reign of nineteen years and a half.

The chief blot on the character of this able and potent prince is the persecution which he suffered to be inflicted upon the Christians, who were becoming at this period an important element in the population of the empire. By the earlier Cæsars the Jews had been treated with great favor, both in their own country and in Rome. This peo-



ple had taken the part of Julius Cæsar in their hatred of Pompeius; they had sided with Augustus against Antonius; and thus had been suffered to return to practice their rites unmolested in the city, and to make a great harvest of proselytes among the noble and wealthy classes, particularly of the female sex. Under Tiberius, indeed, and Claudius, their turbulence had subjected them to rigid measures of repression; they had been banished for a time from Rome; but these measures were soon relaxed, and they returned in no less numbers nor less turbulently disposed than before. In their own country the leaders of these repeated seditions had been known by the appellation of Christs, and when the true disciples of Jesus of Nazareth became first conspicuous in the city, we might expect them to be popularly confounded with the deluded followers of Judas the Galilean, or Theudas, who had made the name of Christ odious to the Roman people. We have seen how Nero gratified the Roman populace by sacrificing the Christians at Rome to their fury, and we have remarked that under this name, not the true disciples only, but the unbelieving Jews also, may possibly have been included. The fierce struggle which ensued in Palestine, ending in the overthrow of Jerusalem and a general dispersion of the native population, exasperated the feelings of the Romans against the Jews, and it is probable that, though the Christians were now of almost every nation under the Roman dominion, the fundamental connection of their religion with that of the Jews marked them as in some sense pertaining to those detested enemies of Rome. Hence every jealous measure directed against the Jews themselves, or against their rites and usages, would apply with equal force to the Christians; the believers might be required at any moment, at the discretion of the rulers and governors, to give a pledge for their loyalty to Rome by swearing in the name of the emperor, or by sacrificing to his genius. This was a simple test, which saved all discussion on the

character of the Christians or the merits of their religious tenets; the prætors in the provinces might be anxious to show their zeal for their master by exacting this compliance; they were bound at least to exact it in the case of any person denounced to them as the holder of dangerous opinions, whether specified as Jewish or Christian, and hence we find such inquisition made, and cruel punishments inflicted, both under Domitian and Trajan. The latter prince checked the zeal of his officers by expressly forbidding, as in the case of Pliny in Bithynia, any inquiry for Christians to be made. If denounced, then indeed the test must be applied, but not otherwise. Thus circumscribed, the persecution seems to have quickly relaxed, and before his death, Trajan, with his natural justice and benevolence, resolved to suppress it altogether.

Trajan was undoubtedly the greatest of the Roman commanders after the days of Cæsar, and under him the frontiers of the empire were advanced to the farthest limits they ever attained. The legions were never more triumphant; the bravery of the soldiers, the conduct of their officers, never more conspicuous: the military power of Rome was raised perhaps at this epoch to its highest pitch. It may be doubted, however whether the men who bore the eagles of Trajan were really animated with the same spirit of devotion to the service, of discipline and endurance, as the conquerors of Zama or of Pydna: they won many victories, but it was over barbarian enemies; and their constancy was seldom tried by defeats. The practice, introduced indeed before, but carried out most systematically by Trajan, of defending the frontiers of the empire by long lines of fortifications, such as that which may still be traced in many places from the Rhine to the Danube, must have contributed to weaken the soldier's reliance on his own strength and courage, and taught him to depend on the shelter of ditches and ramparts. Thus protected, he would soon begin to relax in his attention to drill

and exercise. It is probable, indeed, that the immediate object for which these works were raised was not so much defence as employment. The legions on the frontiers had too little occupation. On the Danube they had broken out in dangerous mutinies; on the Rhine they had set up an emperor of their own against the emperor of the Senate. The Roman soldier had been always taught to use the pick-axe as well as the sword; the raising of earthworks and fixing of palisades were part of his business as much as the leaping, running, swimming, and fencing which formed his daily exercise. Every night on march, on arriving at his halting-place, he was required to throw up a wall of turf round his camp before betaking himself to rest. The arrangement and dimensions of the camp are fully set forth by the historian Polybius, from which we may calculate the amount of labor imposed on the legionary in the best age of the republic. But under Trajan we find that a new system of castrametation was in practice, known by the name of its expounder Hyginus, according to which an equal number of men was lodged in an encampment of not more than half the size of those of the Cæsars and the Scipios. We cannot suppose that the armies of the empire carried with them less baggage or required fewer followers than those of the republic; and we can only see in this reduction of the size of the camp a relaxation of discipline, and a concession to the indolence of the legionaries. The walls of Trajan in Germany and Moldavia, and the diminished extent of the Hyginian encampments, are the first visible symptoms of decline in the military spirit of the Romans.

The wise and vigorous rule of Trajan seems to have completely restored the harmonious working of the different orders and classes of the empire. The sovereign authority of the Senate was recognized on all hands; and the emperor, when engaged on his distant expeditions, could leave the reins of government to the consuls without fear for his own power or for the tranquillity of

the state. When he suddenly died in a corner of an obscure province, the mere assertion by his wife Plotina, that he had nominated Hadrian his heir and successor, was received without opposition or question; and, in default of sons of his own, it was considered most natural and proper that he should thus endow with the purple a man of known ability and experience, a native of his own province, and allied to his own family. T. Ælius Hadrianus, who really owed his elevation to an intrigue of the palace rather than to the actual choice of his predecessor, was a man whom even a Trajan, the best hitherto of the Roman emperors, might be proud of appointing to succeed him. Though his private conduct was not devoid of defects, and though his temper was eventually spoiled by indulgence, he seems to have possessed on the whole the highest combination of princely qualities that ever graced the Roman purple. Though a brave and skillful captain, he refrained from the unprofitable pursuit of military laurels, and chose rather to abandon the useless and expensive conquests of Trajan than waste the resources of the empire in retaining them. The Euphrates and the Danube became again, and long continued to be, the frontiers of his ample dominions. While he retained the swords of the legionaries in their scabbards, he did not shrink from passing a large portion of his time, as an emperor should do, among them; and whether in the camp or in the field, he set a noble example of abstinence and simplicity. He marched at the head of his troops generally on foot, never in a litter, from one end of the empire to the other; his fare was as rude as that of the meanest soldier; he wore no covering to his head, and he endured without a murmur the oppressive weight of his arms and corslet. But the merits of Hadrian as a commander were far outshone by those he manifested in the conduct of civil affairs. He visited every province in succession, exercising a vigilant control over the local administration, securing to his people the due execution of justice, alle-



viating their fiscal burdens, adorning their cities with sumptuous edifices, laboring night and day, with the assistance of the ablest counsellors, for the happiness and prosperity of his subjects. Hadrian was the first to undertake the great work of codifying the Roman law, a work which Cæsar had proposed, but which none of his successors had ventured to lay their hands to. This object, indeed, was not destined to be accomplished by any single emperor; but Hadrian deserves the full credit of showing it was practicable by commencing it. In the attitude he assumed towards the religious creeds of his subjects, he proved himself an intelligent statesman. In the absence of any definite views of his own, he displayed an enlightened tolerance of those of others, and relaxed the harsh restrictions which the empire still placed, in the spirit of antiquity, on many foreign superstitions. Unfortunately his liberality deserted him, like so many other philosophers of heathendom, in the presence of Christianity alone. Against the true believers he did not scruple to exercise the rigor of old Roman prejudice. He still confounded them apparently with the Jews, from whom they could not yet be at first sight easily distinguished; and the Jews had alarmed and irritated him by a furious revolt, which, commencing under Trajan, continued to rage far into the reign of his successor, and to demand for its suppression all the energy and unscrupulous cruelty of the ruling people. On the ruins of Jerusalem Hadrian planted the colony of *Ælia Capitolina*, called *Ælia* after himself as the founder, and *Capitolina* after Jupiter of the Roman Capitol, whose shrine he reared on the spot once honored by the temple of Jehovah. The Jews were now at last finally subdued, and they never made head again against the power appointed to overthrow them.

The state-religion of the empire was honored by several monuments of Hadrian's munificence. The temple of Rome and Venus which he erected, the remains of which are still visible between the Forum and the

Colosseum, was the largest of all the buildings devoted to the worship of the gods in the city; while that of Jupiter Olympius, which he completed at Athens, the work of a series of governments and princes, was reputed the most magnificent of all earthly shrines, and alone worthy of the mighty being to whom it was dedicated. But while the emperor paid this external homage to the religious sentiment of his people, he did not scruple to outrage it by exalting to divine honors a minion of his own, the beautiful Antinous, who was drowned accidentally in the Nile. Both the compliment and the outrage, however, were regarded probably with equal indifference by the great majority of his subjects, whose notions of the supernatural world were limited for the most part to a belief in omens and incantations, while the outward forms of religion served them merely as a pretext for the cultivation of art and taste. Hadrian has left another monument to himself deserving of notice in England. Consistently with his uniform policy of withdrawing the presidial garrisons of the frontier from the least tenable outposts, he abandoned the forts of Agricola between the Forth and Clyde, and drew a line of military stations, connected with a fosse and rampart of earth, from the Tyne to the Solway: this became now the boundary of the province of Britain. It is probable that he also completed the rampart of Trajan between the Rhine and Danube, which is sometimes called after him the *Limes Hadriani*.

With such claims to respect in his public character, it must be confessed that Hadrian showed much personal weakness. It is probable that no man, in that age of moral decline, could cultivate every intellectual faculty to the utmost without betraying some pitiable vanity and overweening self-confidence. Not in the arts of government only, but in letters, in science, in taste, he would allow of no superior. He put to silence the grammarian Favorinus, who found it prudent, as he said, to desist from arguing "with the master of

thirty legions." It is asserted that he put to death the architect Apollodorus, through jealousy of his professional accomplishments. In his latter years he became more than ever impatient of contradiction, and the fretfulness of his temper, which degenerated at last into gloominess and cruelty, was aggravated by painful infirmities. Towards the end of his reign he adopted L. Verus, with no other merit than that of being the handsomest of the Roman nobles; but this intended successor fortunately died before him, and on his death-bed he made the more auspicious choice of T. Aurelius Antoninus, a man of the highest promise, which promise he amply fulfilled. Hadrian died, worn out by bodily sufferings, in the year 891 (A.D. 138), at the age of sixty-three, after a reign of twenty-one years, having unfortunately lived long enough to cloud with indelible stains the career of the wisest of the Roman emperors.

Before his death Hadrian had raised the mausoleum in which he wished his ashes to repose; and the remains of this immense work still existing constitute one of the most striking monuments of antiquity at Rome. But his reputation he was obliged to leave in the hands of jealous survivors, and the Senate would have vented its spite on his memory by refusing him the honors of an apotheosis, had not his successor interfered, and exerted all his influence to gain him the coveted distinction. Antoninus earned, it is said, the title of "Pius" by the affection he thus displayed towards his adopted father. The character of this prince was truly amiable; and the strict though generous discipline of his immediate predecessors had fortunately so calmed the temper of the Roman people, and suppressed all irregular ambitions, that the heir of their power was enabled to carry on the government on the principles of magnanimous moderation which naturally belonged to him. During the three-and-twenty years of Antoninus's reign we read of no intestine dissensions; nor was even the peace of the frontiers disturbed by foreign aggressions. Hadrian is accused of

being the first to sanction the fatal policy of bribing the barbarians. How far he is justly amenable to the charge we do not positively know. He certainly did not adopt any such plan generally, and exceptional occasions there may have been on which it was not unwise to employ it. However this may be, we find that the peace of the empire was now substantially secured for more than a quarter of a century. Antoninus, indeed, saw reason to depart from Hadrian's cautious policy in Britain, where his lieutenant, Lollius Urbicus, advanced again to the boundary-line of Agricola. He departed from it also in another particular, in which we may take a greater interest, by repressing the persecutions which had so long raged against the Christians. On the whole, however, there is no period of equal length in the Roman annals of which we know so few particulars as this. This is owing partly, no doubt, to the uneventful character of the times, and partly also to the tameness of the Roman people themselves, who seem to have produced no men of prominence in public life during this reign. Even in arts and literature the spirit of Rome seems to have been quiescent; but Greece witnessed a great revival in letters, and was distinguished by a flourishing school, if not of original genius, at least of correct and elegant imitation. But the single history of the times which survives is peculiarly meagre, and we must regret the transient glimpse which is allowed us of a reign so full of social if not of political interest.

Antoninus Pius evinced his regard for his predecessor by honorably fulfilling the obligation imposed upon him of adopting M. Aurelius, the son of Annus Verus, and his own nephew. For this youth, even in his tender years, Hadrian had shown a great predilection, being struck by his noble character as well as his excellent abilities. He used to call him, not Verus, but Verissimus; and on the death of his associate Ælius Verus, he was only prevented by his extreme youth from nominating him at once as his successor. Aurelius was carefully educated



under his uncle, whose daughter Faustina he received in due time in marriage. Acquiring after his adoption his father's name Antoninus, he became distinguished from him in common speech by the further title of "the Philosopher." He devoted himself to the study of the Greek writers on morals, and professed himself a strict disciple of the Stoic school. The memoir he has left, consisting of reflections on his own life and conduct, is considered one of the most interesting relics of antiquity. It presents us at least with a picture drawn from life of a man in high station, and full of public cares, striving ingenuously to square all his actions to the rules of the truest wisdom of the ancients. Austere and pure as the Stoic principles were, they were not, it seems, too high-flown to be practically fulfilled by a man of strong resolution, lofty feeling, and thoroughly in earnest. The noble Roman, imbued with the Grecian philosophy, formed the fairest combination of moral excellences of which heathen antiquity was capable. Aurelius succeeded Antoninus in the year 914 (A.D. 161), and following again the arrangement prescribed so long before by Hadrian, associated with himself Lucius Verus, a son of Hadrian's favorite. This man was indeed of a very different character from himself; but while Aurelius, whose health was not strong, inclined to a quiet career of business and study at home, he might expect to find in his colleague, who was a man of great vigor of body, without any tincture of letters, an able assistant in the affairs of the camp. Immediately on the death of Antoninus the Parthians threatened the empire with war, and Verus was dispatched to take the field against them. But neither did Aurelius contemplate a life of tranquil retirement. The Chatti, a German people on the Mayn, were assuming an attitude of defiance; and an insurrection was, at the same time, apprehended in Britain. The defence of the West was undertaken by the Philosopher in person.

While the vigilance of Aurelius kept the

Germans and Britons in check, the lieutenants of Verus, rather than Verus himself, who indulged without stint or shame in the licentious voluptuousness of his Syrian headquarters, inflicted a severe defeat on the arrogant Parthians. The successes of the eastern war were celebrated by the two emperors in a splendid triumph, and commemorated in the sounding titles they appended to their names. But in the midst of these rejoicings a double calamity was impending over the empire: a combination of hostile tribes along the northern bank of the Danube, known by the terrible names of the Marcomanni, the Quadi, the Alani, and the Sarmatæ, was preparing to pour over the frontier and overwhelm the Pannonian and Illyrian provinces; at the same time the seeds of a fatal pestilence had been imported by the soldiers of Verus from the East, and become disseminated among the mass of the population almost throughout the Roman dominions. The alarm and distress of the people were aggravated by the inclemency of the seasons. The city was visited by one of the fearful inundations, periodically recurring, against which no adequate precautions had been taken through so many centuries, which swept away the magazines of corn by the river's side, and cut off the supplies of the turbulent multitude. The two emperors went forth together to combat the enemy on the frontier, and returned after a temporary success. Again they were summoned to the rescue, and this time Verus died on his march. The prevalence of the plague rendered recruiting slow and difficult; and Aurelius, determined to spare no effort in the defence of his country, did not scruple to enrol slaves and gladiators in his legion, a resource which had never been adopted but in the greatest extremity. At the same time he made what was to him a much less sacrifice, by selling the vast stores of jewels and furniture amassed by a succession of princes in the imperial palaces. The victory of Aurelius over the Quadi, in 927 (A.D. 174), is rendered memorable by the claim advanced

by the Christians to a miraculous interposition. The affairs of the Romans were retrieved, it seems, by the occurrence of a seasonable storm; a fact which is commemorated on the column erected by the emperor in Rome. Some fathers of the church maintained, at a later period, that the rain was sent in answer to the prayers of a legion of Christian soldiers, to which the name of *Fulminatrix* ("the thundering") was in consequence given. They added that Aurelius suspended the persecution of the believers in consequence of this manifest sign of the Divine favor towards them. It has been proved, however, that the name of *Fulminatrix* was of earlier origin; and modern Christian divines will not allow that there was any suspension of persecution during the reign of the philosophic emperor. The story, we must suppose, was embellished, perhaps unconsciously, by the fervid imagination of Tertullian.

But before he had broken the power of the Danubian tribes, Aurelius was called away to confront a more pressing danger in the East. The Empress Faustina, the daughter of the good Antoninus, inherited, it seems, none of her father's virtues. The dissoluteness of her conduct is said to have been notorious at Rome, and her husband, who loved her tenderly, was alone blinded to it. A crime of still deeper dye is imputed to her by the historians. Apprehensive of the risks the emperor ran from the infirmity of his health, as well as from the chances of distant warfare, and trembling for the succession, in case of his sudden death, of her young son Commodus, she intrigued, we are assured, with Avidius Cassius, the commander in Syria, offering him her hand in the event of her husband's demise; an offer which might be considered equivalent to an invitation to accelerate it. While Cassius was deliberating on this proposal, a false rumor of the emperor's death actually reached him. He immediately started up as a candidate for the empire, and his soldiers were not indisposed to lead him in triumph to Rome

Aurelius, on his part, prepared to meet him in the East; but when the conflict was on the eve of commencing, the usurper was assassinated by one of his own officers. The conduct of Aurelius, while the event was still uncertain, seems to have been truly noble. He declared that he only wished to have an opportunity of pardoning his inconsiderate rival; and it is much to be lamented that the history of Rome should have been deprived of so rare an instance of imperial clemency.

Aurelius set the affairs of the East in order, still retaining his generous confidence in the guilty Faustina, who accompanied him on his progress, but who died by her own hand, as some affirmed, in the course of it. He visited Egypt and Athens, and celebrated a triumph at Rome in the year 929. After six months' respite, he was dragged away again to the Danube, where he continued to conduct operations against the restless barbarians for two more years. His self-devotion was crowned with repeated successes, but he was still unable to make a decisive impression on the wide spread combination of Germans and Sarmatians. Vexed by the cruel destiny which retained him so long in the camp, but lamenting still more deeply the manifest weakness of the empire, which his arm only could uphold, he sank at last, from fatigue and chagrin, in the year 933 (A.D. 180), the fifty-ninth of his age, and the twentieth of his reign. His career, though calamitous, had been glorious. He had attained the fame which he never coveted, of a warrior; but he has earned still greater fame, and such as he would doubtless have more dearly prized, as a patriot and a philosopher. He seems to have lived up to his professions, and those professions the highest perhaps that a heathen could make, more fully than any heathen and almost any Christian moralist. No character, at least in ancient history, deserves to be held in higher honor by the wise and good of all ages. In his virtues, in his sufferings, in his triumphs and his reverses, he ran very



nearly the same course as the English Alfred; but while Alfred has been appreciated more and more by the advancing goodness and wisdom of his countrymen, Aurelius, in the now rapid decline of the empire, found no Roman imitators and few admirers.

If the good and wise Aurelius betrayed some weakness of character in suffering himself to be blinded to his wife's infidelities, he erred more seriously in allowing the succession to his empire to devolve on a son so unworthy as Commodus. This youth seems to have possessed none of his father's virtues, nor had the training in wisdom which we must suppose his father to have given him produced any fruit. Though eminently handsome in person and skillful in his martial exercises, he was coarse and brutal in manners, cruel and cowardly in disposition. Admirably as the empire had been governed from the time of Nerva, and, with the exception of Domitian's reign, from the time of Vespasian, a period of more than a hundred years, it now became evident that the happiness of the Roman world depended on the general good qualities of the sovereign, and not on the stability of the principles on which the administration was founded. Vespasian had restored the dignity of the Senate, and the improvement he introduced in the manners of the nobility had contributed to strengthen its position in public opinion. Succeeding emperors, with one base exception, had condescended to lean upon the authority of this illustrious body, to consult it in the conduct of affairs, to defer to it in cases of adoption or association in their supreme power. The Senate, on the other hand, had had the good sense and modesty to accept the part assigned it without presuming further: it had responded to the emperor's appeals, but had refrained from dictation and perhaps even from suggestion. It is undoubtedly one of the most remarkable incidents in history, that two co-ordinate powers, so unequally matched in real force, should have continued to maintain for so long a period

the tacit understanding which secured the peace and happiness of mankind. The machine had hitherto moved so easily that no one perhaps at Rome was aware, at the moment of Aurelius's death, how precarious were the ties which actually held it together. Aurelius himself was unable to anticipate the certain disruption which must ensue from the collision of a rude and selfish prince with a proud but impotent nobility.

The detestation which the new emperor incurred may throw some suspicion perhaps on the details transmitted to us of his cruelties and other enormities, in which he is said to have equalled the jealousy of Domitian, the caprice of Nero, and the extravagance of Caius. But with these loathsome particulars we need not much concern ourselves. The peace which, immediately on his father's death, he made with the Marcomanni was undoubtedly premature; it is not necessary to inquire whether, as asserted, it was purchased with money. After his departure for Rome the frontiers were more than once assailed by the barbarians, but successfully defended by the captains trained under the brave Aurelius. Commodus commenced at once a career of profusion and dissipation, showing too plainly the weakness of character which an untoward accident soon exasperated into fury. The jealousy of a sister towards his wife seems to have been the cause of the first conspiracy against him, which only failed from the hasty exclamation of the assassin, "The Senate sends you this!" Commodus had time to parry the blow. His life was saved, the conspirators punished; but his suspicions had been awakened, and from this time he could never rest while he saw before him the wise and able men whom his father had introduced into the highest places of the state. All his moments were now divided between extravagant amusements on the one hand, and sanguinary precautions for his own safety on the other. His sensuality was as brutal as that of the worst of his predecessors; his prodigality in shows and entertainments as

excessive; he exhibited his skill in shooting the beasts in the circus; but the Roman spirit, even in this stage of its decline, was outraged by his assuming the name and attributes of Hercules, and requiring (the first of the Roman emperors) that divine honors should be paid him while still living. He commanded that not one only, as Julius, Augustus and others, but all the twelve months should be named after his own titles, and that the city and empire itself should be designated, not as Roman, but *Commodian*. All power he threw into the hands of a favorite named Perennis; but this man was eventually murdered by the prætorians. Disgusted and incensed as the senators were at the outrages of all kinds committed by this abominable tyrant, they were utterly incapable of concerting any plan for overthrowing him. They neither raised the people against him, nor won over his guards, nor invited the commanders of the legions to draw the sword in their behalf; they had not even confidence enough in one another to plot his assassination. He fell at last, after a career of twelve years, by an intrigue of the palace. The contriver of his death was his own concubine Marcia, who discovered, it was said, her own name on the list of the victims he was about to massacre.

The Senate, it seems, was not privy to the murder, and had made no preparations to profit by it. Lætus, the præfect of the guards, and Eclectus, chamberlain of the palace, agreed to present Publius Helvius Pertinax, an officer of obscure family, but of distinguished ability, to the prætorians, and by the promise of a liberal donative their support was purchased. The Senate, to whom Pertinax next exhibited himself, accepted the nomination with joy, and declared that he was the emperor of their own choice. Probably the empire could have furnished no worthier successor to Trajan than this brave and virtuous veteran, and the nobles of Rome might be proud of the respect and deference he manifested towards them. It seemed as if, after a momentary

eclipse, the principles of government consecrated by so many virtuous rulers, from Vespasian to Aurelius, were about to shine out again. But it was too late. The interregnum of Commodus had lasted too long. The interval of licentiousness in the court had corrupted the discipline of the camp. The prætorians, thoroughly debauched by the indulgence of the late tyrant, disdained the restrictions placed upon them by their new master. An attempt at reform and repression resulted in a military insurrection, in which Pertinax lost his life, after a brief reign of only three months. Though the real power of the Senate had long passed away, it had still retained up to this fatal epoch a shadow of authority, and we have seen how throughout the Flavian and Antonine period all the good emperors, all, that is, but two of the series, had lent their countenance to its pretensions. Though ruling by the sword themselves, they had kept the sword carefully under the gown, or suspended it from the palace wall. This moderation had been well rewarded. The good emperors of Rome had reigned long and prosperously. The honors they had bestowed on the Senate had been repaid them by the Senate, the people, and, so at least the Romans might believe, by the gods of Rome also. This period has often been distinguished with the title of "the happiest era of the human race." It is difficult indeed to point to any period, at least of ancient history, in which so large a portion of mankind enjoyed peace so nearly unbroken, wealth so widely diffused, laws so generally equitable, manners so polished, the appliances of art and science so numerous and so accessible. Yet we cannot commit ourselves to so bold a panegyric on an age in which morality was so lax, religion so effete, public spirit so nearly extinct. Even amidst unclouded material prosperity such deficiencies as these must have left a canker in millions of hearts, and poisoned, though unseen, the actual enjoyment of life. Indications, however, are not wanting that even the material



prosperity of the Romans was undergoing through this period a slow but steady decline. Population was stationary or decreasing; production was suffering with the decay of industry and the vital forces of the state. When a nation has arrived at this turning-point in its career an external shock from war or pestilence may give it a blow from which it cannot recover. At a healthier and stronger period the onslaughts of the barbarians on the frontiers, and the ravages of the plague within, would have been cheerfully encountered and rapidly repaired. But stricken as she was at heart, Rome could now recover from neither. The barbarians ever continued to prey on her vitals through the remainder of her feeble career, and the great plague of Aurelius swept away resources which she had no longer strength to replace.

From this epoch all the interest of Roman history, as the record of a political organization, must cease. We enter upon a period of a hundred years, during which the government remains an undisguised military usurpation, extorted and retained by the drawn sword. On the death of Pertinax the Senate lost all hope. The men of the gown cowered in silent despair; while the prætorians proclaimed aloud that they would offer the empire to the men of their choice, and allowed, it is said, more than one competitor to bid for their suffrages with largesses. Didius Julianus, a wealthy but incapable senator, promised most, and was accordingly accepted. He commenced his reign at Rome with the acquiescence of the civil power, but under the protection of the guards; but the legions were not content with leaving such lucrative patronage in the hands of a few favored cohorts, and as soon as the accession of their nominee was known in the camps abroad, the army of Illyricum proclaimed their own general, Septimius Severus; that of Syria, Percennius Niger; and that of Britain, Clodius Albinus. Of these, Severus was the nearest to Rome, and he was perhaps the most active and ener-

getic of all the competitors. He marched without delay upon the capital, and the Senate hastened to anticipate his reprisals by decreeing the death of Julianus. The puppet of the prætorians was deserted by his mercenary patrons, and suffered without an attempt at defending himself. Severus had conquered Rome, and this fact he made no affectation of disguising. Supported by the army, he disarmed and broke up the prætorian cohorts; he punished also the murderers of Pertinax; but he did not pretend to rule by any other means but force, and he immediately replaced the old guards of the city with more numerous battalions of legionaries. Having thus fortified his position in the city, he prepared to encounter the rivals arming against him in the provinces. It was easy to deceive the voluptuary Albinus with overtures for a division of the empire; but Niger was a man of spirit and ability, and required to be met boldly in the field. The shock of battle took place near the Gulf of Issus in Cilicia in the year A.D. 174, and ended in the defeat of the Syrian pretender. Niger was soon afterwards slain, and Severus exercised remorseless vengeance on his adherents. From thence he turned his steps westward, first attempting to effect the death of Albinus by assassination, but when that failed, leading his victorious troops to encounter him in Gaul. Against a man so vigorous and resolute the British commander had no chance of success; but the hopes of donatives and plunder still animated his men, and they ventured to contend with the forces of the emperor near Lyons. Albinus was completely routed, and fell on his own sword. Severus again followed up his victory with a bloody vengeance. But though relieved from all his rivals, and secured against the renewal of domestic hostilities, the conqueror was not permitted to rest for a moment. The overthrow of the Syrian army had laid bare the frontier of the Euphrates, and the Parthians invaded the undefended province. Severus hastened to confront the foreign foe with

unabated alacrity, and the exploits of his legions in the East, under his able guidance, might be likened to those of Trajan, the greatest commander of the empire.

The reign of Severus was in fact a series of marches from one end of the empire to the other. His sojourns in Rome were few and transient, but his conduct when there was marked with the arrogance and harshness of a mere soldier. The nobles, whom he insulted and harassed, hailed his departure with satisfaction. Old and infirm, he determined at last to visit Britain in person, and complete the subjection of the Caledonians, by whose inroads the province was repeatedly afflicted. He recovered the territory south of the Clyde and Forth, and penetrated some way into the Highlands. The Roman stations, which may still be traced as far north as the Moray Firth, are due perhaps to the energy with which he pushed his successes. But he was now suffering from gout; his constitution was broken by excessive fatigues; and while his conquests were yet uncompleted, he retired to Eboracum (York) to die. His last watchword, given on his death-bed, *Laboremus* ("we must be doing"), marks the character of this indefatigable warrior, whose whole idea of political government was unceasing movement and action.

Severus left his inheritance in partnership between his sons Bassianus, vulgarly called "Caracalla," and Geta. The elder proved himself a monster of tyranny, of the coarse type of Caius and Commodus; the younger hardly promised better; but he was early cut off, being stabbed by his own brother in his mother's arms, before he had fully developed his evil qualities. Of the other crimes of Caracalla, his dissoluteness and ferocity, there is no occasion to say more; they will be too easily understood from the examples already presented to us. Timid as well as ferocious, he too was assassinated by Macrinus, the prefect of his own guards, after a bloody reign of six years. The Roman world was already weary of him. The vast

edifice which he had constructed for the pleasures of the people bore the title of *Thermæ Antoninianæ*, for down to Caracalla the successors of the first Antoninus had all assumed his venerated name in conjunction with that of Augustus; but this once-cherished appellation was now rendered odious to the Romans, and was henceforth dropped from the imperial appellations. Yet notwithstanding his personal excesses, the reign of Caracalla deserves to be noticed as an epoch in Roman jurisprudence. The administration of the wise and learned Papinian extended over the latter years of Severus, and commencement of the following reign, and was distinguished by the application of just principles of law and government. That great jurist himself fell a victim to his young master's jealousy; but to him may probably be ascribed the grand and comprehensive measure by which the boon of citizenship, the cause of so many contests in earlier times, was finally extended to the whole mass of the free population throughout the empire. It is true that this concession was no longer regarded as a favor. It conferred no privilege or exemption, as in days of yore; on the contrary, it brought all the subjects of the emperor within the scope of the direct tax on successions, which had been imposed by Augustus on the citizens of Rome only. But the effect of this great measure was to obliterate henceforth all distinctions of descent and race, and complete the fusion into a single nation of a hundred millions of civilized men.

The deed of blood had been accomplished on the borders of Syria, where the emperor was engaged in leading an expedition against the Parthians. Severus had enjoined his son to pay court to the soldiers, and despise all other classes of his subjects; and the army, which was attached to him, would not have conferred his power on Macrinus had it been aware that the assassination had been committed at that chief's instigation. Macrinus, however, as the ablest of its officers, was now chosen for the command; and the distant



Senate was informed, probably with no punctilious phrases, that a new ruler had succeeded to the throne of the Cæsars. The Senate would have offered no resistance; but in fact it had not time to resist. The news of the election could hardly have reached Rome when Macrinus himself fell by a revolt of the province in favor of a cousin of Caracalla, a Syrian by birth, Elagabalus, priest of the Sun at Emesa, who bore himself the name of the divinity he was appointed to serve. It was time that all the nations of the empire should coalesce into one when their rulers were thus repeatedly chosen from the provinces. Trajan and Aurelius had been Spaniards, Antoninus a Gaul, Severus an African. But these men were great themselves, and the nations to which they belonged deserved to be respected by the Romans. Elagabalus was a miserable stripling, without virtue or talent; and the Syrians, as a people, were despised for their effeminacy and profligacy. The claim of affinity with Severus was the sole recommendation this unworthy creature possessed; but his grandmother Mœsa was a clever intriguer, and played on the affections of the soldiery, who eagerly embraced his cause. They quickly overthrew the upstart Macrinus, who perished with his son and associate Diadumenianus. Macrinus had already purchased peace from Parthia. The soldiers carried their new emperor to Rome, where he speedily immersed himself in the vilest and most disgusting debauchery. The majesty of the purple, often as it had been sullied by stains of every kind, was never perhaps so utterly prostituted and degraded as by the nameless enormities of Elagabalus. For four years the prætorians endured him; then even their patience was exhausted, and they rose and slew him ignominiously.

The empire was now offered to another scion of the stock which claimed connection with Severus. Mœsa, the sister of that emperor's consort, had had two daughters. Sœmias, the elder, was the mother of Elagabalus; the younger, Mammæa, had borne Alexander Severus, whose character throws one

bright though transient gleam over this gloomy period. Under the prudent training of his mother, this prince had unfolded both virtues and abilities; and he continued to profit on the throne by the lessons he still permitted her to instill into him. With the aid of Ulpian and other illustrious jurists, he carried on the great work of Roman legislation; the sole but sufficient token which enables us to augur that, amidst the depravity of its rulers and the violence of its soldiers, the empire was still the cherished home of private graces and tranquil enjoyments. The rescripts of Alexander himself, and the digests of his ministers, are more significant monuments of the civilization of the age than the baths, the columns, and the palaces which continued to be raised to the vanity of princes, or for the gratification of the populace. The reign of this gallant emperor was prosperous both in peace and war, but he too was required to buckle on his armor for a contest in the East. The revolution, indeed, by which the dynasty of the Parthian Arsaces was overthrown, and the Sassanidæ, a native race, succeeded to power at Seleucia, was an augury of evil days to come. The great Eastern Empire, henceforth no longer Parthian, but Persian once more, as of old, sprang up in renewed vigor, and inflicted, under succeeding rulers, many terrible blows on Rome.

The last of the Alexanders gained, however, a great victory over the foes of his illustrious namesake, and returned to celebrate a triumph in the Capitol. Scarcely had he enjoyed the reward of his bravery, when he was summoned to repel another attack of the Germans on the Rhine, and the necessary enforcement of discipline caused a mutiny among the enervated legions on that long peaceful frontier, in which he unfortunately lost his life. His reign had lasted thirteen years, and for that brief space his prudence and vigor had arrested the decline, now too clearly apparent, of the empire. It had now become abundantly manifest that it was by the soldiers alone that an emperor could be

made, and that the soldiers themselves could not long endure the creatures of their own making. The long list of military princes who now follow in rapid succession presents us with one or two names only that command the slightest respect; while the events of our history become as uninteresting as the characters of the chief actors in them. A rapid glance will suffice for the period of half a century, from the death of Alexander in 235, to the accession of Diocletian in 284.

Such is the variety of names which now rapidly succeed one another at the head of the Roman world, that it will be well to divide the period on which we now enter into two parts, according to the leading features which distinguish it. The first comprises the attempts of the Senate to resume its sovereignty over the empire; the second signalizes the efforts of the generals, when these attempts have completely failed, to secure the permanence of military supremacy by restoring the discipline and subordination of the soldiers. The elevation of the Thracian peasant caused an unwonted shock to the susceptibilities of the Roman nobles; and if their disgust was enhanced by the report of his severities and barbarous violence, they were encouraged to make head against him by his continued absence from Italy, which, during his short career of undisputed power, he did not even deign to visit. It was not from the Senate, however, or in Italy, that the movement against Maximin arose. While he was occupied with military operations on the northern frontiers, the chief inhabitants of Africa raised an aged noble named Gordianus to the purple, in which they associated with him his son, and invoked the Senate of Rome to accept him as their leader against the emperor of the army. The Senate acquiesced; denounced Maximin as a usurper, and called on all the provinces to rise against him. The summons was not ineffectual. Maximin found himself deserted both by provinces and armies. But a fresh insurrection in Africa cut off both his rivals; and when he led his troops into Italy, and be-

sieged Aquileia, he found himself opposed, not by the Gordians, but by Maximus and Balbinus, whom the Senate hastily elected in their place. Maximin fell in a camp mutiny; Maximus and Balbinus were slain soon afterwards in a military insurrection; but a third Gordian, a mere stripling, had been already associated with them, out of respect for the great virtues of the grandfather, and the soldiers suffered this nominee of the Senate to retain possession of the purple. The third Gordian was amiable, but probably weak in disposition. The reins of power were held for him with a strong hand by his prefect Misiheus; and the government was conducted, while this man lived, with credit and success. The formidable attitude of the Persians called the emperor to the Syrian frontier. Misiheus was cut off by the intrigues of Julius Philippus; and when this man succeeded to the post of prefect, the emperor fell helplessly into his power, and was soon sacrificed to his ambition. Philip, who now seized the empire, was a native of Bostra. He is generally called "the Arab," but it is not necessary to suppose that he was of Arabian extraction. At all events, he was received without a murmur by the Senate, whose feelings were gratified, no doubt, by the celebration of the secular games, which he instituted in 248, on the thousandth anniversary, for so it was reckoned, of the foundations. The government of this emperor was mild and prudent. Some Christian writers have claimed him for a convert. If the evidence for the fact is slender, the argument against it may be dismissed as nugatory; but the Christians, it may be enough to remark, were disposed to speak favorably of the victim of a man who was notorious as one of their fiercest persecutors. Philip fell in a military insurrection, and was succeeded by Trajanus Decius, an excellent officer, and a man of genuine Roman descent. Thus recommended to both the soldiers and the Senate, he confirmed the predilection of the first by the bravery with which he made head against the attacks, now re-



newed year by year, of the Goths and Sarmatians in the north; and of the latter, by the sweeping attack he made against the long-hated sect of the Christians, of whom we have for some time lost sight in our history.

The Christians, harmless as they were both socially and politically, had been objects of popular hatred from the time when they were first confounded in the common apprehension with the turbulent and rebellious Jews. They had fallen under the suspicions of emperors and prefects, and had often been required to make proof of their loyalty by performing acts of heathen sacrifice, or swearing by the imperial name; and the firmness with which, on such occasions, they had maintained their religious principles had consigned them too often to tortures and death. More than once the anger and alarm of the civil authorities had prompted still further inquisition into the tenets of the new sect, and from single and occasional cases of violence the persecution had extended to congregations and communities. It is probable, however, that the persecution was first general under Decius; and we may believe that to the vigorous and systematic effort this emperor made for the suppression of the true faith he was prompted not only by his wish to conciliate the nobles at Rome, but by a long-growing persuasion that the evils which afflicted the empire might be traced to the alleged *impiety* of these reputed fanatics. The recent celebration of the secular games had given a stimulus to Roman superstition; and this now wreaked itself, without stint or scruple, on the unresisting victims, whose marked indisposition to enroll themselves in the military service of the state rendered them doubly objects of suspicion in the general panic which prevailed throughout the empire. For this panic, indeed, there were sufficient grounds, both within and without. The northern nations, then known under the names of the Quadi and Marcomanni, had been controlled by M. Aurelius, and had remained generally quiescent during the sev-

enty years which had followed; but now the Franks, the Goths, and the Alemanni were pouring in ever-increasing numbers across the Rhine and Danube: the inundation, long pent-up, had gathered force and volume, and threatened to overflow the whole empire. The resources of the government, first shaken by the long-protracted pestilence of the Antonine period, had never been restored. The population and wealth of Italy and the provinces continued gradually to decline; but if these distant symptoms of decay were yet hardly visible except to statesmen, the plagues which swept the great cities of the empire in succession, between the years 250 and 265, alarmed men of every class with the prospect of its impending dissolution.

There was no hope for Rome in the favor of its gods nor in the virtues of its people; but there was still hope in the personal bravery of its captains; and from this time we find, with only one or two interruptions, a remarkable succession of able chiefs at the head of its affairs. Decius fell in battle against the Goths. The legions, satisfied with the late appointments, left the choice of his successor to the Senate, and Gallus purchased a respite from attack by the payment of tribute to the barbarians. This disgrace was soon wiped out in his blood. Valerian, a favorite officer of Decius, reigned in his stead. The Franks and Alemanni were checked in the West; but in the East the Goths made an irruption into Greece and Asia Minor, crossing the Black Sea, and traversing the Hellespont, and were stopped rather by the effects of luxury and climate than by the sword of a defender. When these swarms were cleared away from the fertile lands they had desolated, Valerian had a harder task to perform in hurling back the Persians from Syria. Defeated and taken by Sapor, he was condemned to chains and menial offices, while his son Gallienus, a dissolute youth, refused to arm for his recovery. The advance of the Persians was checked, not by the emperor and the legions of Rome, but by the brave Odenathus, and the still

braver Zenobia his wife, the rulers of the tributary kingdom of Palmyra. Elated by his success, and vain of the splendor of his capital in the desert, Odenathus was not content with aspiring to independence, but claimed, it is said, to be associated with Gallienus in the government of the empire. But pretenders to the purple sprung up now in various quarters. The attacks of the barbarians called forth the legions on every frontier into the field, and whenever a victory was gained, or an imposing front assumed by the defenders of the state, there a new emperor was proclaimed, and the submission of the Senate and people demanded. To this host of competitors, most of whom fell quickly by one another's hands, the name of the "thirty tyrants" was popularly given. Their real number was little less than twenty. One of the most successful of them, Aureolus, penetrated into Italy, and Gallienus fell in a tardy attempt to assert his power and dignity against him.

But the usurper was shut up in Milan, and the death of Gallienus served only to raise up a stronger antagonist in the person of M. Aurelius Claudius, whom the Italian forces appointed their commander. Claudius was a man of high military virtue. He destroyed Aureolus, overcame the Germans, and totally routed the Goths in the great battle of Nissa, from which he derived the title of "Gothicus." But this brave chief was speedily cut off by sickness on his route to the East. Claudius breathed his last at Sirmium on the Danube, and it was at Sirmium that Aurelian, his illustrious successor, had been born. This man, the son of an Illyrian peasant, was one of the greatest, as he was almost the last, of the heroes of the Roman legions. He was intelligent as well as brave; and after defeating a fresh attack of the Goths, he recognized the policy of withdrawing the outposts of the empire from beyond the Danube, and finally renounced the conquests of Trajan in Dacia, which seem to have been re-occupied after the time of Hadrian. A still more urgent necessity compelled

him to admit into his pay large bodies of these formidable enemies, which, for a time at least, added fresh vigor to the Roman arms. Aurelian led his forces against the Queen of Palmyra, Odenathus being now dead. Though gallantly resisted, he overcame his presumptuous rival, and exhibited Zenobia in his triumph at Rome. He continued to rule with vigor and discretion; but the barbaric inundation was still swelling on the frontiers, and at last a body of Alemanni burst into Italy, and advanced for a moment within the confines of Umbria. At this crisis the safety of the city itself seemed in question. Aurelian condescended to secure it by tracing the ample lines of fortification which now for the first time encompassed the capital of Augustus and Trajan. But the legions, under a chief like Aurelian, formed still a stronger rampart than brick or stone. The Alemanni were speedily repulsed. Aurelian was summoned soon afterwards into the East; but while leading an expedition against the Persians he was assassinated in his tent, at the instigation of his secretary Mnestheus. The soldiers lamented his loss, and avenged it with the blood of the assassins. They paid a higher tribute of respect to his memory by awaiting six months the election of his successor by the Senate. When that body placed the victorious but aged Tacitus at their head, they cheerfully acquiesced in the well-meant but imprudent choice. Tacitus led his troops manfully against the Scythian Alani. He was victorious in battle; but the fatigues of the campaign were too much for his enfeebled powers, and he died of exhaustion in the course of a few months.

The army now chose their own leader, and they also chose well. Aurelius Probus was accepted by the Senate, and Florianus, the brother of Tacitus, who had assumed the purple, without authority either from the one power or the other, relinquished the contest he had provoked by a voluntary death. Probus, like Aurelian, was a native of Sirmium, and he proved himself worthy of



military rule—the only rule now possible—by his skill, his bravery, and his hardy virtues. During a short but active reign of six years he defeated the Germans on the Rhine and Danube, and constructed, or rather repaired, the rampart which connected those rivers. He overthrew the Goths; and, passing from the West to the East, led his forces against the Persians. From this enemy he extorted an honorable peace, and then, having put down some competitors for power, employed his legions in draining marshes and planting vineyards. But the discipline he enforced, and the wholesome labors he required, alike disgusted his licentious warriors; and Probus, who never quitted the camp, lost his life in a mutiny.

The head-quarters of the deceased monarch were again the spot on which his successor was to be elected. The choice of the soldiers fell once more on a rude but valiant soldier named Carus, and the Senate once more ratified it without a murmur. These warrior-princes paid no attention to Rome, and the nobles of the city had discovered that if they lost in dignity, they were gainers by their absence in ease and security. The movements of the army, wholly recruited and supplied from the frontier provinces, were regarded with little interest by the voluptuaries of the capital. These unworthy Romans were content to leave the task of defending the empire to men who claimed from them only a few empty titles in token of their submission. Carus, associating with himself his sons Carinus and Numerianus, gained some fresh victories over the Goths. Leaving Carinus in the West, he again confronted and overthrew the Persians. He advanced as far as Ctesiphon on the Tigris, where his career was suddenly arrested by a stroke of lightning, according to the popular account, but more probably by some secret conspiracy. The sons of Carus were unable to retain the diadem of their father: Numerianus was slain by his prefect Aper, though his death was speedily avenged by Diocletian. The soldiers in the East imme-

diately proclaimed this man their emperor, regardless of the claims of Carinus, which were supported by the armies in the West. The contending powers met on the plains of Moesia. Diocletian was worsted in battle; but in the moment of his success Carinus was slain by an officer whose wife he had dishonored; and thus suddenly deprived of a leader, the victorious legions united with the vanquished in acknowledging the surviving candidate.

The accession of Diocletian to power marks the last great epoch in the history of the Roman empire. Hitherto, however in trinsically weak, the Senate had found opportunities for putting forth its claims to authority; if it was but rarely allowed to exercise its cherished prerogative of election to the throne, it was still regarded as the legitimate centre of administration, the fountain of law and social order. There was at least no constituted authority to oppose it. The chosen of the legions had been for some time past the commander of an army rather than the sovereign of the state. He had seldom quitted the camp, rarely or never presented himself in the capital; content with the provision for his own pride and power extorted from the provinces in which he quartered himself, he had allowed the ordinary march of government to proceed in its usual routine; the social fabric continued to be upheld in Italy and throughout the provinces by the force impressed upon them by the Antonines. But this was the torpor of decrepitude, not the tranquillity of contentment. The provinces lay at the mercy of the armies of the frontier; and the empire might split asunder at any moment into as many kingdoms as there were armies, unless the chiefs of the legions felt themselves controlled by the strength or genius of one more eminent than the rest. We have noticed many local revolts, and no doubt many more of the kind were constantly occurring. Gaul, Britain, Africa, or Egypt were more than once the prey of soldiers who aspired to become independent sever-

eigns; the chief of the strongest camp and largest army, who called himself the emperor, found prompter aid in the daggers of assassins than in the swords of his own legionaries: his opponents were generally struck down by their own unruly followers; and it was by fortune rather than by any controlling principle of cohesion that the frame of the empire was still held together. The danger of disruption was becoming from year to year more imminent, when Diocletian arose to re-establish the organic connection of the parts, and breathe a new life into the heart of the empire.

A jealous edict of Gallienus had forbidden the senators to take service in the army or to quit the limits of Italy. The degradation of that once illustrious order, which was thus made incapable of furnishing a candidate for the empire, was completed by the indolent acquiescence of its members in this disqualifying ordinance. The nobles of Rome relinquished all interest in affairs which they could no longer aspire to conduct. The emperors, on their part, ceased to regard them as a substantive power in the empire; and in constructing the new imperial constitution Diocletian wholly overlooked their existence. Nevertheless it would seem that he was still haunted by the undying tradition of the majesty of Rome itself, and it seemed more fitting to abstain from visiting the city than to take up his residence there without paying due respect to the Senate, which was still enthroned on its seven hills. While he disregarded the possibility of opposition at Rome, he contrived a new check upon the rivalry of his distant lieutenants, by associating three other chiefs with himself, welded together by strict alliances into one imperial family, each of whom should take up his residence in a different quarter of the empire, and combine with all the rest in maintaining their common interest. His first step was to choose a single colleague in the person of a brave soldier of obscure origin, an Illyrian peasant like himself, by name Maximian, whom he invested with the title

of Augustus, in the year 286. The associated rulers assumed at the same time the epithets of Jovius and Herculius; auspicious names, which made them perhaps popular in the camp. Maximian was deputed to control the legions in Gaul, and to make head against the revolt of Carausius in Britain, while Diocletian opposed the enemies or pretenders who were now rising up in various quarters in the East. His dangers multiplied, and again the powers of the empire were subdivided to meet them. In the year 292 Diocletian created two Cæsars: the one, Galerius, to act subordinately to himself in the East; the other, Constantius Chlorus, to divide the government of the western provinces with Maximian. The Cæsars were bound more closely to the Augusti by receiving their daughters in marriage; but, though they acknowledged each a superior in his own half of the empire, and admitted a certain supremacy of Diocletian overall, yet each enjoyed monarchical sway in his own territories, and each established a court and capital as well as an army and a camp. Diocletian retained the richest and most tranquil portion of the empire, and reigned in Nicomedia (now Asia Minor), Syria, and Egypt; while he entrusted to the Cæsar Galerius, established in Sirmium, the more exposed provinces on the Danube. Maximian occupied Italy, the islands, and Africa, stationing himself, however, not in Rome, but at Milan. Constantius was required to defend the Rhenish frontier; and the martial provinces of Gaul, Spain, and Britain were given him to furnish the forces necessary for the maintenance of that important trust. The capital of the western Cæsar was fixed at Treves. Inspired with a common interest, and controlled by the superior genius of Diocletian himself, all the emperors acted with vigor in their respective provinces. Diocletian recovered Alexandria, and quieted the revolt of Egypt. Maximian routed the unruly hordes of Mauretania, and overthrew a pretender to the purple in that quarter. Constantius discomfited an invad-



ing host of Alemanni, and wrested Britain from the hands of Allectus. Galerius brought the legions of Illyricum to the defence of Syria against the Persians, and though once defeated in the plains of Carrhæ, he succeeded eventually in reducing the enemy to submission. Thus victorious in every quarter of the empire, Diocletian celebrated the commencement of the twentieth year of his reign with a triumph at Rome, and again taking leave of the city of the Cæsars, returned to his customary residence at Nicomedia. The illness with which he was attacked on his journey suggested, or more probably fixed, his resolution to divest himself of the purple; and on the 1st of May, A.D. 305, being then fifty-nine years old, he performed the solemn act of abdication on the spot where he had first assumed the empire at the bidding of his soldiers. Strange to say, he did not renounce the object of his ambition alone. On the same day a similar scene was enacted by his colleague Maximian at Milan; but the abdication of Maximian was not a spontaneous sacrifice, but imposed upon him by the influence or authority of his elder and greater colleague. Diocletian had established the principle of patrimonial succession by which the supreme power was to descend. On the abdication of the two Augusti, the Cæsars Constantius and Galerius stepped into their places respectively, while each of them called up another Cæsar to supply the posts thus vacated by themselves. Flavius Severus succeeded to Constantius, Maximinus Daza to Galerius. Having seen the completion of all these arrangements, and congratulated himself on the success of his great political experiments, Diocletian crowned his career of wisdom and moderation by confining himself strictly during the remainder of his life to the tranquil enjoyment of a private station. Retiring to the residence he had built for himself at Salona, he found occupation and amusement in the cultivation of his garden; and the story went, that when his more restless colleague solicited him to resume the honors from

which he had disengaged them both, he invited him to see the vegetables he had grown, and learn a lesson of simplicity and contentment.

The wisdom and moderation of Diocletian's character have been justly praised, and it is with pain that we notice how he forfeited both the one and the other in his sanguinary and obstinate persecution of the Christians. The disciples of the true faith were still increasing in numbers; they were continuing more and more to absorb into their body the intelligence, the activity, and the moral force of the empire. Diocletian cannot have been blind to the impossibility of reviving the spirit of heathenism, or raising up in the strongholds either of superstition or philosophy, any moral or intellectual force to combat them. Nor can we suppose that he was actuated by the alarms so prevalent, as we have seen, fifty or a hundred years earlier, when many of the best, and some no doubt of the wisest of the heathens, really believed that the calamities of the empire were caused by the anger of their gods at the impiety tolerated in its bosom. The era of Diocletian, under the sway of a bold and able ruler, was a period of comparative revival and hopefulness. The worst seemed to be past. A better day had dawned. New objects were in view, new principles of government were coming into operation. The Senate of Rome, the stronghold of old and vain tradition, had ceased to exercise any influence in the government. Diocletian had no need to sacrifice to its prepossessions, or to buy its favor by the concession of a principle. The fury which animated three, at least, of the emperors (for Constantius alone held aloof from the persecution which now raged through three-quarters of the empire) must be traced to a different source. The object of Diocletian's policy was to establish a uniform system of administration, radiating from each centre of government. During the last century the government of the empire had become completely de-centralized. Each

province had provided for itself; each army had drawn its supplies from its own neighborhood. The authority of the Senate had hardly extended beyond Italy; the power even of the emperor had generally been limited to the territory in the midst of which his army was quartered. Even Decius and Probus, vigorous as they proved themselves in their own camp, might fear to provoke a resistance which they had not leisure to quell, if they tried to enforce their edicts in Gaul or Africa. But when, by the multiplication of sovereigns, the executive authority was extended once more throughout the empire, it became necessary to show that the imperial power was no longer a mere shadow. The laws were to be enforced, uniformity to be restored, every province and every subject to be made to acknowledge the paramount supremacy of the monarch's will. Christianity, however innocent in act, had become in its forms and in its ideas a state within the state. Whatever the government might think of its opinions, it could not fail to see a rival in its organization. Counts and prefects were jealous of metropolitans and bishops; and the claims of the church to admit to, or exclude from, a share in privileges of membership, which had now become connected with the enjoyment of benefices and endowments, might seem to trench upon political prerogatives. Having subdued every external enemy and competitor, Diocletian turned his attention to the domestic foe, for as such he regarded it, which had set up a co-ordinate sovereignty within the limits of his own jurisdiction: he proclaimed internecinal war against the Christian society, the extent of which he perhaps miscalculated, the moral power of which he totally misapprehended; and he committed himself to a struggle in which success was impossible, though he did not live himself to know how completely he was defeated.

Notwithstanding the ability which Diocletian had displayed in the government of the empire, the distribution he made of pow-

er on his abdication marks caprice and weakness, and was speedily followed, as might have been expected, by fresh disturbances. Instead of inviting both the Cæsars to associate with them princes of their own choice, he had allowed his son-in-law and favorite, Galerius, to nominate both the new candidates, and to pass over the claims of Constantine, the son of Constantius, altogether. The Cæsar of the Gaulish provinces was far distant in Britain, and was ill: Galerius expected his death, or ventured to overlook him in his absence; and hoped, by calling creatures of his own to the succession, to secure supreme authority over the whole empire for himself. But the moderation of Constantius, which had made him an object of dislike and jealousy to his unscrupulous colleagues, endeared him to his own subjects as well as to the Christian faction throughout the empire. Great multitudes of the new faith had taken refuge under his sway, and had enjoyed his protection. The legions admired him for his victories over the Alemani and the Caledonians; and when, at the moment of his death, they proclaimed his son Constantine emperor in their encampment at York, the nomination was received with enthusiasm by the population of the western provinces. Galerius did not venture to oppose this demonstration of feeling. He suffered his new rival to exercise authority in the place of his father, but claimed the right, as the eldest and first of the associated princes, to assign him only the fourth rank among the rulers of the empire, with the subordinate title of Cæsar. Constantine was satisfied for the present, and continued for six years (A. D. 306-312) to confine himself to the administration of the Gaulish prefecture. During this period he carried out his father's policy in every particular. He chastised the barbarians in the north of Britain, and put the Roman possessions in that island in a complete state of defence. He flew to the succour of the garrisons on the Rhine, which, on the death of Constantius, were immediately assailed by fresh in-



cursions of the German tribes, and followed up the great victory of Novio by the most terrible massacres of his captives. At the same time he displayed the utmost moderation and clemency towards his subjects, tolerating and protecting the Christians, and remitting the fiscal burdens of all classes of the community. Though personally indifferent perhaps to all forms of religion, he could not fail to mark now great were the numbers, how active the intelligence, of the Christian society, and to feel the miserable impolicy of alienating them by persecution. His vigorous imagination was at the same time kindled by the claim these sectarians advanced to divine interferences and miraculous powers; it is probable also that the deference which their bishops were willing to pay to him as the temporal ruler, while the pagan hierarchy regarded him with undisguised dislike, affected him favorably from the first toward the outward forms of Christianity. While watching his opportunity for raising himself to the highest place in the empire, Constantine was already perhaps meditating terms of alliance with the greatest spiritual influence of the period.

Meanwhile, the Senate also, the centre of heathenism, exhibited for a moment fresh signs of vitality. Affecting indignation at the claims of its late ruler Maximian being entirely postponed to those of Galerius, it had taken on itself to confer on his son Maxentius the title of Augustus. Maximian himself, defying the remonstrances of the aged Diocletian, issued from his retirement, and re-assumed power, under pretence of lending the weight of his name and experience to the cause of his son. He gave his daughter Fausta in marriage to Constantine, and cemented an alliance between the prefect of Gaul and the claimant of Italy. But no sooner did Maxentius taste of power than he drove his own father out of his dominions, and Constantine suffered his father-in-law to find an asylum in Gaul only on condition of resigning a second time all share in the imperial government. When, on the

report of Constantine's death, the restless veteran again assumed the purple, he was attacked, defeated, and put to death without remorse by the Gaulish emperor.

The death of Maximian was followed in 311 by that of Galerius, whose painful sickness was ascribed with grim satisfaction by the Christians to a divine visitation. Four Augusti of equal rank now once more shared the empire; but it was immediately apparent that, without the avowed ascendancy of one, in genius if not in power, the rude edifice of the Cæsardom must inevitably fall in pieces. The genius, indeed, of Constantine, soon proved to be preëminent, but his ascendancy was admitted by none of his colleagues, and it remained to be seen whether he had the means of establishing it by force. Maxentius in Italy and Africa, and Maximian in Asia and Egypt, ruled in voluptuous indolence, making themselves more and more detested by the provinces which had fallen under their sway. Severus was already dead, and Galerius had survived to replace him in Illyricum by a Dacian peasant named Licinius, recommended to him by his military abilities and his popularity among the soldiers. This man had now at least discretion enough to ally himself with Constantine; he contrived also to leave his new confederate to conduct hostilities against Maxentius alone, while he watched himself from a distance, the issue of the contest. Scarcely, indeed, was Galerius dead before the two Augusti of the West rushed into deadly conflict with one another. Constantine crossed the Alps and gained three successive victories at Turin, at Verona, and, lastly, at the Milvian bridge, two miles from Rome. Maxentius, routed in this final engagement, was drowned in the Tiber, and Constantine entered Rome towards the end of the year 312, where he was received with acclamations, and was acknowledged as chief of the empire by Italy and Africa, as well as by the provinces of his own prefecture. He had already issued from Milan the famous decree which assured the Christians of his favor and pro-

tection; and it was on his march towards Rome, before the battle of the Milvian bridge, that he beheld according to the historians, the vision of the cross in the heavens, inscribed with the blazing legend—"By this conquer."

Constantine had little sympathy for the name of Rome, or for the Senate which represented it; nevertheless, upon entering the old capital of the Cæsars in triumph, he affected to restore the consideration of that illustrious but decrepit body, while he took measures for preventing Rome from ever again giving laws to the empire, by disbanding the prætorian guards and destroying their fortified camp. With this militarystitution the imperial power departed finally from Rome, and the seat of empire was henceforth to be established wherever the emperor should choose to take up his own permanent residence. Master of the West, Constantine was not satisfied till he had brought the East also under his sceptre. His rival, Licinius, equalled him in ambition, but neither in ability nor fortune. During the contest in Italy the prefect of Illyricum had been prosecuting his own views of conquest no less successfully in Asia. He had overthrown Maximin, and seized all the eastern provinces of the empire, confirming his victory by the massacre of all the children of Galerius and Severus, as well as of Maximin himself. So far did he carry his precautions as to insist on the execution of the widow and daughter of Diocletian. Thus triumphant in opposite quarters of the empire, the two competitors were equally prepared for a struggle with one another. In the first contest between them, Constantine wrested Illyricum from Licinius. After an interval of eight years war was renewed. Licinius was overthrown in the great battle of Adrianople, in the year 323; but his spirit was still unbroken, and while Constantine was occupied in the siege of Byzantium, he collected a numerous force of raw levies to try his fortune in another field. The battle of Chrysopolis brought the contest to a final

decision. Licinius was deprived of his imperial honors, and permitted to retire to Thessalonica, there to pass the remainder of his days in a private station. But Constantine had not magnanimity enough to observe the conditions he had imposed on himself. The deposed emperor was soon afterwards accused of intriguing with foreign powers for his restoration, and the victor did not scruple to secure his own supremacy by putting his last rival to death. The family compact devised by the astute Diocletian, resulted, in the second generation, in the re-establishment of an undivided monarchy.

Conscious of his own energy and abilities, and sensible of the inherent weakness of the scheme for dividing the imperial powers devised by his predecessor, Constantine determined to retain in his own hand the sceptre of the united empire, while he contrived a more elaborate scheme for lightening the burden it imposed upon him. The original policy of Augustus, according to which the emperor was regarded as the delegate of the state, and his functions were only those of the various popular magistracies combined together in one person, had become utterly obliterated for at least a century. The specious constitutionalism of the early Cæsars had vanished, but no organized system of despotism had been substituted in its place. The chiefs of the state had been content, as we have seen, to rule with the sword, and to announce their caprices from the camp. In return, their title had received no sanction in the feelings of their subjects. They had been accepted by the Senate and the people as emperors *de facto*, but no idea of right had clung to their names and titles, no honor had been paid to their families, no respect shown to their memories. The notion of monarchical government had been in a state of transition; the old foundations had perished; it remained for Constantine to replace them with the ideas of hereditary succession, of divine right, and of organized administration, upon which they have subsisted throughout Europe to the present day.



It was only in the oriental courts that the imperial reformer could find the exemplar of government by which to shape his own system. He surrounded his own person with the pomp and ceremony of Asiatic sovereignty, affecting the reserve of a superior being, and allowing access to him only through a crowd of eunuchs, chamberlains, and ministers. The old Roman idea of the essential equality of the emperor and his chief nobles was entirely swept away. A complete separation was made between the civil and military authorities; and again the vital principle of the ancient republic, according to which every citizen was a soldier, and the chief civil magistracies wielded the power of the sword, was finally abolished. All the great offices of state were accordingly remodelled, with new titles suited to the new arrangements. They were classed in the three ranks of *Illustres*, *Spectabiles*, and *Clarissimi*, and distributed among the three departments of the court, the army, and the civil service. The officers of the court and of state were chiefly the lords of the bed-chamber and the palace, with special ministers of finance, of justice, of the interior, of the crown revenues, and of the household guards. The army was controlled by a commander-in-chief, assisted by generals of infantry and generals of cavalry, and below these were officers of inferior rank, known as dukes (*duces*) and counts (*comites*). The civil department was divided into four great prefectures: those of the east, including Thrace and the Asiatic provinces; of Italy, comprising Italy, Rhætia, Noricum and Africa; of Illyricum, embracing Illyricum, Pannonia, Macedonia, and Greece; and of Gaul, which comprehended the provinces of western Europe. Under the four prefects were thirteen high functionaries, who presided over the thirteen dioceses into which the prefectures were subdivided, and who were known by the titles of *comites* or *vicarii*. Asia, Africa, and Achaia were governed by pro-consuls, and the whole number of provinces, each under a separate but depen-

dent governor, a pro-consul, a corrector, a consularis, or a *præsidents*, amounted to 117. The department of the imperial court was occupied by seven high functionaries, of a character entirely new in the history of the Roman monarchy. The chief of these was the *præpositus sacri cubiculi*, or lord chamberlain; next to him the *magister officiorum*, who may be compared to a modern minister of home affairs; the *quæstor*, or lord chancellor and keeper of the seals; the *comes sacrarum largitionum*, or chancellor of the public exchequer; the *comes rerum privatarum divine domus*, or lord of the privy purse; and finally, two *comites domesticorum*, or captains of the imperial body-guard. While the machinery of government was thus reconstructed, the finances by which it was to be kept in motion were placed upon a new footing. We may suppose that for many years the collection of the revenues had fallen into the utmost confusion. It had become necessary to review the entire basis of the land-tax, the most permanent and certain source of the imperial revenues; and the Indictions, or fifteen years' settlements, which became important eras for the chronology of succeeding ages, are dated from the acquisition of Italy by Constantine, in the year 312.

The Christian church, which the emperor determined to convert into a great instrument of government, was already modeled to his hand in the hierarchical form in which he desired to cast the state. Its metropolitans, its primates, its archbishops and bishops, with the inferior classes of clergy, formed a spiritual subordination of powers similar to that which he introduced into the civil administration, and quite unlike anything which had existed in the sacerdotal arrangements of Greek and Roman antiquity. The Romans had never recognized a distinction between clergy and laity; they had never admitted the powers of priestly absolution or excommunication; the idea of a spiritual authority independent of the civil was totally alien from their views of polity. But undoubtedly the spread of Christian ideas, and the grad

ual decay of those which were most essentially opposed to them, had rendered these principles more and more familiar to subjects and rulers; and Constantine was struck with the vast influence they evidently exercised over the minds of their votaries, and was prepared to subject his own fervid imagination to their control. When he found that the Christian priesthood had discovered a way of reconciling their own spiritual claims with a technical supremacy in the ruler of the state, he was satisfied with the terms of the alliance they offered to him, and quickly determined to exchange the toleration he had already extended to their religion for special favor and formal establishment. The revenues bequeathed in past times by private piety to the uses of Christian worship, which had been confiscated under the persecutors of the faith, were sedulously restored, the Christian temples repaired and reopened, many public halls or *basilicæ* especially appropriated to Christian use, and fresh endowments secured to them; the bishops and ministers of the Christian religion were invited to court, and placed in situations of trust and favor about the emperor's person. On the other hand, the institutions of pagan worship were placed under many jealous restrictions; the old distinction between public and private, licensed and unlicensed cults, was harshly enforced, and many shrines shut up, many special services abolished. The civil laws against immorality and indecency were applied to many licentious usages connected with the heathen ceremonies; and, discountenanced as the ancient worship was by the emperor and the court, it may be supposed that the magistrates were often tempted to stretch the powers accorded them by legislative enactments to the control and even the persecution of the falling faith. Personally, indeed, Constantine still halted between two opinions. Up to the age of forty at least (A.D. 314), he continued to make public profession of paganism, although he had already struck severe blows against its interests as well as its pride of exclusiveness. His de-

votion was divided between the gods of Olympus on the one hand, and Christ and the saints of Christendom on the other. As late as the year 321 he insisted on consulting the Haruspices. The consolidation of his power confirmed his wavering confidence in the Being whose favor he was assured he had gained, even by the limited honor he had paid to him. After the defeat of Licinius he surrendered his conscience to his favorite bishop, Eusebius of Cæsarea, allowed his children to be educated as Christians, and assumed without scruple the headship of the Church, and the presidency in its councils, which its rulers freely tendered to him. It was not, however, till he felt the approaches of a mortal disease, in the sixty-third year of his life, that he finally enrolled himself among the converts to Christianity, by submitting to the rite of baptism, which he was taught to regard as the pledge of a blessed death rather than the token of a new life.

The policy indeed of the emperor, raised to a precarious elevation, and maintaining himself by force or craft against innumerable jealousies and animosities, was constantly demanding the perpetration of some crime which struck his awakened conscience with horror and alarm, though he had not courage and religious confidence to repudiate it. His execution of his son Crispus is still the deepest stain upon a character which, notwithstanding its many great qualities, must ever be subject to the charge of dissimulation and cruelty. There seems reason for questioning the justice of the charge commonly made against him, of having caused the assassination of his wife Fausta; and generally we must remember that the hostility of the pagan writers is quite as marked in their account of this prince as the favor of the Christians. It is to the encomiums of the latter, no doubt, that he owes the appellation of "the Great," which has been appended in after ages to his name; nevertheless so distinguished a title is not undeserved by one who, not to mention his claims to the respect of Christian posterity, effected the consolidation of a vast un-









wieldy empire by his personal valor and ability, and maintained it in honor and prosperity against all enemies, foreign and domestic, for more than thirty years. In the history of the Christian church he assumes a prominent place, from the zeal with which he devoted himself to adjusting the dogmatic differences which prevailed in it during his reign; and especially from the council of Nicæa, at which he presided in the year 325, in which the orthodox creed was triumphantly established. But with this, and with the controversies which followed, the history of Rome has nothing to do. We have felt, during our account of the last hundred years or more, how far we have drifted away from the ideas which animated the records of Rome during the earlier periods of her existence. We can with difficulty recognize any bond of continuity between the Rome of the lower empire and that of Augustus and the Scipios. From the time that all the subjects of the empire became comprehended in a common citizenship we have lost all interest in the name of Romans. Since the edict of Gallienus, which interdicted military service to the senators, we have ceased to regard the nobles of the capital as an element in the policy of the state. The armies of the empire have long been composed almost wholly of subsidized barbarians, and been led almost without exception by provincials, half barbarians themselves. Roman literature, which revived from the false taste of the silver age of Nero and Domitian, and produced a school

at least of correct imitators under the Antonines and Severi, perished utterly in the age which followed, or was transferred to the camp of the Christians, and became the inheritance of Gauls, Africans, and Asiatics. The contempt and decrepitude into which Rome had fallen is finally marked by the incident, which may on some accounts be considered the most memorable in the memorable reign of Constantine—the foundation of the new Rome on the Bosphorus, to which he gave the name of Constantinople, and which he made the seat of his government and the capital of the Roman empire. It was in the year 330 that this revolution was effected. Though Rome, as we have seen, had long ceased to be the residence even of the western emperors, her influence, and in some sense her authority, as a metropolis, might still be recognized as long as no rival was formally installed in the place of honor she had so long held unquestioned. The removal of the seat of empire to the East carried away many of the ancient families still surviving in the palaces of the republic; it converted the descendants, if any still remained, of the Claudii and Cornelii into Greeks and Asiatics. It left to ancient Rome her name, her buildings, a more obstinate attachment to old forms and traditions, to the old pagan cult, and to the observation of heathen auguries; but it broke for ever the continuity of her political history, which must henceforth be transferred to another centre and assume another title.

## THE EMPIRE OF THE EAST.

CONSTANTINOPLE, anciently Byzantium, became the seat of empire under Constantine the Great. Its removal to this quarter is generally considered as having been one of the principal causes of the sudden decline of the western empire after this period.

In the year 332 the Sarmatians implored Constantine's assistance against the Goths, who had made an irruption into their territories, and destroyed every thing by fire and sword. The emperor readily granted their request, and gained a complete victory. Nearly a hundred thousand of the enemy perished, either in the battle, or after it from hunger and cold. In consequence of this overthrow the Goths were obliged to sue for peace; but the ungrateful Sarmatians were no sooner delivered from their enemies than they turned their arms against their benefactor, and ravaged the provinces of Mœsia and Thrace. The emperor, having received intelligence of this treachery, returned with incredible expedition, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and obliged the remainder to submit to such terms as he pleased to impose.

Constantine seems to have been a prince very highly respected, even by distant nations. In the year 333, according to Eusebius, ambassadors arrived at Constantinople from the Blemyes, Indians, Ethiopians, and Persians, to solicit his friendship. They were received in a most gracious manner; and having ascertained from the ambassadors of Sapor, king of Persia, that there were

great numbers of Christians in their master's dominions, Constantine wrote a letter in their behalf to the Persian monarch.

Next year the Sarmatians being again attacked by the Goths, found themselves obliged to set at liberty and to arm their slaves against the assailants. By this means they were enabled to overcome the Goths; but the victorious slaves turning their arms against their masters, drove the latter out of the country. This misfortune obliged them, to the number of three hundred thousand, to apply for relief to the Roman emperor, who incorporated with his legions such of them as were capable of service, and gave settlements to the remainder in Thrace, Scythia, Macedonia, and Italy. This was the last remarkable action of Constantine the Great. He died on 15th May, 337, after having divided the empire among his children and nephews. Constantine, his eldest son, obtained Gaul, Spain, and Britain; Constantius, the second, Asia, Syria, and Egypt; and Constans, the youngest, Illyricum, Italy, and Africa. To his nephew Dalmatius he gave Thrace, Macedonia, and Achaia; and to King Annibalianus, his other nephew, Armenia Minor, Pontus, Cappadocia, and the city of Cæsarea, which he desired might be the capital of his kingdom.

After the death of Constantine the army and senate proclaimed his three sons emperors, without taking any notice of his two nephews, who were soon afterwards murdered, with Julius Constantius the late emperor's



brother, and all their friends and adherents. Thus the family of Constantine was at once reduced to his three sons, and two nephews, Gallus and Julian, the sons of Julius Constantius; and of these the former owed his life to a malady, from which no one thought he could recover, and the latter to his infancy, being then about seven years of age. The three brothers divided among themselves the dominions of the deceased princes; but they did not long agree together. In 340, Constantine, having in vain solicited Constans to yield to him part of Italy, raised a considerable army, and, under pretence of marching to the assistance of his brother Constantius, who was then at war with the Persians, made himself master of several places in Italy. Upon this Constans detached part of his army against him; and Constantine, having been drawn into an ambuscade near Aquileia, was cut off with his whole force. His body was thrown into the river Ansa; but being afterwards discovered, it was sent to Constantinople, and interred there near the tomb of Constantine.

By the defeat and death of his brother, Constans remained sole master of all the western part of the empire, in the quiet possession of which he continued till the year 350. This year Magnentius, the son of one Magnus, a native of Germany, finding that Constans was despised by the army on account of his indolence and inactivity, resolved to murder him, and set up for himself. Having found means to gain over to his designs the principal officers of the army, he seized on the imperial palace at Autun, distributed among the populace the sums which he found there, and thus induced not only the city, but the neighboring country, to espouse his cause. Constans, informed of what had passed, and unable to resist the usurper, fled towards Spain. He was, however, overtaken by Gaiso, whom Magnentius had sent after him with a chosen body of troops, and dispatched with many wounds, at Helena, a small village situated at the foot of the Pyrenees

Thus Constantius acquired a right to the whole Roman empire, though one half of it had been seized by Magnentius after the murder of Constans. The former had been engaged in a war with the Persians, in which little advantage was gained on either side; but as the Persians now gave him scarcely any disturbance, the emperor marched against the usurpers in the West. Besides Magnentius, there were at that time two other pretenders to the western empire. Veteranio, general of infantry in Pannonia, had, on the first news of the death of Constans, caused himself to be proclaimed emperor by the legions under his command. He was a native of upper Mœsia, and advanced in years when he usurped the sovereignty, but so illiterate that he then for the first time learned to read. The third pretender was Flavius Popilius Nepotianus, son of Eutropia, the sister of Constantine the Great. Having assembled a company of gladiators and men of desperate fortunes, this person assumed the purple on the 3d of June, 350, and in that attire presented himself before the gates of Rome. The prefect Anicetus, who commanded there for Magnentius, sallied out against him with a body of Romans, who, however, were soon driven back into the city. Soon afterwards Nepotianus made himself master of the city itself, which he filled with blood and slaughter. Magnentius being informed of what had happened, sent against this new competitor his chief favorite and prime minister Marcellinus. Nepotianus received him with great resolution; and a bloody battle ensued between the soldiers of Magnentius and the Romans who had espoused the cause of Nepotianus; but the latter being betrayed by a senator named Heraclitus, his men were put to flight, and he himself killed, after having enjoyed the sovereignty only twenty-eight days. Marcellinus ordered his head to be carried on the point of a lance through the principal streets of the city; put to death all those who had declared for him; and, under pretence of preventing disturbances, commanded

a general massacre of all the relations of Constantine. Soon afterwards Magnentius himself came to Rome to make the necessary preparations for resisting Constantius, who was exerting himself to the utmost in order to revenge the death of his brother. In the city he behaved most tyrannically, putting to death many persons of distinction in order to seize their estates, and obliging others to contribute half of all they were worth towards the expense of the war. Having by this means raised a great sum, he assembled a mighty army, composed of Romans, Germans, Gauls, Franks, Britons, Spaniards, and other nations; and at the same time, dreading the uncertain issues of war, he despatched ambassadors to Constantius with proposals of accommodation. Constantius set out from Antioch about the beginning of autumn, and, passing through Constantinople, arrived at Heraclea, where he was met by deputies from Magnentius and Veteranio, who had agreed to support each other in case the emperor would hearken to no terms. The deputies of Magnentius proposed in his name a match between him and Constantia, or rather Constantina, the sister of Constantius and widow of Annibalianus, offering at the same time to Constantius the sister of Magnentius. At first the emperor would listen to no terms; but afterwards, that he might not be obliged to contend with two enemies at once, he concluded a separate treaty with Veteranio, by which he agreed to adopt him as his partner in the empire. But when Veteranio ascended the tribunal along with Constantius, the soldiers pulled him down, crying out that they would acknowledge no other emperor than Constantius. Upon this Veteranio threw himself at the emperor's feet and implored his mercy. Constantius received him with great kindness, and sent him to Prusa, in Bithynia, where he allowed him a maintenance suitable to his quality.

Constantius, now master of Illyricum, and of the army commanded by Veteranio, resolved to march without delay against Magnentius. In the mean time, however, being

informed that the Persians were preparing to invade the eastern provinces, he married his sister Constantina to his cousin-german Gallus, created him Cæsar on the 15th of March, and allotted him as his share not only all the East, but likewise Thrace and Constantinople. About the same time Magnentius conferred the title of Cæsar on his brother Decentius, whom he dispatched into Gaul to defend that country against the barbarians who had invaded it; for Constantius had not only stirred up the Franks and Saxons to break into that province, by promising to relinquish to them all the places which they should conquer, but had sent them large supplies of men and arms for the purpose. On this encouragement the barbarians invaded Gaul with a mighty army, overthrew Decentius in a pitched battle, committed everywhere dreadful ravages, and reduced the country to a most deplorable situation. In the mean time Magnentius having assembled a numerous army, left Italy, and crossing the Alps, advanced into the plains of Pannonia, where Constantius, whose main strength consisted in cavalry, waited his approach. Magnentius hearing that his competitor had encamped at a small distance, invited him by a messenger to proceed to the extensive plains of Sciscia, on the Save, there to decide which of them had the best title to the empire. This challenge Constantius received with great joy; but as his troops marched towards Sciscia in disorder, they fell into an ambuscade, and were put to flight with great slaughter. This success so elated Magnentius that he rejected the terms of peace which were now offered by Constantius; but after some time a general engagement ensued at Mursa, in which Magnentius was entirely defeated, with the loss of twenty-four thousand men.

After his defeat at Mursa, Magnentius retired into Italy, where he recruited his shattered forces as well as he could. But in the beginning of the following year, 352, Constantius, having assembled his troops, surprised and took, without the loss of a man,



strong castle on the Julian Alps belonging to Magnentius. After this the emperor advanced in order to force the remainder; upon which Magnentius, struck with terror, immediately abandoned Aquileia, and ordered the troops who guarded the other passes of the Alps to follow him. Thus Constantius having entered Italy without opposition, made himself master of Aquileia, and thence advanced to Pavia, where Magnentius gained a considerable advantage over him. Notwithstanding this loss, however, Constantius reduced the whole country bordering on the Po, and Magnentius's men deserted to him in whole troops, delivering up the places which they had garrisoned; which circumstances so disheartened the tyrant, that he left Italy, and retired with all his forces into Gaul. Soon after this, Africa, Sicily, and Spain, declared for Constantius, upon which Magnentius sent a senator, and after him some bishops, to negotiate a peace; but the emperor treated the senator as a spy, and sent back the bishops without any answer. Magnentius now finding that his affairs were desperate, and that there were no hopes of pardon, recruited his army in the best manner he could, and despatched an assassin into the East to murder Gallus Cæsar; hoping that the death of the latter would oblige the emperor to withdraw his forces from Gaul, and to march in person for the defence of the eastern provinces, which were threatened by the Persians. The assassin gained over some of Gallus's guards; but the plot being discovered before it could be put in execution, they were all seized and executed as traitors.

In the year 353, the war against Magnentius was carried on with more vigor than ever, and at last happily ended by a battle fought in the higher Dauphiny. Magnentius, being defeated, took shelter in Lyons; but the few soldiers who attended him, despairing of any further success, resolved to purchase the emperor's favor by delivering up his rival, the author of so calamitous a war. Accordingly they surrounded the

house where he lodged; upon which the tyrant in despair slew with his own hand his mother, his brother Desiderius, whom he had created Cæsar, and such of his friends and relations as were with him; and then fixing his sword in a wall, threw himself upon it, in order to avoid a more shameful death, which he had every reason to apprehend.

After the death of Magnentius, his brother Decentius Cæsar, who was marching to his assistance, and had already reached Sens, finding himself surrounded on all sides by the emperor's forces, chose rather to strangle himself than to fall alive into the hands of his enemies. Thus Constantius was left sole master of the Roman empire. His panegyrist tells us that, after his victory, he behaved with the greatest humanity, forgiving and receiving into favor his greatest enemies; but other historians affirm that Constantius now became haughty, imperious, and cruel, of which disposition many instances are given.

This year the empire was subjected to the most grievous calamities. Gaul was ravaged by the barbarians beyond the Rhine, and the disbanded troops of Magnentius. At Rome, the populace rose on account of a scarcity of provisions. In Asia, the Isaurian robbers overran Lycaonia and Pamphylia, and even laid siege to Seleucia, a city of great strength, of which, however, they failed to make themselves masters. At the same time the Saracens committed dreadful ravages in Mesopotamia; and the Persians also invaded the province of Anthemusia on the Euphrates. But the eastern provinces were not so much harassed by the barbarians as by Gallus Cæsar himself, who ought to have protected them. That prince was naturally of a cruel, haughty, and tyrannical disposition, and being elated with his successes against the Persians, he behaved more like a tyrant and a madman than a governor. His natural cruelty is said to have been heightened by the instigations of his wife Constantina, who is styled by Ammianus the *Megara*, or fury of her sex; and he adds,

that her ambition was equal to her cruelty. Thus all the provinces and cities in the East were filled with blood and slaughter. No man, however innocent, could be sure to live or enjoy his estate a whole day; for Gallus's temper being equally suspicious and cruel, those who had any private enemies took care to accuse them of crimes against the state, and with Gallus to be accused was to be condemned. At last the emperor being informed from all quarters of the evil conduct of his brother-in-law, and being at the same time told that he had aspired at the sovereignty, resolved upon his ruin. For this purpose he wrote letters to Gallus and Constantina, inviting both of them to repair to Italy. Though they had each sufficient reason to dread the worst, yet they durst not venture to disobey the emperor's express command. Constantina, who was well acquainted with her brother's temper, and hoped to pacify him by her artful insinuations, set out first, leaving Gallus at Antioch; but she had scarcely entered the province of Bithynia when she was seized with a fever, which put an end to her life. Gallus now despairing of being able to appease his sovereign, thought of revolting openly; but most of his friends having deserted him on account of his inconstant and cruel temper, he was at last obliged to submit to the pleasure of Constantius. He advanced, therefore, according to his orders; but at Petavium he was arrested, stripped of all the ensigns of his dignity, and thence carried to Fianona, now *Fianone*, in Dalmatia, where he was examined by two of his most inveterate enemies. He confessed most of the crimes laid to his charge; but urged as an excuse the evil counsels of his wife Constantina. The emperor, provoked at this plea, which reflected on his sister, and instigated by the enemies of Gallus, signed a warrant for his execution, which was accordingly carried into effect.

During this time the emperor had been engaged in a war with the Germans; he had marched against them in person; and,

though he gained no important advantage, the barbarians thought proper to make peace with him. This, however, was but short-lived. No sooner had the Roman army withdrawn than they began to make new inroads into the empire. Constantius dispatched Arbetio with the flower of the army against them; but the latter fell into an ambuscade, and was put to flight, with the loss of a great number of men. This, however, was soon retrieved by the valor of Arinthæus, and of two other officers, who, falling upon the Germans without waiting for the orders of their general, put the barbarians to flight, and obliged them to withdraw from the Roman territories.

The tranquillity of the empire which ensued on this repulse of the Germans, was soon interrupted by a pretended conspiracy, which, in the end, produced a real one. Sylvanus, a leading man among the Franks commanded in Gaul, and had there performed great exploits against the barbarians. He had been raised to this post by Arbetio, but only with the design of removing him from the emperor's presence in order to accomplish his ruin, which he succeeded in effecting. One Dynames, keeper of the emperor's mules, on leaving Gaul, begged of Sylvanus letters of recommendation to his friends at court, which being granted, the traitor erased from them all but the subscription. He then inserted directions to the friends of Sylvanus for carrying on a conspiracy; and delivering these forged letters to the prefect Lampidius, they were by him shown to the emperor. Thus Sylvanus was forced to revolt, and to cause himself to be proclaimed emperor by the troops under his command. In the meantime, however, Dynames having thought proper to forge another letter, the fraud was discovered, and an inquiry set on foot, which brought the whole matter to light. Sylvanus was now declared innocent, and letters were sent to him by the emperor, confirming him in his post; but these had scarcely been dispatched when certain news



arrived at court of Sylvanus having revolted and caused himself to be proclaimed emperor. Constantius, thunderstruck at this news, dispatched against him Ursicinus, an officer of great integrity, as well as valor and experience in war; who, forgetting his former character, pretended to be Sylvanus's friend, and thus found means to cut him off by treachery.

The barbarians, who had hitherto been kept quiet by the brave Sylvanus, no sooner heard of his death than they broke into Gaul with greater fury than ever. They took and pillaged about forty cities, and amongst the rest Cologne, which they leveled with the ground. At the same time the Quadi and Sarmatians entering Pannonia, destroyed everything by fire and sword. The Persians also, taking advantage of the absence of Ursicinus, overran, without opposition, Armenia and Mesopotamia, Prosper and Mausonianus, who had succeeded that brave commander in the government of the East, being more intent upon pillaging than defending the provinces committed to their care. Constantius not thinking it advisable to leave Italy himself, resolved at last to raise his cousin Julian, the brother of Gallus, to the dignity of Caesar. Julian, it seems, was a man of extraordinary talent and ability; for although before this time he had been entirely buried in obscurity, and conversed only with books, no sooner was he put at the head of an army than he behaved with the same bravery, conduct and experience, as if he had been all his life bred up to the practice of war. He was appointed governor of Gaul; but before he set out, Constantius gave him in marriage his sister Helena, and made him many valuable presents. At the same time, however, the jealous emperor greatly limited his authority; gave him written instructions how to behave; ordered the generals who served under him to watch all his actions no less than those of the enemy; and strictly enjoined Julian himself not to give any largesses to the soldiery.

Julian set out from Milan on the first of December 355, the emperor himself accompanying him as far as Pavia, whence he pursued his journey to the Alps, attended only by three hundred and sixty soldiers. On his arrival at Turin he was first informed of the loss of Cologne, which had been kept concealed from the emperor. He arrived at Vienna before the end of the year, and was received by the people of that city and the neighborhood with extraordinary joy.

In 356, the barbarians having besieged Autun, Julian marched with what forces he could raise to the relief of the place. When he arrived there he found the siege had been raised; on which he went in pursuit of the barbarians to Auxerre, crossing with no small danger thick woods and forests, from Auxerre to Troyes. On his march he was surrounded on all sides by the barbarians, who moved about the country in great bodies; but he put them to flight with a handful of men, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and took some prisoners. From Troyes he hastened to Rheims, where the main body of the army, commanded by Marcellus, waited his arrival. Leaving Rheims, he pursued his route towards Decempagi, now Dieuze, on the Seille, in Lorraine, with the design of opposing the Germans, who were busy in ravaging that province. But the enemy having unexpectedly attacked his rear, would have cut off two legions, had not the rest of the army, alarmed at the sudden noise, turned back to their assistance. A few days afterwards he defeated the Germans, though with great loss to his own army; the victory, however, opened him the way to Cologne. This city he found abandoned by the barbarians. They had neglected to fortify it; but Julian commanded the ancient fortifications to be repaired with all possible expedition, and the houses to be rebuilt; after which he retired to Sens, and there took up his winter quarters. This year also Constantius entered Germany on the side of Rhetia, laid waste the country far and wide, and obliged

the barbarians to sue for peace, which was readily granted. The same year he enacted two laws ; one of which declared it capital to sacrifice or pay any kind of worship to idols ; and the other granted the effects of condemned persons to their children and relations within the third degree, except in cases of magic and treason ; but this last one he revoked two years after.

In the beginning of the year 357 the barbarians besieged Julian for a whole month in Sens ; Marcellus, the commander-in-chief, never once offering to assist him. Julian, however, defended himself so valiantly with the few forces he had, that the barbarians at last retired. After this Constantius declared Julian commander-in-chief of all the forces in Gaul, and appointed under him one Severus, an officer of great experience, and of a more accommodating disposition than Marcellus. On his arrival in Gaul, Julian received him with great joy, raised new troops, and supplied them with arms which he had luckily found in an old arsenal. The emperor, resolving at all events to put a stop to the terrible devastations committed by the barbarous nations, chiefly by the Alemans, wrote to Julian to march directly against them ; and at the same time he sent Barbatio, who had been appointed general instead of Sylvanus, with a body of twenty-five or thirty thousand men, from Italy, in order to inclose the enemy between two armies. The Leti, however, a German nation, passing between the armies, advanced as far as Lyons, hoping to surprise that wealthy city ; but meeting with a warmer reception than they had expected, they contented themselves with ravaging the country all round. On the first notice of this expedition, Julian detached strong parties to guard the passages through which he knew the barbarians must return ; and thus they were all cut off, excepting those who marched near the camp of Barbatio, who was so far from intercepting their retreat, that he complained by a letter to Constantius of some officers for attempting it. These

officers, among whom was Valentinian, afterwards emperor of the West, were, by the order of Constantius, cashiered for their disobedience. The other barbarians either fortified themselves in the countries which they had seized, stopping up all the avenues with huge trees, or took shelter in the islands formed by the Rhine. Julian resolved first to attack the latter, and with this view he demanded some boats of Barbatio ; but the latter, instead of complying with his just request, immediately burnt all his boats, as he did on another occasion the provisions which had been sent to both armies, after he had plentifully supplied his own. Julian, not in the least disheartened by this unaccountable conduct, persuaded some of the most resolute of his men to wade over to one of the islands, where they killed all the Germans who had taken shelter in it. They then seized the boats belonging to the barbarians, and pursued the slaughter in several other islands, till the enemy abandoned them all, and retired to their respective countries with their wives and what booty they could carry. On their departure Barbatio attempted to construct a bridge of boats over the Rhine ; but the enemy, apprized of his intention, threw a great number of huge trees into the river, which being carried by the stream against the boats, sunk several of them, and parted the rest. The Roman general then thought proper to retire ; but the barbarians falling unexpectedly upon him in his retreat, cut great numbers of his men in pieces, took most of his baggage, laid waste the neighboring country, and returned in triumph loaded with booty. Elated with this success, they assembled in great numbers under the command of Chnodomarius, a prince of great renown among them, and six other kings. They encamped in the neighborhood of Strasburg. Here they were encountered by Julian, who put them to flight, with the loss of six or eight thousand men killed on the field, and a greater number drowned in the river ; whilst Julian himself lost only two



hundred and forty-three private men and four tribunes. In this action Chnodomarius was taken prisoner and sent to Rome, where he soon afterwards died.

After the battle Julian advanced with his army to Mayence or Mentz, where he formed a bridge over the Rhine, and entered Germany, having with difficulty prevailed upon his army to follow him. Here he ravaged the country till the time of the autumnal equinox, when being prevented by snow from advancing farther, he began to repair the fort of Trajan, by some supposed to be the castle of Cromburg, about three or four leagues from Frankfort. The barbarians were now so much alarmed that they sent deputies to treat of peace; but this Julian refused to grant them upon any terms. He consented, however, to a truce for seven months, upon their promising to store with provisions the fort he was building in their country. This year Constantius made some remarkable laws. By one he punished with confiscation such as renounced the Christian for the Jewish religion; and by another, addressed to Felix, bishop of Rome, he exempted all trading ecclesiastics, with their wives, children and domestics, from every imposition ordinary and extraordinary; supposing that the gains made by them were applied to the relief of the poor.

In 358, as soon as the season for action arrived, Julian took the field against the Franks, with a design to conquer them before the truce he had concluded with the Alemans had expired. The Franks were at that time divided into several tribes, the most powerful of which were the Salii and Chamavi. The first of these sent deputies, entreating that he would suffer them to remain as friends to the empire in the country they possessed. But Julian, disregarding this deputation, entered their country, and obliged them to submit; after which he allotted them lands in Gaul, incorporating great numbers of them into his cavalry. He next marched against the Chamavi, whom

he defeated and obliged to retire beyond the Rhine; and he afterwards rebuilt three forts on the river Meuse, which had been destroyed by the barbarians; but provisions becoming scarce in a country so often ravaged, he ordered six or eight hundred vessels to be built in Britain for the purpose of conveying corn from thence into Gaul. Julian continued in the country of the Chamavi till the expiration of his truce with the Alemans, and then constructing a bridge of boats over the Rhine, he entered their country, putting all to fire and sword. At last two of their kings came in person to him to sue for peace, which Julian granted, upon their promising to set at liberty the captives they had taken, to supply a certain quantity of corn when required, and to furnish wood, iron and carriages for repairing the cities they had ruined. The prisoners whom he at this time released amounted to upwards of twenty thousand.

Soon after the vernal equinox of this year, 358, Constantius marched in person against the Quadi and Sarmatians, whose country lay beyond the Danube. Having crossed that river on a bridge of boats, he laid waste the territories of the Sarmatians, who thereupon came in great numbers, together with the Quadi, pretending to treat for peace. Their true design was to surprise the Romans; but the latter suspecting it, fell upon them sword in hand, and cut them in pieces. This obliged the rest to sue for peace in good earnest, which was granted on the delivery of hostages. The emperor then marched against the Limigantes, that is, the slaves who, in 334, had driven the Sarmatians out of their country, and seized it for themselves. They used the same artifice as the Sarmatians and Quadi had done, coming in great numbers under pretence of submitting, but prepared to fall upon him unexpectedly if opportunity offered. The emperor, observing their surly looks, and distrusting them, caused his troops to surround them insensibly while he was speaking. The Limigantes then, displeased

with the conditions which he offered them, laid their hands on their swords ; whereupon they were attacked by the Roman soldiers. Finding it impossible to make their escape, they rushed with great fury towards the tribunal, but were repulsed by the guards forming themselves into a wedge, and every one of them cut in pieces. After this, the emperor ravaged their country to such a degree, that they were in the end obliged to submit to the only condition he thought proper to allow them, which was to quit their country and retire to a more distant region. The country was then restored to the Sarmatians, who were its original possessors.

This year is also remarkable for an embassy from Sapor, king of Persia. The ambassador, named Narses, brought a letter, in which the Persian monarch styled himself King of Kings, brother of the Sun and Moon, and appropriated other epithets of the same hyperbolical kind. He acquainted the emperor, that he might lawfully insist on having all the countries beyond the river Strymon in Macedonia delivered up to him ; but lest his demands should seem unreasonable, he would be contented with Armenia and Mesopotamia, which had been most unjustly taken from his grandfather Narses. He added, that unless justice were done him, he had resolved to assert his right by force of arms. This letter was presented to Constantius wrapped up in a piece of white silk ; but the emperor, without entering into any negotiation with the ambassador, wrote a letter to Sapor, in which he told the Persian monarch, that as he had maintained the Roman dominions in their full extent when he was possessed only of the East, he could not suffer them to be curtailed now when he was master of the whole empire. In a few days, however, he sent another letter, with rich presents ; being desirous at least to postpone the war until he had secured the northern provinces against the incursions of the barbarians, that he might then employ all the forces of the empire against so formid-

able an enemy. This embassy proved unsuccessful, as did also another which was sent soon afterwards. The last ambassadors were imprisoned as spies, but afterwards dismissed uninjured. By a law of Constantius dated in 358, all magicians, augurs, astrologers and pretenders to the art of divination, were declared enemies to mankind ; and such of them as were found in the court, either of the emperor or of Julian, he commanded to be put to the torture, at the same time specifying what torments they were to undergo.

In 359, Julian continued his endeavors for relieving the province of Gaul, which had suffered so much from the incursions of the barbarians. He erected magazines in different places, visited the cities which had suffered most, and gave orders for repairing their walls and fortifications. He then crossed the Rhine, and pursued the war in Germany with so great success that the barbarians submitted to such terms as he pleased to impose. In the meantime, the emperor, have received intelligence that the Limigantes had quitted the country to which he had driven them, hastened to the banks of the Danube, in order to prevent their entering Pannonia. On his arrival he sent deputies, desiring to know what had induced them to abandon the country which had been allotted them. The Limigantes answered with the greatest apparent submission imaginable, that they were willing to live as true subjects of the empire in any other place ; but that the country he had allotted them was quite uninhabitable, as they could demonstrate if they were but allowed to cross the river and lay their complaints before him. This request was granted ; but whilst he ascended his tribunal, the barbarians unexpectedly fell upon his guards sword in hand, killed several of them, and the emperor with difficulty saved himself by flight. The rest of the troops, however, soon took the alarm, and surrounding the Limigantes, cut them off to a man. This year Constantius instituted a court of inquisition against



all those who had consulted heathen oracles. Paulus Catena, a noted and cruel informer, was dispatched into the East to prosecute them; and Modestus, then count of the East, and equally remarkable for his cruelty, was appointed judge. His tribunal was erected at Scythopolis, in Palestine, whither persons of both sexes, and of every rank and condition, were daily dragged in crowds from all parts, and either confined in dungeons, torn in pieces in a most cruel and barbarous manner by racks, or publicly executed.

In 359, Sapor, king of Persia, began hostilities, being encouraged thereto by the absence of Ursicinus, whom the emperor had recalled, having appointed in his stead one Sabinianus, a person very unfit for such an office. During this campaign, however, he made very little progress, having only taken two Roman forts, and destroyed the city of Amida, the siege of which is said to have cost him thirty thousand men. On the first news of the Persian invasion, Constantius thought proper to send Ursicinus into the East; but his enemies prevented him from receiving the supplies necessary for carrying on the war, so that he found it impossible to take any effectual means for stopping the progress of the Persians. On his return, he was unexpectedly charged with the loss of Amida, and all the disasters which had happened during the campaign. Two judges were appointed to inquire into his conduct; but they, being creatures of his enemies, left the matter doubtful. On this Ursicinus was so much exasperated, that he appealed to the emperor, and in the heat of passion let fall some unguarded expressions, which, being immediately carried to the emperor, irritated him so much that the general was deprived of all his employments.

Constantius resolved to march next year in person against the Persians; but in the mean time dreading to encounter so formidable an enemy, he applied himself wholly to the assembling of a mighty army, by which he might be able fully to cope with them.

For this purpose he wrote to Julian to send him part of his forces, without considering that by so doing he left the province of Gaul exposed to the ravages of the barbarians. Julian resolved immediately to comply with the emperor's orders, but at the same time to abdicate the dignity of Cæsar, that he might not be blamed for the loss of the province. Accordingly he suffered the best soldiers to be drafted from his army. They were, however, very unwilling to leave him, and at last proclaimed him emperor. Whether this was done absolutely against Julian's consent or not is uncertain; but he wrote to the emperor, and persuaded the whole army also to send a letter along with his, in which they acquainted Constantius with what had happened, and entreated him to acknowledge Julian as his partner in the empire. But this was positively refused by Constantius, who began to prepare for war. Julian then, designing to be beforehand with the emperor, caused his troops to take an oath of allegiance to himself, and with surprising expedition made himself master of the whole country of Illyricum, and of the important pass separating that country from Thrace. Constantius was thunderstruck with this news; but hearing that the Persians had retired, he marched with all his force against his competitor. On his arrival at Tarsus, in Cilicia, he was seized with a feverish distemper, occasioned chiefly by the uneasiness and perplexity of his mind. He pursued his march, however, to Mosucene, a place on the borders of Cilicia, at the foot of Mount Taurus, where he was obliged to stop by the violence of his disorder, which increased every day, and at last carried him off on the 13th of November, 361, in the forty-fifth year of his age.

By the death of Constantius, Julian now became master of the whole Roman empire without a rival. He had been educated in the Christian religion, but had secretly apostatized from it long before; and as soon as he saw himself master of Illyricum, he openly avowed his apostacy, and caused the tem-

ples of the gods to be opened. When the messengers arrived at Naissus, in Illyricum, where he then was, to acquaint him with his being sole master of the empire, they found him consulting the entrails of victims concerning the event of his journey. As the omens were uncertain, he was at that time very much embarrassed and perplexed; but the arrival of the messengers put an end to all his fears, and he immediately set out for Constantinople. At Heraclea he was met by almost all the inhabitants of the metropolis, into which he made his public entry on the 11th of December, 361, attended by the whole Senate in a body, by all the magistrates, and by the nobility magnificently dressed, every one testifying the utmost joy at seeing such a promising young prince raised to the empire without bloodshed. He was again declared emperor by the Senate of Constantinople; and as soon as that ceremony was over, he caused the obsequies of Constantius to be celebrated with great pomp.

The first care of Julian was to inquire into the conduct of the late emperor's ministers, several of whom being found guilty of enormous crimes, were condemned and executed; particularly the noted informer Paulus Catena, and another one named Apodamus, who were sentenced to be burnt alive. Along with these, however, was put to death Ursula, a man of unexceptionable character, to whom Julian himself had been highly indebted. He had been supplied with money by Ursula, unknown to the emperor, at the time when he was sent into Gaul with the title of Cæsar, but without the means necessary for the support of that dignity. For what reason he was now put to death, historians do not acquaint us. Julian himself assures us that Ursula was executed without his knowledge.

The emperor next set about reforming the court. As the vast number of officers had in his time become an intolerable burden, he discharged all those whom he thought useless: among the rest, he reduced the officers

called *agentes in rebus*, from ten thousand to seventeen; and discharged thousands of cooks, barbers, and others, whose large salaries had drained the exchequer. The *curiosi*, whose office it was to inform the emperor of what had passed in the different provinces, were all discharged, and that employment entirely suppressed. Thus he was enabled to disburthen the people of the heavy taxes with which they were loaded; and this he did by abating a fifth part of all taxes and imposts throughout the kingdom.

As to religious matters, Julian, as before observed, was a Pagan, and immediately on his accession to the throne restored the heathen religion. He invited to court the philosophers, magicians, and such like persons, from all parts; nevertheless, he did not institute any persecution against the Christians. On the contrary, he recalled from banishment all the orthodox bishops who had been sent into exile during the former reign; but with a design, as is observed both by the Christian and Pagan writers, to raise disturbances and sow dissensions in the church.

As the Persians were now preparing to carry on the war with vigor, Julian found himself under the necessity of marching in person against them. But before he set out, he enriched the city of Constantinople with many valuable gifts: he formed a large harbor to shelter the ships from the south wind; built a magnificent porch leading to it; and founded a stately library, in which he lodged all his books. In the month of May, 362, he set out for Antioch, and on the first of January renewed in that city the sacrifices to Jupiter for the safety of the empire, which had so long been omitted. During his stay in this city, he continued his preparations for the Persian war; erecting magazines, making new levies, and above all consulting the oracles, aruspices, magicians, and the like. The oracles of Delphi, Delos, and Dodona, assured him of victory. The aruspices, indeed, and most of his courtiers and officers, did all that lay in their power to divert him from his intended expedition; but the de-



ceitful answers of the oracles and magicians, and the desire of adding the Persian monarch to the many kings whom he had already seen humbled at his feet, prevailed over all other considerations. Many nations sent deputies to him offering their assistance; but these offers he rejected, telling them that the Romans were to assist their allies, but stood in no need of any assistance from them. He likewise rejected, in a very disobliging manner, the offers of the Saracens; and when they complained of his stopping the pension paid them by other emperors, he told them that a warlike prince had steel, but no gold; a reply which irritated them so much that they joined the Persians, and continued faithful to them to the last. However, he wrote Arsaces, king of Armenia, enjoining him to keep his troops in readiness to execute the commands which he should soon transmit to him.

Having made the necessary preparations for so important an enterprise, Julian sent orders to his troops to cross the Euphrates, designing to enter the enemy's country before they had the least notice of his march; and for this purpose he had placed guards on all the roads. From Antioch he proceeded to Litarba, a place about fifteen leagues distant, which he reached the same day; and thence he marched to Beræa, where he halted a day, and exhorted the council to restore the worship of the gods; but this exhortation, it seems, was complied with by few. From Beræa he proceeded to Batnæ, and was better pleased with the inhabitants of the latter, because they had, before his arrival, restored the worship of the gods. There he offered sacrifices, and having immolated a great number of victims, pursued the next day his journey to Hierapolis, the capital of the province of Euphratesiana, which he reached on the 9th of March, 363. Here he lodged in the house of one for whom he had a particular esteem, chiefly because neither Constantius nor Gallus, who had both lodged in his house, had been able to make him renounce the worship of his idols. As he en-

tered this city, fifty of his soldiers were killed by the fall of a porch. He left Hierapolis on the 13th of March, and having passed the Euphrates on a bridge of boats, arrived at Batnæ, a small city of Osrhoene, about ten leagues from Hierapolis. From Batnæ he proceeded to Carrhæ, where, in the famous temple of the moon, it is said he sacrificed a woman to that planet.

While Julian continued in this city, he received advice that a party of the enemy's horse had broken into the Roman territories. On this he resolved to leave an army in Mesopotamia, to guard the frontiers of the empire on that side, whilst he advanced on the other into the heart of the Persian dominions. This army consisted, according to some, of twenty thousand, but according to others of thirty thousand chosen troops. It was commanded by Procopius, and Sebastian, a famous Manichean who had been governor of Egypt, and had there persecuted, with the utmost cruelty, the orthodox Christians. These two were to join, if possible, Arsaces, king of Armenia, to lay waste the fruitful plains of Media, and to meet the emperor in Assyria. To Arsaces Julian himself wrote, but in the most disobliging manner imaginable, threatening to treat him as a rebel if he did not execute, with the utmost punctuality, the orders given him, and in the conclusion telling him, that the God he adored would not be able to screen him from punishment, in the event of disobedience.

There were two roads leading from Carrhæ to Persia; the one to the left by Nisibis, and the other to the right through the province of Assyria, along the banks of the Euphrates. Julian chose the latter, but caused magazines to be erected on both roads; and, after having reviewed his army, set out on the 25th of March. He passed the Abora, which separated the Roman and Persian dominions near its conflux with the Euphrates; after which he broke down the bridge, that his troops might not be tempted to desert. As he proceeded on his march, a soldier and

two horses were struck dead by lightning; and a lion of extraordinary size presenting himself to the army, was in a moment dispatched by the soldiers with a shower of darts. These omens occasioned great disputes between the philosophers and aruspices. The latter looking upon them as inauspicious, advised the emperor to return; but the former refuted their arguments with others more agreeable to Julian's temper.

Having passed the Abora, Julian entered Assyria, which he found very populous, and abounding in all the necessities of life; but he laid it waste far and near, destroying the magazines and provisions which he could not carry along with him; and thus he put it out of his power to return the same way he advanced, a step which was judged most impolitic. As he met with no army in the field to oppose him, he advanced to the walls of Ctesiphon, the metropolis of the Persian empire, having reduced all the strongholds that lay in his way. Here, having caused the canal to be cleared which had formerly been dug by Trajan between these two rivers, he conveyed his fleet from the former to the latter. On the banks of the Tigris he was opposed by the enemy. But Julian passed that river in spite of their utmost efforts, and drove them into the city with the loss of a great number of their men.

Julian had now advanced so far into the enemy's country that he found it necessary to think of a retreat, as it was impossible for him to winter in Persia. For this reason he made no attempt on Ctesiphon, but began to march back along the banks of the Tigris, soon after he had passed that river. In the mean time the king of Persia had assembled a formidable army, with the intention of falling upon the Romans in their march; but being desirous of putting an end to so destructive a war, he sent advantageous proposals of peace to Julian. These, however, the Roman emperor most imprudently rejected; and soon afterwards, deceived by treacherous guides, he quitted the river, and entered into an unknown country totally laid waste

by the enemy, and where he was continually harassed by strong parties, who in a manner surrounded his army, and attacked him sometimes in front and sometimes in rear. But the treacherous guides already mentioned persuaded him to take a step still more ruinous and fatal, namely, to burn his fleet, lest it should fall into the hands of the enemy. As soon as the fleet had been set on fire, the whole army cried out that the emperor was betrayed, and that the guides were traitors employed by the enemy. Julian ordered them immediately to be put on the rack, upon which they confessed the treason; but it was too late. The fleet was already in flames which could by no means be extinguished; and no part was saved except twelve vessels, which were designed to be made use of in the building of bridges, and which for this purpose were conveyed over land in wagons.

The emperor thus finding himself in a strange country, and his army greatly dispirited, called a council of his chief officers, in which it was resolved to proceed to Corduene, which lay south of Armenia, and belonged to the Romans. But they had not proceeded far in this direction when they were met by the king of Persia, at the head of a numerous army, attended by his two sons, and all the principal nobility of the kingdom. Several sharp encounters happened, in which, though the Persians were always defeated, yet the Romans reaped no advantages from their victories, but were reduced to the last extremity for want of provisions. In one of these skirmishes, when the Romans were suddenly attacked, the emperor, eager to repulse the enemy, hastened to the field of battle without his armor, when he received a mortal wound by a dart, which, through his arm and side, pierced his very liver. Of this wound he died the same night, the 26th of June, 363, in the thirty-second year of his age, after having reigned scarcely twenty months from the time he became sole master of the Roman empire.

As Julian had declined naming any suc-



cessor, the choice of a new emperor devolved on the army, who unanimously chose Jovian, a very able commander, whose father had lately resigned the post of *comes domesticorum*, in order to lead a retired life. The valor and experience of Jovian, however, were not sufficient to extricate the Roman army from the difficulties in which it had been plunged by the imprudence of his predecessor. Famine raged in the camp to such a degree, that not a single man would have been left alive, had not the Persians unexpectedly sent proposals of peace, which were now received with the utmost joy. A peace was concluded for thirty years, the terms of which were that Jovian should restore to the Persians the fine provinces which had been taken from them in the reign of Diocletian, with several castles, and the cities of Nisibis and Singara. After the conclusion of the treaty, Jovian pursued his march without molestation. When he arrived at Antioch he revoked all the laws which had been made in the former reign against Christianity, and in favor of Paganism. He also espoused the cause of the orthodox Christians against the Arians; and he recalled all those who had been formerly banished, particularly Athanasius, to whom he wrote a very obliging letter with his own hand. It is generally believed also that Athanasius, at the desire of Jovian, now composed the creed which still bears his name, and is subscribed by all the bishops in Europe. But this emperor did not live to make any great alterations, nor even to visit his capital as emperor; for in his way to Constantinople he was found dead in his bed, on the 16th or 17th of February, 364, after having lived thirty-three years, and reigned seven months and fourteen days.

After the death of Jovian, Valentinian was chosen emperor. Immediately on his accession the soldiers mutinied, and with great clamor required him to choose a partner in the sovereignty. He did not instantly comply with this demand; but in a few days he chose his brother Valens as his part-

ner; and the empire being threatened on all sides with an invasion of the barbarous nations, he thought proper to divide it. This famous partition was executed at Mediana, in Dacia. Valens received as his share the whole of Asia, Egypt, and Thrace; and Valentinian retained all the West, including Illyricum, Italy, Gaul, Spain, Britain, and Africa.

After this partition Valens returned to Constantinople, where the beginning of his reign was disturbed by the revolt of Procopius, a relation of Julian. On the death of that emperor he had fled into Taurica Chersonesus, from dread of Jovian; but not trusting the barbarians who inhabited that country, he returned in disguise into the Roman territories, where, having gained over an eunuch of great wealth, called Eugenius, lately disgraced by Valens, and some officers who commanded the troops sent against the Goths, he got himself proclaimed emperor. At first he was joined only by the lowest of the people, but at length he was acknowledged by the whole city of Constantinople. On the news of this revolt, Valens would have abdicated the sovereignty, had he not been prevented by the importunities of his friends. He therefore dispatched some troops against the usurper, but these were gained over, and Procopius continuing for some time to gain ground, it is probable he would finally have succeeded, had he not become so much elated with his good fortune that he grew tyrannical and insupportable to his own party. In consequence of this alteration in his disposition, he was first abandoned by some of his principal officers, and soon afterwards defeated in battle, taken prisoner, and put to death.

This revolt produced a war betwixt Valens and the Goths. The latter, having been solicited by Procopius, had sent three thousand men to his assistance. On hearing the news of the usurper's death, they counter-marched; but Valens detached against them a body of troops, who took them all prisoners, notwithstanding the vigorous resistance

they made. Athanaric, king of the Goths, expostulated with Valens against this proceeding; but that emperor proving obstinate, both parties prepared for war. In 367 and 369 Valens gained great advantages over his enemies, and obliged them to sue for peace, which was concluded upon terms advantageous to the Romans. The rest of his reign contains nothing remarkable, except the cruelty with which he persecuted the orthodox clergy. The latter sent eighty of their number to him, in order to lay their complaints before him, but instead of giving them any relief, he determined to put them all to death. The person, however, who was ordered to execute this sentence, fearing lest the public execution of so many ecclesiastics might raise disturbances, ordered them all to be put on board a ship, pretending that the emperor had ordered them only to be sent into banishment; but when the vessel was at some distance from the land, the mariners set fire to it, and made their own escape in a boat. The ship was driven by a strong wind into a harbor, where it was consumed, with all who were on board. A persecution was also commenced against magicians, or those who had books of magic in their custody. This occasioned the destruction of many innocent persons, for books of this kind were often conveyed into libraries unknown to the owners of them, an act which was certainly followed by death and confiscation of goods. Persons of all ranks were consequently seized with such terror that they burnt their libraries, lest books of magic should be secretly conveyed amongst those of which they consisted. In 378 the Goths whom Valens had admitted into Thrace, advanced from that province to Macedonia and Thessaly, where they committed dreadful ravages. They afterwards blockaded the city of Constantinople, plundered the suburbs, and at last totally defeated and killed the emperor himself. The day after the battle, hearing that an immense treasure was lodged in Adrianople, the barbarians laid siege to that place, but being strangers to

the art of besieging towns, they were repulsed with great slaughter, upon which they abandoned the enterprise and returned before Constantinople. But here great numbers of them were cut in pieces by the Saracens, whom Maria, the queen of that people, had sent to the assistance of the Romans, so that they were obliged to abandon this design likewise, and retire from the neighborhood of the city.

By the death of Valens the empire once more fell into the hands of a single person. This was Gratian, who had held the empire of the West after the death of Valentinian. He repulsed many barbarous nations who threatened inroads on various sides, but finding himself severely pressed, he soon resolved to take a colleague, in order to relieve himself of part of the burden. Accordingly, on the 19th of January, 379, he declared Theodosius his partner in the empire, and committed to his care all the provinces which had been governed by Valens.

Theodosius is greatly extolled by the historians of those ages on account of his extraordinary valor and piety; and for these qualifications he has been honored with the surname of Great. From the many persecuting laws, however, made in his time, it would seem that his piety was at least very much misdirected; and that if he was naturally of a humane and compassionate disposition, superstition and passion had often totally obscured it. He certainly was a man of great conduct and experience in war; and indeed the present state of the empire called for an exertion of all his abilities. The provinces of Dacia, Thrace, and Illyricum, were already lost; the Goths, Taifali, Alans, and Huns, were masters of the greater part of these provinces, and had ravaged and laid waste the remainder. The Iberians, Armenians, and Persians, were likewise up in arms, and ready to take advantage of the distracted state of the empire. The few soldiers who had survived the late defeat kept within the strongholds of Thrace, without even daring to look abroad, much less to face



the victorious enemy, who moved about the country in great bodies. But notwithstanding this critical situation, the historians of those times give us no account of the transactions of the year 379. Many great battles indeed are said to have been fought, and as many victories obtained by Theodosius; but the accounts of these are so confused and contradictory, that no stress can be laid upon them.

In the month of February, 380, Theodosius was seized with a dangerous malady, so that Gratian found himself obliged to carry on the war alone. This emperor, apprehending that the neighboring barbarians might break into some of the provinces, concluded with the Goths a peace, which was confirmed by Theodosius on his recovery. The treaty was very advantageous to the barbarians; but they, disregarding all their engagements, no sooner heard that Gratian had left Illyricum than they passed the Danube, and breaking into Thrace and Pannonia, advanced as far as Macedonia, destroying all with fire and sword. Theodosius, however, having collected his forces, marched against them, and, according to the most respectable authorities, gained a complete victory; though Zosimus relates that he was utterly defeated.

The following year Athanaric, the most powerful of all the Gothic princes, being driven out by a faction at home, applied to Theodosius, by whom he was received with great tokens of friendship. The emperor himself went out to meet him, and attended him with his numerous retinue into the city. The Gothic prince died the same year, and Theodosius caused him to be buried after the Roman manner, with such pomp and solemnity that the Goths who attended him in his flight returned home with a resolution never to molest the Romans any more. Nay, out of gratitude to the emperor, they took upon them to guard the banks of the Danube, and prevent the empire from being invaded on that side.

In 383, one Maximus revolted against Gratian in Britain; and having at length

got the unhappy emperor into his power, caused him to be put to death, upon which the usurper assumed the empire of the West himself. Gratian had divided his dominions with his brother Valentinian, whom he allowed to reign in Italy and Western Illyricum, reserving the rest to himself. Maximus, therefore, immediately after his usurpation, sent deputies to Theodosius, assuring him that he had no designs on the dominions of Valentinian. As Theodosius at that time found himself in danger from the barbarians, he not only forbore to attack Maximus after this declaration, but even acknowledged him as his partner in the empire. It was not long, however, before the ambition of the usurper prompted him to violate his promise. In 387 he suddenly passed the Alps; and meeting with no opposition, marched to Milan, where Valentinian usually resided. The young prince fled first to Aquileia, and thence to Thessalonica, in order to implore the protection of Theodosius. The latter, in answer to Valentinian's letter, informed him that he was not at all surprised at the progress Maximus had made, because the usurper had protected, and Valentinian had persecuted, the orthodox Christians. At last he prevailed on the young prince to renounce the Arian heresy, which the latter had hitherto maintained; after which Theodosius promised to assist him with all the forces of the East. At first, however, he sent messengers to Maximus, earnestly exhorting him to restore the provinces which he had taken from Valentinian, and content himself with Gaul, Spain, and Britain. But the usurper would hearken to no terms. This very year he besieged and took Aquileia, Quaderna, Bononia, Mutina, Rhegium, Placentia, and many other cities in Italy; and the following year he was acknowledged in Rome, and in all the provinces of Africa. Theodosius, therefore, finding a war inevitable, spent the remaining months of this and the beginning of the following year in making the necessary preparations. His army consisted chiefly of Goths, Huns,

Alans, and other barbarians, whom he was glad to take into his service in order to prevent their raising disturbances on the frontiers. He defeated Maximus in two battles, took him prisoner, and put him to death. The usurper had left his son Victor, whom he created Augustus, in Gaul, to overawe the inhabitants in his absence. Against him the emperor dispatched Arbogastes, who took him prisoner after having dispersed the troops that attended him, and put him to death. The victory was afterwards used by Theodosius with great clemency and moderation.

In 389 Theodosius made a journey to Rome, and, according to Prudentius, at this time converted the senate and people from idolatry to Christianity. The next year was remarkable for the destruction of the celebrated temple of Serapis in Alexandria, which, according to the description of Ammianus Marcellinus, surpassed all others in the world, that of Jupiter Capitolinus alone excepted. The reason of its being now destroyed was this. Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria, having begged and obtained of the emperor an old temple, formerly consecrated to Bacchus, but then ruined and forsaken, with the design of converting it into a church, the workmen found among the rubbish several obscene figures, which the bishop, in order to ridicule the superstition of the heathens, caused to be exposed to public view. This provoked the Pagans to such a degree that they flew to arms; and falling unexpectedly upon the Christians, cut great numbers of them in pieces. The latter, however, soon took arms in their own defence; and being supported by the few soldiers who were quartered in the city, began to repel force by force. Thus a civil war was kindled, and no day passed without some encounter. The Pagans used to retire to the temple of Serapis, and thence sallying out unexpectedly, seized on such Christians as they met, and dragging them into the temple, either forced them by the most exquisite torments to sacrifice to their idol, or, if they refused,

racked them to death. As soon as they expected to be attacked by the emperor's troops, they chose a philosopher named Olympus as their leader, with the design of defending themselves to the last extremity. The emperor, however, would not suffer any punishment to be inflicted upon them for the lives of those whom they had put to death, but readily forgave them; however, he ordered all the temples of Alexandria to be immediately pulled down, and commanded the bishop to see his orders put in execution. The Pagans no sooner heard that the emperor was acquainted with their proceedings than they abandoned the temple, which was in a short time destroyed by Theophilus; nothing being left except the foundations, which could not be removed, on account of the extraordinary weight and size of the stones. Not satisfied with the destruction of the Alexandrian temples, the zealous bishop encouraged the people to pull down all the other temples, oratories, chapels, and places set apart for the worship of the heathen gods throughout Egypt, and ordered the statues of the gods themselves to be either burnt or melted down. Of the innumerable statues which at that time were to be found in Egypt, he is said to have spared but one, namely, that of an ape, in order to expose the Pagan religion to ridicule. On his return to Constantinople, Theodosius ordered such temples as were yet standing to be thrown down, and the Arians to be everywhere driven out of the cities.

In 392 Valentinian, emperor of the West, was treacherously murdered by Arbogastes his general, who, though he might afterwards have easily seized on the sovereignty himself, chose to confer it upon one Eugenius, and to reign in his name. This new usurper, though a Christian, was greatly favored by the Pagans, who were well apprised that he only bore the title of emperor, while the whole power lodged in Arbogastes, who pretended to be greatly attached to their religion. The aruspices appeared anew, and informed



him that he was destined to the empire of the whole world, and that he would soon gain a complete victory over Theodosius, who was as much hated as Eugenius was beloved by the gods. But though Eugenius seemed to favor the Pagans, yet in the very beginning of his reign he wrote to St. Ambrose. The holy man did not answer his letter till he was pressed by some friends to recommend them to the new prince; and then he wrote to the usurper with all the respect due to an emperor. Soon after his accession to the empire, Eugenius sent deputies to Theodosius, who is said to have received them in a very obliging manner. He did not, however, intend to enter into any alliance with this usurper, but immediately began his military preparations. In 394 he set out from Constantinople, and reached Adrianople on the 15th of June that year. He bent his march through Dacia, and the other provinces between Thrace and the Julian Alps, with the design of forcing the passes of these mountains, and breaking into Italy before the army of Eugenius was in a condition to oppose him. On his arrival at the Alps he found these passes guarded by Flavianus, prefect of Italy, at the head of a considerable body of Roman troops. These, however, were utterly defeated by Theodosius, who thereupon crossed the Alps and advanced into Italy. He was soon met by Eugenius, and a bloody battle ensued, without any decisive advantage on either side; but the next day the emperor led his troops in person against the enemy, utterly defeated them, and took their camp. Eugenius was taken prisoner by his own men, and brought to Theodosius, who reproached him with the murder of Valentinian, with the calamities which he had brought on the empire by his unjust usurpation, and with putting his confidence in Hercules, and not in the true God; for on his chief standard he had displayed the image of that fabulous hero. Eugenius begged earnestly for his life; but whilst he lay prostrate at the emperor's feet, his own soldiers cut off his head, and carrying it

about on the point of a spear, showed it to those in the camp who had not yet submitted to Theodosius. At this they were all thunder-struck; but being informed that Theodosius was ready to receive them into favor, they threw down their arms and submitted. After this Arbogastes, despairing of pardon, fled to the mountains; but being informed that diligent search was made for him, he laid violent hands on himself. His children, and those of Eugenius, took sanctuary in churches; the emperor, however, not only pardoned, but took the opportunity of converting them to Christianity, restored to them their paternal estates, and raised them to considerable employments in the state. Soon after this, Theodosius appointed his son Honorius emperor of the West, assigning him as his share Italy, Gaul, Spain, Africa, and West Illyricum. But the next year, as he prepared for his return to Constantinople, he was seized with a dropsy, owing to the great fatigues he had undergone during the war. As soon as he perceived himself to be in danger, he made his will, by which he bequeathed the empire of the East to Arcadius, and confirmed Honorius in the possession of the West. He likewise confirmed the pardon which he had granted to all those who had borne arms against him, remitted a tribute which had proved very burdensome to the people, and charged his two sons to see that these points of his will were executed. He died at Milan on the 17th of January 395, in the sixteenth year of his reign, and fiftieth of his age.

From the time of Theodosius to the time when the Roman empire in the West was totally destroyed by the Goths, we find but very little remarkable in the history of Constantinople. At this time the eastern empire was usurped by Basiliscus, who had driven out Zeno, the lawful emperor, being assisted in his conspiracy by the empress Verina, his sister. Zeno fled into Isauria, whither he was pursued by Illus and Trecondes, two of the usurper's generals, who having easily defeated the few troops he had with him.

forced the unhappy prince to shut himself up in a castle, which they immediately invested. But in a short time Basiliscus having disoblged the people by his cruelty, avarice, and other bad qualities, for which he was no less remarkable than his predecessor had been, his generals joined with Zeno, whom they restored to the throne. After his restoration, Zeno having got Basiliscus into his power, confined him in a castle of Cappadocia, together with his wife Zenonides, where they both perished with hunger and cold. This happened in the year 467, after Basiliscus had reigned about twenty months. During the time of this usurpation a dreadful fire happened at Constantinople, which consumed great part of the city, with the library containing 120,000 volumes, among which were the works of Homer, written, as is said, on the great gut of a dragon a hundred and twenty feet long.

The misfortunes which Zeno had undergone did not work any reformation upon him. He still continued the same vicious courses which had given occasion to the usurpation of Basiliscus; and other conspiracies were formed against him, but he had the good fortune to escape them. He engaged in a war with the Ostrogoths, in which he proved unsuccessful, and was obliged to yield to them the provinces of Lower Dacia and Moesia. In a short time, however, Theodoric their king made an irruption into Thrace, and advanced within fifteen miles of Constantinople, with the design of besieging that capital; but the following year, 485, they retired in order to attack Odoacer, king of Italy, of which country Theodoric was proclaimed king in 493. The emperor Zeno died in the year 491, in the sixty-fifth year of his age, and seventeenth of his reign.

The Roman empire had now for a long time been on the decline; and the valor and military discipline which had for so many ages rendered the Romans superior to other nations had now greatly degenerated. The tumults and disorders which had happened in the empire from time to time by the many

usurpations, had also greatly contributed to weaken it. But what proved of the greatest detriment was the allowing vast swarms of barbarians to settle in the different provinces, and to serve in the Roman empire in separate and independent bodies. This had proved the immediate cause of the dissolution of the western empire; but as it affected the eastern parts less, the Constantinopolitan empire continued for upwards of nine hundred years after that of the West had been totally dissolved. The weak and imprudent administration of Zeno, and of Anastasius, who succeeded him, had reduced the eastern empire still more; and it might possibly have expired in a short time after the western one, had not the wise and vigorous conduct of Justin and his partner Justinian revived in some measure the ancient martial spirit which had originally raised the Roman empire to its highest pitch of grandeur.

Justin ascended the throne in 518. In 521 he engaged in a war with the Persians, who had all along been formidable enemies to the Roman name. Against them he employed the famous Belisarius, of whom, however, we hear nothing remarkable till after the accession of Justinian. This prince was the nephew of Justin, and was by him taken as his partner in the empire in 527; and the same year Justin died, in the seventy-seventh year of his age and ninth of his reign. Justinian being now sole master of the empire, directed his whole force against the Persians. The latter proved successful in the first engagement, but were soon afterwards utterly defeated by Belisarius on the frontiers of Persia, and likewise by another general, named Dorotheus, in Armenia. The war continued with various success during the first five years of Justinian's reign. In the sixth year a peace was concluded upon the conditions that the Roman emperor should pay to Cosroes, the king of Persia, a thousand pounds weight of gold; that both princes should restore the places they had taken during the wars; that the commander of the



Roman forces should no longer reside at Daras, on the Persian frontiers, but at a place called Constantina, in Mesopotamia, as he had formerly done; and that the Iberians who had sided with the Romans should be at liberty either to return to their own country or to remain at Constantinople. This peace, concluded in 532, was styled "eternal;" but in the event it proved of very short duration.

About this time happened at Constantinople the greatest tumult mentioned in history. It began among the different factions in the circus, but ended in an open rebellion. The multitude, highly dissatisfied with the conduct of John, the *prefectus prætorio*, and of Tribonianus, then questor, forced Hypatius, nephew of the emperor Anastasius, to accept the empire, and proclaimed him with great solemnity in the forum. As the above-mentioned ministers were greatly abhorred by the populace on account of their avarice, Justinian immediately discharged them, hoping by that means to appease the tumult; but this was so far from answering the purpose, that the multitude only grew the more outrageous; and most of the senators joining them, the emperor became so much alarmed that he had thoughts of abandoning the city and making his escape by sea. In this dilemma the Empress Theodora encouraged and persuaded him rather to part with his life than with his kingdom; and he at last resolved to defend himself to the utmost, with the few senators who had not yet abandoned him. In the mean time, the rebels having attempted in vain to force the gates of the palace, carried Hypatius in triumph to the circus, where, whilst he was beholding the sports from the imperial throne, amidst the shouts and acclamations of the people, Belisarius, who had been recalled from Persia, entered the city with a considerable body of troops. Being then apprised of the usurpation of Hypatius, he marched straight to the circus, fell sword in hand upon the disarmed multitude, and with the assistance of a band of Heruli, headed by Mundus, governor of

Illyricum, cut about thirty thousand of them in pieces. Hypatius the usurper, and Pompeius, another of the nephews of Anastasius, were taken prisoners and carried to the emperor, by whose orders they were both beheaded, and their bodies cast into the sea. Their estates were confiscated, and likewise the estates of such senators as had joined with them; but the emperor caused great part of their lands and effects to be afterwards restored to their children, together with their honors and dignities.

Justinian having now no other enemy to contend with, turned his arms against the Vandals in Africa, and the Goths in Italy, both of which provinces he recovered out of the hands of the barbarians. But before his general Belisarius had time to establish fully the Roman power in Italy, he was recalled in order to carry on the war against Cosrhoes, king of Persia, who, in defiance of the treaty concluded in 532, had entered the Roman dominions at the head of a powerful army. The same year, however, a peace was concluded between the two nations, upon the conditions that the Romans should, within two months, pay to the Persian king five thousand pounds weight of gold, and an annual pension of five hundred; that the Persians should relinquish all claim to the fortress of Daras, and maintain a body of troops to guard the Caspian gates, and prevent the barbarians from breaking into the empire; and that upon payment of the above-mentioned sum, Cosrhoes should immediately withdraw his troops from the Roman dominions. The treaty being signed, and the stipulated sum paid, Cosrhoes began to march back again; but on the way he plundered several cities, as if the war had still continued. Justinian therefore resolved to pursue the war with the utmost vigor, and for this purpose dispatched Belisarius into the East. But soon afterwards he was obliged to recall him in order to oppose the Goths, who after his departure had gained great advantages in Italy. The Persian war was then carried on with indifferent success till the year 558,

when a peace was concluded upon the emperor again paying an immense sum to the enemy. The same year the Huns, having passed the Danube in the depth of winter, marched in two bodies directly for Constantinople, and laying waste the countries through which they passed, came, without meeting the least opposition, within a short distance of the city. But Belisarius having marched out against them with a handful of men, put them to flight. The emperor, however, in order to prevent them from invading the empire anew, agreed to pay them an annual tribute, upon their promising to defend the empire against all other barbarians, and to serve in the Roman armies when required. This was the last exploit performed by Belisarius, who on his return to Constantinople was disgraced, stripped of all his employments, and confined to his house, on pretence of a conspiracy against the emperor. In the year 565 a real conspiracy was formed against Justinian, which he happily escaped, and the conspirators were executed; but the emperor did not long survive it, being carried off by a natural death in 566, in the thirty-ninth year of his reign.

During the reign of Justinian, the majesty of the Roman empire seemed in some measure to revive. He recovered the provinces of Italy and Africa from the hands of the barbarians, by whom they had been held for a number of years; but soon after his death they were lost to the empire, which now tended fast to dissolution. In 569 Italy was conquered by the Lombards, who held it for the space of two hundred years. Some amends, however, were made for the loss by the acquisition of Persarmenia, the inhabitants of which, being persecuted by the Persians on account of the Christian religion, which they professed, revolted to the Romans. This produced a war between the two nations, who continued to weaken each other, till at last the Persian monarchy was utterly overthrown, and that of the Romans greatly reduced, by the Saracens. These new enemies attacked the Romans in the year 632, and

pursued their conquests with incredible rapidity. In the space of four years they reduced the provinces of Egypt, Syria, and Palestine. In 648 they were also masters of Mesopotamia, Phœnicia, Africa, Cyprus, Aradus, and Rhodes; and having defeated the Roman fleet commanded by the Emperor Constans in person, they concluded a peace on condition of retaining the vast extent of territory which they had seized, and paying for it a thousand nummi a year.

An expedition against the Lombards was about this time undertaken, but with very little success; a body of twenty thousand Romans having been almost entirely cut off by one of the Lombard generals. In 671 the Saracens ravaged several provinces, made a descent on Sicily, took and plundered the city of Syracuse, and overran the whole island, destroying every thing with fire and sword. In like manner they laid waste Cilicia, and having passed the winter at Smyrna, entered Thrace in the year 672, and laid siege to Constantinople itself. Here, however, they were repulsed with great loss; but next spring they renewed their attempt, in which they met with the same ill success, many of their ships being consumed by the *sea-fire*, as it was called, because it burned under water; and in their return home their fleet was wrecked off the Scyllæan promontory. At last a peace was concluded for thirty years, on condition that the Saracens should retain all the provinces which they had seized, and that they should pay the emperor and his successors three thousand pounds weight of gold, fifty slaves, and as many choice horses.

This peace had scarcely been concluded when the empire was invaded by a new enemy, who for a long time proved very troublesome. These were the Bulgarians, who breaking into Thrace, defeated the Roman army sent against them, and ravaged the country far and wide. The emperor consented to pay them an annual pension rather than continue a doubtful war, and allowed them to settle in Lower Mœsia, which from



them was afterwards called Bulgaria. In 687, they were attacked by Justinian II. who entered their country without provocation, and in disregard of the treaties formerly concluded with them. But, having fallen suddenly upon him, they drove him out of their country, and obliged him to restore the towns and captives he had taken. In 697 this emperor was deposed, and in his exile fled to Trebelis, king of the Bulgarians, by whom he was kindly entertained, and by whose means he was restored to his throne; but soon forgetting this favor, he invaded the country of the Bulgarians, with a design of wresting from them those provinces which he had yielded to them. In this expedition, however, he was attended by no better success than his ingratitude deserved, his army being utterly defeated, and he himself obliged to make his escape in a light vessel to Constantinople. The Bulgarians continued their inroads and ravages at different times, generally defeating the Romans who ventured to oppose them, till the year 809, the seventh of the reign of Nicephorus, when they surprised the city of Sardica, in Mœsia, and put the whole garrison, consisting of six thousand men, to the sword. The emperor marched against them with a considerable army, but the enemy retired at his approach, and he, instead of pursuing them, returned to Constantinople. Two years afterwards he entered Bulgaria at the head of a powerful army, destroying everything with fire and sword. The king offered to conclude a peace with him upon honorable terms; but Nicephorus, rejecting his proposals, continued to waste the country, destroying the cities, and putting all the inhabitants, without distinction of age or sex, to the sword. The king was so much affected with these cruelties which were exercised on his subjects, that he sent a second embassy to Nicephorus, offering to conclude a peace with him upon any terms, provided he would quit his country. But Nicephorus having dismissed the ambassadors with scorn, the Bulgarian monarch unexpectedly attacked the Roman camp,

forced it, and cut off almost the whole army, with the emperor himself, and a great number of patricians. His successor Michael likewise engaged in a war with the Bulgarians; but being utterly defeated, he was so grieved that he resigned the empire. After this the Bulgarians continued to be formidable enemies of the empire till the year 979, when they were attacked by Basilus II. The Bulgarians were at that time governed by a king named Samuel, who ravaged the Roman territories, as was the common practice of his nation; upon which Basilus sent against him one Nicephorus Uranus, at the head of a powerful army. Uranus leaving his baggage at Larissa, reached the Sperchius by forced marches, and encamped with his whole army opposite the enemy, who lay on the other bank. As the river was greatly swelled with heavy rains which had lately fallen, Samuel, not imagining the Romans would attempt to pass it, suffered his troops to roam in large parties about the country in quest of booty. But Uranus having at length found out a place where the river was fordable, passed it in the dead of the night without being perceived. He then fell upon the Bulgarians who remained in the camp, and lay for the most part asleep; cut a great number of them in pieces; took many prisoners, with all their baggage, and made himself master of their camp. Samuel and his son were dangerously wounded, and would have been taken had not they all that day concealed themselves among the dead. The next night they stole away to the mountains of Ætolia, and thence made their escape into Bulgaria. The following year the emperor entered Bulgaria at the head of a numerous and well disciplined army, defeated Samuel in a pitched battle, and took several strong cities. The emperor himself, however, at last narrowly escaped being cut off with his whole army, being unexpectedly attacked by the Bulgarians in a narrow pass. From this danger he was relieved by the arrival of Nicephorus Xiphias, governor of Philippopolis, with a considerable number

of troops, who, falling upon the enemy's rear, put them to flight. Basilius pursued them closely, and having taken an incredible number of prisoners, caused their eyes to be pulled out, leaving to every hundred a guide with one eye, that he might conduct them to Samuel. This shocking spectacle so affected the unhappy king, that he fell into a deep swoon, and died two days afterwards. The Roman emperor pursued his conquests, and in the space of two years made himself master of most of the enemy's strongholds. He also defeated the successor of Samuel in several engagements; and having at last killed him in battle, the Bulgarians submitted themselves without reserve. The vast treasures of their princes were by Basilius distributed among his soldiers by way of donative. Soon afterwards the widow of the late king, with her six daughters and three of her sons, surrendered themselves to the Roman emperor, by whom they were received with the utmost civility and respect. This obliging behavior encouraged the three other sons of the late king, and most of the princes of the blood, who had taken shelter in the mountains, to submit, and throw themselves on the emperor's clemency.

Ibatzes, however, a person nearly allied to the royal family, who had distinguished himself during the whole course of the war, refused to submit, and fled to a steep and craggy mountain, with the design of defending himself there to the last extremity. Basilius endeavored to induce him to submit by fair means; but he equally despised both threats and promises. At last Eustathius Daphnomelus, whom Basilius had lately appointed governor of Achridus, the chief city of Bulgaria, undertook to seize him. Without communicating his design to any, he repaired, with two persons in whom he could confide, to the mountain on which Ibatzes had fortified himself, hoping to pass undiscovered among the many strangers who flocked thither to celebrate the approaching feast of the Virg'n Mary, for whom Ibatzes had a particular veneration. In this, how-

ever, he found himself mistaken; for he was discovered by the guards, and carried before the prince. To the latter he pretended to have something of importance to communicate; but as soon as Ibatzes had retired with him into a remote place, Daphnomelus threw himself suddenly upon him, and with the assistance of the two men whom he had brought with him, pulled out both his eyes, and got safely to an abandoned castle on the top of the hill. Here they were immediately surrounded by the troops of Ibatzes, but Daphnomelus exhorting them now to submit to the emperor, by whom he assured them they would be well received, they congratulated Daphnomelus on his success, and suffered him to conduct the unhappy Ibatzes a prisoner to Basilius. The emperor was no less surprised than pleased at the success of this bold attempt, and rewarded Daphnomelus with the government of Dyrhachium, and all the rich movables of his prisoner. After this, having accomplished the entire reduction of Bulgaria, he returned with an incredible number of captives to Constantinople, where he was received by the senate and people with all possible demonstrations of joy.

During this time the Saracens had at intervals invaded the Roman dominions, and even attempted to make themselves masters of Constantinople. Their internal divisions, however, rendered them now much less formidable enemies than they had formerly been; so that some provinces were even recovered for a time out of their hands, though the weak and distracted state of the empire rendered it impossible to preserve such conquests. In 1041, the empire was invaded by an enemy, not very powerful at that time, indeed, but who by degrees gathered strength sufficient to overthrow both the Roman and Saracen empires. These were the Turks, who, having quitted their ancient habitations in the neighborhood of Mount Caucasus, and passed the Caspian Straits, settled in Armenia Major about the year 844. There they continued, an unknown and despised people,



till the intestine wars of the Saracens gave them an opportunity of aggrandizing themselves. About the year 1030, Mohammed, the son of Sambrael, sultan of Persia, not finding himself a match for Pisaris, sultan of Babylon, with whom he was at war, had recourse to the Turks, who sent him three thousand men, under the command of Tangrolipix, a leading man among them. By their assistance, Mohammed defeated his adversary; but when the Turks desired leave to return home, he refused to part with them. Upon this they withdrew without his consent to a neighboring desert; and there being joined by several discontented Persians, began to make frequent inroads into the sultan's territories. Mohammed immediately dispatched against them an army of twenty thousand men, who being surprised in the night, were utterly defeated by Tangrolipix. The fame of this victory drew multitudes from all parts to his standard; so that in a short time Tangrolipix saw himself at the head of fifty thousand men. Upon this, Mohammed marched against them in person, but was thrown from his horse in the beginning of the engagement, and killed by the fall; upon which his men threw down their arms, and submitted to Tangrolipix.

After this victory, the Turkish general made war upon the sultan of Babylon, whom he at length slew, and annexed his dominions to his own. He then sent his nephew, named Cutlu-Moses, against the Arabians; but he was defeated by them, and forced to fly towards Media. But he was denied a passage through this province by Stephen, the Roman governor, upon which Cutlu-Moses was obliged to force his way, by encountering the Roman army. These he put to flight, took the governor himself prisoner, and without any further opposition reached the confines of Persia, where he sold Stephen as a slave. Returning thence to Tangrolipix, he excused, in the best manner he could, his defeat by the Arabians; but at the same time acquainted him with his victory over the Romans in Media, encouraging him to invade that fer-

tile country, which he said might be easily conquered, as it was inhabited by none but women, meaning thereby the Romans. At that time Tangrolipix did not hearken to his advice, but marched against the Arabians at the head of a numerous army. He was, however, attended with no better success than his nephew had been, and therefore began to reflect on what the latter had told him. Soon afterwards he sent Asan, his brother's son, with an army of twenty thousand men, to reduce Media; and, pursuant to his orders, the young prince entered that country, and committed everywhere dreadful ravages; but being in the end drawn into an ambuscade by the Roman generals, he was cut off with his whole army. Tangrolipix, nowise discouraged by this misfortune, sent a new army into Media, nearly one hundred thousand strong, which, after having ravaged the country, without opposition, laid siege to Artza, a place of great trade, and reckoned the most wealthy in those parts. But not being able to reduce it by any other means, they set it on fire, and thus in a short time it was utterly destroyed; the buildings being reduced to ashes, while one hundred and fifty thousand of the inhabitants perished either by the flames or the sword. After this Abraham Halim, brother of Tangrolipix, hearing that the Romans, reinforced with a body of troops under the command of Liparites, governor of Iberia, had taken the field, marched against them and offered them battle, which they accepted. The two armies engaged with incredible fury, and the victory continued long doubtful, but at length inclined to the Romans, who nevertheless did not think proper to pursue the fugitives, as their general Liparites had been taken prisoner. The emperor, greatly concerned for the captivity of Liparites, dispatched ambassadors with rich presents, and a large sum of money to redeem him, and at the same time to conclude an alliance with Tangrolipix. The sultan received the presents, but generously returned them, together with the money, to Liparites, whom he set at liberty without

ransom, only requiring him at his departure to promise never more to bear arms against the Turks. Not long afterwards, Tangrolipix sent a person of great authority among the Turks, in the capacity of ambassador, to Constantinople; but he having arrogantly exhorted the emperor to submit to his master, and acknowledge himself his tributary, was ignominiously driven out of the city.

Tangrolipix, highly affronted at the reception which his ambassador had met with, entered Iberia while the emperor Constantine Monomachus was engaged in a war with the Patzinacæ, a Scythian nation. Having ravaged that country, he returned thence to Media, and laid siege to Mantzichiarta, a place defended by a numerous garrison, and fortified by a triple wall and deep ditches. However, as it was situated in an open and level country, he hoped to be master of it in a short time. But finding the besieged determined to defend themselves to the last extremity, he resolved to raise the siege, after he had continued it for thirty days. One of his officers, however, named Alcan, prevailed on him to persevere one day longer, and to commit the management of the attacks to him. This being granted, Alcan disposed his men with such skill, and so encouraged them by his example, that, notwithstanding the vigorous opposition they met with, the place would have probably been taken, had not Alcan been slain as he was mounting the wall. The besieged, knowing him by the richness of his armour, drew him by the hair into the city, and cutting off his head, threw it over the wall amongst the enemy; a circumstance which so disheartened them that they gave over the assault and retired. The next spring Tangrolipix returned, and ravaged Iberia with the utmost cruelty, sparing neither age nor sex. But on the approach of the Roman army he retired to Tauris, leaving thirty thousand men behind him, with orders to infest the frontiers of the empire. This they did with great success, the borders being through the avarice of Monomachus left unguarded. Till the time of

this emperor, the provinces bordering on the countries of the barbarians had maintained, at their own charge, forces to defend them, and were on that account exempted from paying tribute; but as Monomachus had exacted from them the same sums which were paid by others, they were no longer in a condition to defend themselves.

In 1062 died the emperor Constantine Ducas, having left the empire to his three sons, Michael, Andronicus, and Constantine; but as they were all very young, he appointed the empress Eudocia regent during their minority, after having required of her an oath never to marry, which oath was with great solemnity lodged in the hands of the patriarch. He likewise obliged the senators solemnly to swear that they would acknowledge none for their sovereign but his three sons. No sooner was he dead, however, than the Turks, hearing that the empire was governed by a woman, broke into Mesopotamia, Cilicia, and Cappadocia, destroying all with fire and sword. The empress was nowise in a condition to oppose them, the greater part of the army having been disbanded in her husband's lifetime, and the troops that were still on foot being undisciplined, and altogether unfit for service. The concern which this gave the empress was aggravated by the seditious speeches of a discontented party at home, who repeated on all occasions, that the present state of affairs required a man of courage and address at the helm, instead of a weak and helpless woman; and as they imagined that the empress would never think of marrying, in consequence of the oath which she had taken, they hoped by these speeches to induce the people to revolt and choose a new emperor. This Eudocia was aware of, and therefore determined to prevent the evils which threatened herself and her family, by marrying some person of merit, capable of defeating her enemies both at home and abroad. At this time one Romanus Diogenes, a person of a beautiful form, extraordinary parts, and illustrious birth, being accused of aspiring to



the empire, tried, and convicted, was brought forth to receive sentence of death; but the empress, touched with compassion at his appearance, gently upbraided him with his ambition, set him at liberty, and soon afterwards appointed him commander-in-chief of all her forces. In this station he acquitted himself so well, that the empress resolved to marry him, if she could but recover the writing which contained her oath, out of the hands of the patriarch. In order to this, she applied to a favorite eunuch, who having repaired to the patriarch, told him that the empress was so taken with his nephew named Bardass, that she was determined to marry and raise him to the empire, provided the patriarch absolved her from the oath which she had taken, and convinced the Senate of the lawfulness of her marriage. The patriarch dazzled with the prospect of his nephew's promotion, readily undertook to perform both. He first obtained the consent of the Senate, by representing to them the dangerous state of the empire, and exclaiming against the rash oath which the jealousy of the late emperor had extorted from the empress. He then publicly discharged her from it, restored the writing to her, and exhorted her to marry some deserving person, who being intrusted with absolute authority, might be capable of defending the empire. The empress, thus discharged from her oath, married a few days afterwards Romanus Diogenes, who was thereupon proclaimed emperor, to the grievous disappointment of the patriarch.

As the new emperor was a man of great activity and experience in war, he no sooner saw himself vested with the sovereign power, than he took upon him the command of the army, and passed over into Asia with the few forces he could assemble, recruiting and training them on his march to military discipline, which had been utterly neglected in the preceding reigns. On his arrival in that continent, he was informed that the Turks had surprised and plundered the city of Neocæsarea, and were retiring with their

booty. On this news he hastened after them at the head of a chosen body of light-armed troops, and came up with them on the third day. As the Turks were marching in disorder, without the least apprehension of an enemy, Romanus cut great numbers of them in pieces, and easily recovered the booty; he then pursued his march to Aleppo, which he retook, together with Hierapolis, where he built a strong castle.

As he was returning to join the forces he had left behind, he was met by a numerous body of Turks, who attempted to cut off his retreat. At first he pretended to decline an engagement through fear; but afterwards attacked them with such vigor, when they least expected it, that he put them to flight at the first onset, and might have gained a complete victory, had he thought proper to pursue them. After this, several towns submitted to him; but the season being now far spent, the emperor returned to Constantinople. The following year he passed over into Asia early in the spring; and being informed that the Turks had sacked the rich city of Iconium, besides gaining other considerable advantages, he marched in person against them; but the Turks not thinking it advisable to wait his arrival, retired in great haste. The Armenians, however, encouraged by the approach of the emperor's army, fell upon the enemy in the plains of Tarsus, put them to flight, and stripped them of their baggage and of the booty which they had taken. The spring following, the emperor once more entered Asia at the head of a considerable army which he had raised, and with incredible pains disciplined, during the winter. When the two armies approached each other, Axan, the Turkish sultan, and son of the famous Tangrolipix, sent proposals to Romanus for a lasting and honorable peace. These were imprudently rejected, and a desperate engagement ensued, when, in spite of the utmost efforts of the emperor, his army was routed, and he himself wounded and taken prisoner. When this news was brought to Axan, he could scarcely believe

it; but being convinced by the appearance of the royal captive in his presence, he tenderly embraced him, and addressed him in an affectionate manner: "Grieve not," said he, "most noble emperor, at your misfortune; for such is the chance of war, sometimes overwhelming one, and sometimes another. You shall have no occasion to complain of your captivity; for I will not use you as my prisoner, but as an emperor." The Turk was as good as his word; he lodged the emperor in a royal pavilion, assigned him attendants, with an equipage suitable to his quality, and discharged such prisoners as he desired. After he had for some days entertained his royal captive with extraordinary magnificence, a perpetual peace was concluded betwixt them, and the emperor dismissed with the greatest marks of honor imaginable. He then set out with the Turkish ambassador for Constantinople, where the peace was to be ratified; but by the way he was informed that Eudocia had been driven from the throne by John, the brother of Constantine Ducas, and Psellus, a leading man in the Senate, who had confined her to a monastery, and proclaimed her eldest son, Michael Ducas, emperor. On this intelligence, Romanus retired to a strong castle near Theodosiopolis, where he hoped in a short time to be joined by great numbers of his friends and adherents. But in the mean time John, who had taken upon him to act as guardian to the young prince, dispatched Andronicus with a considerable army against him. Andronicus having easily defeated the small army which Romanus had with him, obliged him to fly to Adana, a city in Cilicia, where he was closely besieged, and at last obliged to surrender. Andronicus carried his prisoner into Phrygia, where he fell dangerously ill, being, as was suspected, secretly poisoned. But the poison being too slow in its operation, John ordered his eyes to be put out, which was performed with such cruelty that he died soon afterwards, in the year 1067, having reigned three years and eight months.

Axan was no sooner informed of the tragical end of his friend and ally, than he resolved to invade the empire anew, and that not with a design to plunder as formerly, but to conquer, and to keep what he had once conquered. The emperor dispatched against him Isaac Comnenus with a considerable army; but he was utterly defeated and taken prisoner by Axan. Another army was quickly sent off under the command of John Ducas, the emperor's uncle, who at first gained some advantages, and would probably have put a stop to their conquest, had not one Ruselius, or Urselius, revolted with the troops he had under his command, caused himself to be proclaimed emperor, and reduced several cities in Phrygia and Cappadocia. John marched against him with all his forces, suffering the Turks in the meantime to pursue their conquests; but coming to an engagement with the rebels, his army was entirely defeated, and himself taken prisoner. Notwithstanding this victory, Ruselius was so much alarmed at the progress of the Turks, that he not only released his prisoner, but joined him against the common enemy, by whom they were both defeated and taken prisoners. Axan, however, was for some time prevented from pursuing his conquest, by Cutlu-Moses, nephew to the late Tangrolipix. The latter had revolted against his uncle; but being defeated by him in a pitched battle, had taken refuge in Arabia, whence he now returned at the head of a considerable army, in order to dispute the sovereignty with Axan. But whilst the two armies were preparing to engage, the caliph of Babylon, who was still looked upon as the successor of the Prophet, interposed his authority. He represented the dangers of their intestine dissensions; and by his mediation an agreement was at last concluded, on condition that Axan should enjoy undisturbed the monarchy lately left him by his father, and Cutlu-Moses should possess such provinces of the Roman empire as he or his sons should in process of time conquer. After this agreement both the Turkish



princes turned their forces against the empire, and before the year 1077 made themselves masters of all Media, Lycaonia, Cappadocia, and Bithynia, fixing the capital city of their empire at Nice, in the latter province. During this time the emperors of Constantinople, as well as their subjects, seemed to be in a manner infatuated. No notice was taken of the great progress made by these barbarians. The generals were ambitious only of seizing the tottering empire, which seemed ready to become a prey to the Turks; and after it had been obtained, they spent their time in oppressing their subjects, rather than in making any attempts to repulse the enemy.

At last Alexius Comnenus, having wrested the empire from Nicephorus Botoniates in 1077, began to prepare for opposing so formidable an enemy. But before he set out, as his soldiers had committed great outrages on his accession to the empire, he resolved to make confession of his sins, and do open penance for those which he had suffered his army to commit. Accordingly he appeared in the attire of a penitent before the patriarch and several other ecclesiastics; acknowledged himself guilty of the many disorders which had been committed by his soldiers; and begged of the patriarch to impose upon him a penance suitable to the greatness of his crimes. The penance enjoined him and his adherents by the patriarch was to fast, lie upon the ground, and practise several other austerities for the space of forty days. This command was religiously obeyed, and the emperor then began to prepare for war with so much vigor, that Solyman, the Turkish sultan, son and successor to Cutlu-Moses, dispatched ambassadors to Alexius with proposals of peace. These were at first rejected; but the emperor was at last glad to accept them, on receiving certain advices that Robert Guiscard, duke of Puglia and Calabria, was making great preparations against him in the West.

To this expedition Robert was incited by Michael Ducas. That prince had been deposed by Nicephorus Botoniates, and towards

the end of the usurper's reign fled into the west, where he was received by Robert, who was prevailed upon to favor his cause. For this purpose Robert made great preparations; and these were continued even after the deposition of Botoniates. He sailed with all his forces from Brundisium, and landing at Buthrotum, in Epirus, made himself master of that place; whilst his son Bohemond with part of the army reduced Aulon, a celebrated port and city in the country now called Albania. From this they advanced to Dyrrhachium, which they invested both by sea and land; but met with a most vigorous opposition from George Palæologus, whom the emperor had entrusted with the defence of that important place. In spite of the utmost efforts of the enemy, this commander held out till the arrival of the Venetian fleet, by which Robert's navy, commanded by Bohemond, was utterly defeated, and the admiral himself narrowly escaped being taken prisoner. After the victory the Venetians landed without loss of time, and being joined by Palæologus's men, fell upon Robert's troops with such fury that they destroyed their works, burnt their engines, and forced them to retreat to their camp in great disorder. As the Venetians were now masters of the sea, the besieged were supplied with plenty of provisions, whilst the famine began to rage in the camp of the enemy; and this calamity was soon followed by a plague, which is said to have destroyed ten thousand men in the space of three months. Notwithstanding all these disasters, however, Robert did not abandon the siege. Having found means to supply his famished troops with provisions, he continued it with such vigor that the courage of the besieged began at last to fail them, and Palæologus sent repeated messages to the emperor, acquainting him that he would be obliged to surrender unless very speedily relieved. On this Alexius marched in person to the relief of the city, but was defeated with great loss by Robert. The whole right wing of Alexius's army, finding themselves hard pressed by

the enemy, fled to a church dedicated to St. Michael, imagining that they would there find themselves in a place of safety; but the victorious army pursuing them, set fire to the church, which was burnt to ashes with all who were in it. The emperor himself with great difficulty made his escape, leaving the enemy master of his camp and all his baggage. Soon after this defeat the city surrendered; and Alexius being destitute of resources for carrying on the war, seized on the wealth of churches and monasteries, which gave serious offence to the clergy, and had nearly occasioned great disturbances in the imperial city. At the same time, Alexius having entered into an alliance with Henry, emperor of Germany, persuaded him to invade the dominions of Robert in Italy. At first Henry met with great success, but he was soon overcome and driven out of that country by Robert. Bohemond, in the meantime, reduced several places in Illyricum; and having defeated Alexius in two pitched battles, entered Thessaly, and sat down before Larissa. But this place being defended by an officer of great courage and experience in war, held out till the emperor came to its relief. Soon after his arrival he found means to draw a strong party of Bohemond's men into an ambuscade, and cut them off almost entirely. In the battle which was fought a few days afterwards, however, Bohemond had the advantage; but his troops having mutinied and refused to carry on the war, he was obliged to return into Italy. Alexius taking advantage of his absence, recovered several cities; and being informed that Robert was making great preparations against him, he had recourse once more to the Venetians. By them he was assisted with a powerful fleet, which defeated that of Robert in two engagements; but being soon after surprised by him, they were defeated with the loss of almost their whole navy. Robert is said to have used his victory with great barbarity, putting many of his prisoners to death with unheard-of torments. The Venetians equipped a second fleet, which having

joined that of the emperor, fell unexpectedly upon Robert's navy, while riding at anchor, without the least apprehension, in Buthrotum, sunk most of his ships, and took a great number of prisoners, his wife and younger son having narrowly escaped falling into their hands. Robert made great preparations to revenge this defeat, but was prevented by death from executing his designs; and after his decease his son Roger did not think proper to pursue so dangerous and expensive a war. He therefore recalled his troops; and the places which had been conquered by Robert and Bohemond submitted anew to the emperor.

This war had scarcely ended, when the Scythians, passing the Danube, laid waste great part of Thrace, and committed everywhere the greatest barbarities. The emperor dispatched against them an army under the command of Pacurianus and Branas. The latter insisted upon engaging the enemy, contrary to the opinion of his colleagues, and his rashness caused the loss of the greater part of the army, which was cut off by the Scythians, together with the two generals. Talicius, an officer who had signalized himself on many occasions, was appointed to command the army in their stead; and he fell upon the enemy as they lay encamped in the neighborhood of Philipoppolis, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and obliged the remainder to retire in great confusion. The following spring, however, they returned in such numbers that the emperor resolved to march against them in person. Accordingly he set out for Adrianople, and thence proceeded to a place called Lardea. Here, contrary to the advice of his best officers, he ventured a battle, in which he was utterly defeated with great loss, and himself escaped with the utmost difficulty. The next year he was attended with no better success, his army being entirely defeated, with the loss of his camp equipage and baggage. In the year following, 1084, the emperor retrieved his credit, and inflicted on the Scythians such an overthrow that very few escaped the



general slaughter. Notwithstanding this disaster, however, they again invaded the empire in 1093. To this they were encouraged by an impostor called Leo, who pretended to be the eldest son of Romanus Diogenes. The young prince had been slain in a battle with the Turks; but as the Scythians only wanted a pretext for renewing the war, they received the impostor with joy. Leo, however, was murdered by stratagem; and the Scythians being afterwards overthrown in two great battles, were obliged to submit on the emperor's own terms.

Since the year 1083, the war had been carried on against the Turks with various success; but now an association against these infidels was formed in the West, and threatened the utter ruin of the Turkish nation. This was occasioned by the superstition of the Christians, who thought it a meritorious action to venture their lives for the recovery of the Holy Land, at that time possessed by the Turks and Saracens. Had the western princes been properly assisted by the emperors of the East in this undertaking, the Turks undoubtedly would have been unable to resist them; but so far from this, the Latins were looked upon by them as not less enemies than the Turks; and indeed whatever places they took from the infidels, they never thought of restoring to the emperors of Constantinople, to whom they originally belonged, but erected a number of small independent principalities, which neither having sufficient strength to defend themselves, nor being properly supported by one another, soon became a prey to the Turks. In the year 1203 happened a dreadful fire at Constantinople, occasioned by some Latin soldiers. These men having plundered a mosque which the Turks residing in Constantinople had been suffered to build there, they were attacked by the infidels; and the latter being much superior in number, the Latins found themselves obliged to set fire to some houses, in order to cover their retreat. The flames spread in an instant from street to street, and in a short

time reduced great part of the city to ashes, with the capacious storehouses which had been built at a vast expense on the quay. The emperor Isaac Angelus, who had been restored to his throne by the Latins, died soon after their departure from Constantinople, leaving his son Alexius sole master of the empire. The young prince, in order to discharge the large sums he had promised the French and Venetians for their assistance, was obliged to impose heavy taxes on his subjects; a circumstance which, with the great esteem and friendship which he showed towards his deliverers, raised a general discontent among the people of Constantinople, who were sworn enemies of the Latins. This encouraged John Ducas, surnamed Murtzuphlus, from his joined and thick eyebrows, to attempt the sovereignty. Unhappily he found means to put his treacherous designs in execution, and strangled the young prince with his own hands. After this he presented himself to the people; told them what he had done, pretending that it was in order to secure their liberties; and earnestly entreated them to choose an emperor who had courage enough to defend them against the Latins, who were ready to oppress and enslave them. Upon this he was instantly saluted emperor by the inconstant multitude; but this usurpation proved the ruin of the city. The Latins immediately resolved to revenge the death of the young prince; and, as they had been so often betrayed and retarded in their expeditions to the Holy Land by the emperors of Constantinople, they also determined to make themselves masters of that city, and seize the empire for themselves. In consequence of this resolution they mustered their forces in Asia, and having crossed the straits, laid siege to Constantinople both by sea and land. The tyrant, who was a man of great courage and experience in war, made a vigorous defence. The Latins, however, after having battered the walls for several days together with an incredible number of engines, gave a general assault on the 8th of April, 1204. The attack lasted from

break of day till three in the afternoon, when they were forced to retire, after having lost some of their engines and a great number of men. The assault was nevertheless renewed four days subsequently to this; when, after a warm contest, the French planted their standard on one of the towers; which the Venetians having observed, quickly made themselves masters of four other towers, where they likewise displayed their ensigns. In the mean time three of the gates being broken down by the battering rams, and those who had scaled the walls having killed the guards, and opened the gates between the towers they had taken, the whole army entered, and drew up in battle array between the walls. The Greeks fled in the greatest confusion; and several parties were dispatched by the Latins to scour the streets, and put all they met to the sword, without distinction of age or condition. Night alone put a stop to the carnage, when the princes sounding the retreat, placed their men in different quarters of the city, with orders to be upon their guard, not doubting that they would be attacked early next morning. They were surprised, however, by the entire submission of the Greeks, to whom they promised their lives, but at the same time ordered them to retire to their houses; upon which they gave up the city to be plundered by the soldiers for that day. They strictly enjoined their men to abstain from slaughter, to preserve the honor of the women, and to bring the whole booty into one place, that a just distribution might be made, according to the rank and merit of each individual. The Greeks had undoubtedly concealed their most valuable effects during the night; many persons of the highest rank had escaped, carrying along with them immense treasures; and the soldiers, as is usual in all such cases, had probably reserved things of great value for themselves, notwithstanding all prohibitions to the contrary; yet the booty, exclusively of statues, pictures, and jewels, amounted to a sum almost incredible. As for Murtzuphlus, he made his escape in the

night; having embarked in a small vessel with Euphrosyne, the wife of Alexius Angelus, a late usurper, and her daughter Eudoxia, for whose sake he had abandoned his lawful wife.

Constantinople continued subject to the Latins until the year 1261, when they were expelled by one Alexius Strategopulus. He was a person of an illustrious family, and, on account of his eminent services, distinguished by the title of Cæsar. He had been sent against Alexius Angelus, despot of Epirus, who now attempted to recover some places in Thessaly and Greece from Michael Palæologus, one of the Greek emperors, who, since the capture of Constantinople, had kept their court at Nice; and also to try whether on his march he could surprise the imperial city itself. Alexius, having passed the straits, encamped at Rhégium, where he was informed by the natives that a strong body of the Latins had been sent to the siege of Daphnusa, that the garrison was in great want of provisions, and that it would be no difficult matter to surprise the city. On receiving this intelligence, the Greek general resolved at all events to attempt it; and in this he was encouraged by some of the inhabitants, who, coming privately to his camp, offered to act as guides to his troops. He approached the walls in the dead of the night, which some of his men scaled without being observed, and, killing the sentries, whom they found asleep, opened one of the gates to the rest of the army, when the Greeks rushing in, put all they met to the sword, and, at the same time, in order to create greater terror, set fire to the city in four different places. The Latins, concluding that the enemy's forces were far more numerous than they really were, did not so much as attempt either to drive them out or to extinguish the flames.

In this general confusion, the emperor Baldwin, quitting the ensigns of majesty, fled with Justinian, the Latin patriarch, and some of his intimate friends to the sea-side; and there, embarking in a small vessel, he



sailed first to Eubœa, and afterwards to Venice, leaving the Greeks in full possession of Constantinople. When tidings of this surprising and altogether unexpected success of Alexius were first brought to Palæologus, he could scarcely give credit to the intelligence; but having soon afterwards received letters from Alexius himself, containing a particular account of this memorable event, he ordered thanksgivings to be made in all the churches, appeared in public in his imperial robes, attended by the nobility in their best apparel, and ordered couriers to be dispatched with the agreeable tidings into all parts of the empire.

Palæologus having settled his affairs at Nice, soon afterwards set out for Constantinople, with the empress, his son Andronicus, the senate, and nobility, in order to take possession of the imperial city, and to fix his residence in that place which had originally been designed for the seat of the eastern empire. Having passed the straits, he advanced to the Golden Gate, and continued some days without the walls, whilst the citizens were busied in making the necessary preparations to receive him with a magnificence suitable to the occasion. On the day appointed, the golden gate, which had been long shut up, was opened, and the emperor having entered it amidst the repeated acclamations of the multitude, marched on foot to the great palace. He was preceded by the Bishop of Cyzicus, who carried an image of the Virgin Mary, supposed to have been made by St. Luke, and followed by all the great officers, nobility, and principal citizens, pompously dressed. Public thanks were again returned in the church of St. Sophia, at which the emperor assisted in person, with the clergy, the senate, and nobility. These exercises were succeeded by all sorts of rejoicings; after which the emperor carefully surveyed the imperial city. This survey greatly amazed his joy. He saw the stately palaces and other magnificent buildings of the Roman emperors lying in ruins; the many capacious edifices which had been erected by

his predecessors, at an immense charge, were destroyed by fire and other unavoidable accidents of war; and several streets abandoned by the inhabitants, and choked up with rubbish. These objects gave the emperor no small concern, and kindled in his mind a desire of restoring the city to its former lustre. In the mean time, looking upon Alexius as the restorer of his country, he caused him to be clad in magnificent robes; placed with his own hand a crown upon his head; ordered him to be conducted throughout the city in a sort of triumph; decreed that for a whole year the name of Alexius should be joined in the public prayers with his own; and, to perpetuate the memory of so great and glorious an action, he commanded his statue to be erected on a stately pillar of marble, in front of the church of the apostles. His next care was to re-people the city, many Greek families having withdrawn from it while it was occupied by the Latins. The former were recalled home; while the latter, from the great trade they carried on, were allowed many valuable privileges, which induced many of them not to remove. The Greeks were permitted to live in one of the most beautiful quarters of the city, to be governed by their own laws and magistrates, and to trade without paying customs or taxes of any kind. Great privileges were likewise granted to the natives of Venice and Pisa, which encouraged them to lay aside all thoughts of removing; and the commerce they carried on proved afterwards highly advantageous to the state.

It was not long, however, before these regulations were altered. The emperor being soon afterwards informed that Baldwin, lately expelled from Constantinople, had married his daughter to Charles, king of Sicily, and given him, by way of dowry, the imperial city itself, he ordered the Genoese, who had become very numerous, to remove first to Heraclia, and afterwards to Galata, where they were permitted to remain. As for the Pisans and Venetians, who were not so numerous and wealthy, they were allowed to

continue in the city. Palæologus, though he had caused himself to be proclaimed emperor, and was possessed of absolute sovereignty, was as yet only guardian to the young emperor John Lascaris, then about twelve years of age. But having now settled the state, and having gained the affections of both natives and foreigners, he began to think of securing himself and his posterity in the full enjoyment of the empire; and for this purpose he cruelly ordered the eyes of the young prince to be put out, pretending that none but himself had any right to the city or empire of Constantinople, which he alone had recovered from the hands of the Latin conquerors.

This piece of treachery and inhumanity involved him in great troubles. The patriarch immediately excommunicated him; and he would in all probability have been driven from the throne by a combination of the western princes, had he not engaged Pope Urban IV. to espouse his cause, by promising to submit himself and his dominions to the Latin church. By this means he succeeded in diverting the present storm; but the proceeding itself caused the greatest disturbances, not only in Constantinople, but throughout the whole empire: nor was Palæologus able to reconcile his subjects to this union.

In 1283 Michael died, and was succeeded by his son Andronicus, whose first step was to restore the ancient Greek ceremonies, thinking that he could not begin his reign with a more popular act. But he thereby involved himself in greater difficulties than ever; for although Michael had not been able fully to reconcile his Greek subjects to the Latin ceremonies, yet he had in some degree accomplished his object. The Latins having obtained a considerable footing in the city, defended their ceremonies with great obstinacy; and the empire was again thrown into a ferment by this imprudent step.

During this time the Turks had continued their encroachments on the empire, of which, had it not been for the crusades published

against them by the pope, they would already have, in all probability, made themselves masters. They were now, however very successfully opposed by Constantine, the emperor's brother; but his valor rendered him suspected by the emperor, and he was therefore thrown into prison, along with several persons of great distinction. On the removal of this brave commander, the Turks, under the famous Othoman, made themselves masters of several places in Phrygia, Caria, and Bithynia, and, among these, of the city of Nice. To put a stop to their conquests, the emperor dispatched against them Philanthropenus and Libadarius, two officers of great experience in war. The former gained some advantages over the enemy, but being elated with his success, caused himself to be proclaimed emperor. This rebellion, however, was soon suppressed, Philanthropenus having been betrayed by his own men; but the Turks taking advantage of these intestine commotions, extended their dominions in Asia, conquered most of the islands in the Mediterranean, and, being masters at sea, infested the coasts of the empire, to the utter ruin of trade and commerce.

From this time the Roman empire declined fast towards total dissolution. After the revolt of Philanthropenus, the emperor could no longer trust his subjects, and therefore hired the Massagetes to assist him; but the latter, conducting themselves in a careless manner, were first defeated by their enemies, and afterwards turned their arms against those whom they came to assist. He next applied to the Catalans, who behaved in the same way; and having ravaged the few places left the emperor in Asia, returned into Europe, and called the Turks to their assistance.

This happened in the year 1292, and was the first appearance of the Turks in Europe. The enterprise, however, proved unsuccessful. Having loaded themselves with booty, they offered to depart quietly if they were allowed a safe passage, and ships to transport them to Asia. To this the emperor



willing to get rid of such troublesome guests, readily consented, and ordered the vessels to be got ready with all possible expedition. But the Greek officers observing the immense booty with which they were loaded, resolved to fall upon them in the night, and to cut them off at one blow. This scheme, however, not having been managed with due secrecy, the Turks received notice of it, and were therefore prepared for their defence. They first surprised a strong castle in the neighborhood, and then found means to inform their countrymen in Asia of their dangerous situation. The latter, enticed by the hope of booty, were not long in coming to their assistance; and having crossed the Hellespont in great numbers, ravaged the adjacent country, making excursions as far as the gates of Constantinople. At last the emperor determined to root them out, and accordingly marched against them with his whole forces, the country people flocking to him from all quarters. The Turks at first gave themselves over for lost; but finding the Greeks negligent of discipline, they attacked their army unexpectedly, utterly defeated it, and made themselves masters of the camp. After this unexpected victory, they continued for two years to ravage Thrace in the most terrible manner. At last, however, they were defeated; and being afterwards shut up in the Chersonesus, they were all either cut in pieces or taken prisoners. Soon afterwards, new commotions occurred in the unhappy empire, of which the Turks did not fail to take advantage. In 1327 they made themselves masters of most of the cities on the Mæander, and among the rest of the strong and important city of Prusa, in Bithynia.

The next year, however, Othoman, who may justly be styled the founder of the Turkish monarchy, being now dead, the emperor seized the opportunity to recover Nice, and some other important places, from the infidels. But these were lost the year following, together with Abydus and Nicomedia; and in 1330 a peace was concluded, upon

condition that the Turks should retain all their conquests. But this peace they observed no longer than suited their own purposes; for new commotions having arisen in the empire, they pursued their conquests, and by the year 1357 had reduced all Asia. They next passed the Hellespont under the conduct of Solyman, the son, or, as others allege, the brother of Orchane, the successor of Othoman, and seized on a strong castle on the European side. The Turkish sultan died soon afterwards, and was succeeded by Amurath, who extended the conquests of his predecessors, and in a short time reduced all Thrace, making Adrianople the seat of his empire. Amurath was slain by treachery a little time afterwards, and was succeeded by his son Bajazet, who greatly enlarged his dominions by new conquests. In a short time he reduced the countries of Thessaly, Macedonia, Phocis, Peloponnesus, Mysia, and Bulgaria, driving out the despots or petty princes who ruled there. Elated with his frequent victories, he began to look upon the Greek emperor, to whom nothing was now left but the city of Constantinople and the neighboring country, as his vassal. Accordingly he sent him an arrogant and haughty message, commanding him to pay a yearly tribute, and send his son Manuel to attend him in his military expeditions. This demand the emperor was obliged to comply with, but soon afterwards died, in the year 1392.

Manuel no sooner heard of his father's death than he hastened to Constantinople, without taking leave of the sultan, or acquainting him with the reason of his sudden departure. Bajazet was so highly offended at this, that he passed with great expedition out of Bithynia into Thrace, ravaged the country adjoining to Constantinople, and at last invested the city itself, both by sea and land. In this extremity Manuel had recourse to the western princes, who sent him an army of a hundred and thirty thousand men, under the command of Sigismund, king of Hungary, and John, Count of Nevers. But though the western troops proved at first

successful, they were in the end defeated with great slaughter by Bajazet, who then returned to the siege with greater vigor than ever. As he found, however, that the citizens were determined to hold out to the last, he applied to John, the son of Manuel's elder brother, who had a better title to the crown than Manuel himself, with whom he entered into a private agreement, by virtue of which Bajazet engaged to place John upon the throne of Constantinople, while, on the other hand, John consented to deliver up the city to the Turks, and remove the imperial city to Peloponnesus, which the sultan promised to relinquish to him and his posterity. At the same time he sent deputies to the inhabitants of Constantinople, offering to withdraw his army, and cease from further hostilities, provided they expelled Manuel, and placed John upon the throne. This proposal rent the city into two factions; but Manuel prevented the mischiefs which were ready to ensue, by a voluntary resignation, upon condition that he should be allowed to retire with his wife and children to any place he might think proper to fix upon.

John readily complied with this condition, and Manuel having received him into the city, and conducted him to the palace, set sail for Venice, and thence proceeded to the courts of all the western princes, to solicit assistance against the Turks, whose power had grown formidable to all Europe. He was everywhere received with the greatest demonstrations of esteem, and promised large supplies; for all Christendom had now become alarmed at the progress of the infidels.

In the mean time Bajazet did not fail to put John in mind of his promise; but the citizens refusing to comply with so scandalous a treaty, the siege was renewed, and the city assaulted with more fury than ever. When it was reduced almost to the last extremity, news were brought to the sultan that Timour, or Tamerlane, the victorious Tatar, having overrun all the East with incredible celerity, had turned his arms against the Turks, and was preparing to break into

Syria. Bajazet, alarmed at the danger which threatened him, raised the siege in great haste, and advanced against Tamerlane with a numerous and well-appointed army; but the Tatar totally defeated and took him prisoner, after having cut most of his men in pieces; and thus Constantinople was for the present saved from destruction.

But this relief proved of short duration. In 1424 the city was again besieged by Amurath II.; and although the inhabitants defended themselves with great bravery, they must in the end have submitted, had not the emperor prevailed upon the Prince of Carmania to countenance an impostor and pretender to the Turkish throne. This obliged Amurath to raise the siege, and to march with all his forces against the usurper, whom he soon overthrew. Having then no other enemies to contend with, he entered Macedonia at the head of a powerful army, and having ravaged the country far and near, he took and plundered Thessalonica, as he did also most of the cities of Ætolia, Phocis, and Bœotia. From Greece he marched into Servia, which country he soon reduced. He next broke into the dominions of the king of Hungary, and besieged the strong city of Belgrade; but here he met with a vigorous repulse, no fewer than fifteen thousand Turks having been slain by the Christians in one sally, a circumstance which obliged the sultan to abandon the enterprise and retire.

In his retreat he was attacked by the celebrated John Hunniades, who slew great numbers of his men, and obliged the rest to fly with the utmost precipitation. Not long afterwards, Hunniades gained a still more complete victory over the enemy in the plains of Transylvania, with the loss of only three thousand of his own men, whereas twenty thousand of the Turks were slain on the field of battle, and almost an equal number in the pursuit. Amurath, who was then at Adrianople, sent into Transylvania an army far more numerous than the former; but they were attended with no better success, being cut off almost to a man by the brave Hunga-



rian. Hunniades gained several other victories no less remarkable, but was at last entirely defeated in 1448; and with this defeat ended all hopes of preserving the Roman empire. The unhappy emperor was now obliged to pay an annual tribute of three hundred thousand aspers to the sultan, and to yield up some strongholds which he still held on the Euxine Sea. However, as he doubted not that Amurath would soon attempt to become master of the city itself, he renewed the union between the Greek and Latin churches; hoping that this would induce the western princes to assist him in the defence of the city against the Turks. This union produced great disturbances, which the emperor did not long survive, for he died in 1448, leaving the empire, now confined within the walls of Constantinople, to his brother Constantine.

Amurath the Turkish sultan died in 1450, and was succeeded by his son Mohammed. In the beginning of his reign the latter entered into an alliance with Constantine, and pretended a great desire to live in friendship with him and the other Christian princes; but no sooner had he put an end to a war in which he was engaged with Ibrahim, king of Caramania, than he built a strong fort on the European side of the Bosphorus, opposite to another in Asia, in both of which he planted strong garrisons. These castles commanded the straits; and the former being only five miles from the city, kept it in a manner blockaded. This soon produced a misunderstanding between him and the emperor, which ended in his laying siege to the city.

The siege commenced on the 6th of April, 1453, Mohammed's numerous forces covering the plains before it on the land side, and a fleet of three hundred sail blockading it by sea. The emperor, however, had taken care to secure the haven, in which were three large ships, twenty small ones, and a great number of galleys, by means of a chain drawn across the entrance. Mohammed began the siege by planting batteries as near the city as he

could, and raising in several places mounds as high as the walls themselves, whence the besieged were incessantly galled with showers of arrows. He had in his camp a piece of ordnance of prodigious size, which it said to have carried a ball of a hundred pounds weight made of hard black stone brought from the Euxine Sea. With this vast piece the enemy made several breaches in the walls; which, however, were repaired with incredible expedition by the besieged. But Mohammed, in order to carry on the siege with greater vigor, caused new levies to be made throughout his extensive dominions, by which his army was soon increased to near four hundred thousand men; while the garrison consisted only of nine thousand regular troops, viz., six thousand Greeks and three thousand Genoese and Venetians. As the enemy continued to batter the walls day and night without intermission, a great part of them was at last beaten down; but whilst the Turks were busy in filling up the ditch, in order to deliver the assault, a new wall was constructed. This threw the tyrant into a prodigious rage, which was greatly heightened when he saw his whole fleet worsted by five ships, four of which were laden with corn from Peloponnesus, and the other with all manner of provisions from the isle of Chios. These opened themselves a way through the whole Turkish fleet, and to the inexpressible joy of the Christians, at last got safe into the harbor.

The Turks attempted several times to force the harbor; but all their efforts proved ineffectual; upon which Mohammed formed the design of conveying into it eighty galleys overland for the space of eighty miles. This he accomplished by means of certain engines, the contrivance of a renegado; and having either taken or sunk all the ships in the harbor, he caused a bridge to be built over it with surprising expedition, by which means the city was laid open to an assault from that as well as from the other sides. A general attack was now made; and Constantine, aware that he

could not long hold out against a mighty fleet and a numerous army, sent deputies to Mohammed, offering to acknowledge himself his vassal, by paying him yearly such tribute as he should think proper to impose, provided he raised the siege and withdrew. The tyrant answered that he was determined, at all events, to become master of the city; but if the emperor delivered it up forthwith, he would yield up to him Peloponnesus, and give other provinces to his brothers, which they might enjoy peaceably as friends and allies; but if he held out to the last extremity, and suffered it to be taken by assault, he would put him and the whole nobility to the sword, abandon the city to be plundered by his soldiers, and carry the inhabitants into captivity.

This condition was rashly rejected by the emperor, who thereby involved himself and all his subjects in a terrible calamity. The siege was renewed with more vigor than ever, and continued till the 25th of May; when a report having been spread in the Turkish camp that a mighty army was advancing in full march to the relief of the city, under the conduct of the celebrated John Hunniades, the common soldiers, seized with a panic, began to mutiny, and pressed Mohammed in a tumultuous manner to break up the siege; nay, they openly menaced him with death if he did not immediately abandon the enterprise and retire from before the city, which they despaired of being able to reduce before the arrival of the supposed succors. Mohammed was upon the point of complying with their demand, when he was advised by Zagan, a Turkish officer of great intrepidity, and an irreconcilable enemy to the Christian name, to deliver without loss of time a general assault; to which, he said, the soldiery, however mutinous, would not be averse, provided the sultan solemnly promised to abandon the city to be plundered by them. As this advice was best suited to the humor of Mohammed, he readily embraced it; and caused a proclamation to be published throughout

the camp, intimating that he gave up to his soldiers all the wealth of that opulent city, and required for himself only the empty houses.

The desire of plunder soon overcame the panic which had seized the Turkish army, and they unanimously desired to be led on to the attack. Constantine was now summoned for the last time to deliver up the city, with a promise of life and liberty; but to this he answered, that he had unalterably determined either to defend the city or to perish with it. The attack began at three in the morning on Tuesday the 29th of May. The troops first employed were those which the sultan valued the least, and he designed them for no other purpose than to tire out the Christians, who made a prodigious havoc of that disorderly multitude. After the carnage had lasted several hours, the Janizaries and other fresh troops advanced in good order, and renewed the attack with incredible vigor. The Christians, summoning all their courage and resolution, twice repulsed the enemy; but becoming at last quite exhausted, they were no longer able to stand their ground, and the enemy broke into the city in several places. In the meantime, Justiniani, the commander of the Genoese and a select body of Greeks, having received two wounds, one in the thigh and the other in the hand, became so disheartened that he caused himself to be conveyed to Galata, where he soon afterwards died of grief. His men, dismayed at the sudden flight of their general, immediately quitted their posts and fled in the utmost confusion. However, the emperor, attended by a few of the most resolute among the nobility, still kept his post, striving with unparalleled resolution to oppose the multitude of barbarians that now broke in from every quarter. But being in the end overpowered with numbers, and seeing all his friends lie dead on the ground, "What!" cried he aloud, "is there no Christian left alive to strike off my head?" He had scarcely uttered these words, when one of the enemy,



not knowing him, gave him a deep cut across the face with his sabre; and at the same time, another coming behind him, with a blow on the back part of his head laid him dead on the spot which he had so bravely defended. After the death of the emperor, the few Christians who were left alive betook themselves to flight; and the Turks meeting with no further opposition, entered the city, which they filled with slaughter and blood. They gave no quarter, but put all they met to the sword, without distinction. Many thousands took refuge in the church of St. Sophia; but they were all massacred in this asylum by the enraged barbarians, who, prompted by their natural cruelty, the desire of revenge, and the love of booty, spared neither place nor person. Most of the nobility were, by the sultan's orders, cut off, and the rest preserved for

purposes more grievous than death itself. Many of the inhabitants, among whom were several men of great learning, found means to effect their escape while the Turks were busied in plundering the city, and embarking on board some ships which were then in the harbor, they arrived safe in Italy; where, with the study of the Greek tongue, they revived the liberal sciences, which had long been neglected in the West. After the expiration of three days, Mohammed commanded his soldiers to forbear all further hostilities, on pain of death; and then put an end to as cruel a pillage and massacre as any mentioned in history. The next day he made his public and triumphal entry into Constantinople, and chose it as the seat of the Turkish empire, which it has continued to be ever since.

## TURKEY.

THE existing Turkish empire dates only from the end of the thirteenth century, when it was founded by Osman or Othman, a Turk of a noble family, who had been driven westward from Khorasan by the invasion of Zengis Khan. Osman first invaded the Greek territory of Nicomedia on the 27th of July, 1299; but the true era of the empire may be dated from the conquest of the city of Prusa, the capital of Bithynia, which surrendered to his son Orchan in 1326. This Orchan was an enterprising, ambitious, and at first mild, but afterwards stern or cruel prince, who greatly extended the limits of the empire, took possession of Gallipoli, and penetrated into Thrace. Murad I., whom we call Amurath I., his son, subdued without resistance the whole of Thrace from the Hellespont to Mount Hæmus, and made Adrianople the seat of a vice-royalty. He established in 1362 the famous military bands called *yengi cheri*, new soldiers (corrupted into janissaries), once the shield and bulwark of the empire, but in later times the cause of numberless revolts and revolutions. These troops were composed originally of young Christian captives that had been taken in war and educated in the Mohammedan religion, and their numbers were afterwards increased by forced levies of youths from amongst the subjugated Christians. They were trained to warlike exercises, and inured to obedience by severe discipline; and as every sentiment which enthusiasm can inspire, and every mark of honor which the favor

of the prince could confer, were employed to animate them with martial ardor, and excite in them a sense of their own importance, these janissaries soon became the chief strength and pride of the Ottoman armies.

On the assassination of Amurath in 1389, by a wounded soldier of the vanquished enemy on the field of Cassova, he was succeeded by his son Bajazet, more correctly Byazid, surnamed Ilderim, or the Thunderbolt, whose reign forms one of the most splendid epochs in the Turkish annals. He subdued and stripped of their hereditary possessions the Seljukian emirs of Asia Minor, whose revolts and disturbances had embarrassed the progress of his predecessors, and protracted the downfall of the Greek empire. His conquests in Europe were equally rapid and important, and whatever adhered to the Greek empire in Thrace, Macedonia, and Thessaly, acknowledged his sway. He turned his arms against Sigismond king of Hungary, and in 1396 defeated, in the battle of Nicopolis, a confederate army of 100,000 Christians, the greater part of whom were slain or driven into the Danube. The conqueror, irritated by the previous slaughter of many thousand Turkish prisoners by the Christian army, commanded his prisoners to be massacred in cold blood, with the exception of a few of the chief nobles, who were set at liberty on the payment of a ransom of 200,000 ducats. But Bajazet had now reached the height of his greatness. His conquests in Armenia and on the banks of the Euphrates had



brought him into collision with the famous Mogul conqueror Tamerlane; and in 1402 the plains around the city of Angora were the scene of the memorable battle which ended in the captivity of Bajazet, and the temporary humiliation of the Turks. The death of Tamerlane, and the contentions which arose among his sons, relieved the Turkish provinces from the Mogul yoke. Solyman the son of Bajazet obtained the European dominions of his father; Mousa reigned over the remnant of his dominions in Asia; while Mohammed, the youngest of the sons, held Cappadocia. Eleven years elapsed in the mutual endeavors of the sons of Bajazet to supplant each other, before Mohammed effected his final triumph, and assumed the title of sultan. At his death in 1421 he bequeathed an undivided empire to his successor, Amurath II. The reign of this sultan contributed greatly to increase the splendor of the Turkish empire. He made himself master of Adrianople, by which Rumania and Anatolia were again united under one sceptre; and reduced to subjection Servia, Macedonia, Thessaly, Albania, and the whole of Greece to the north of the isthmus. He also besieged Constantinople, but was diverted from his enterprise by the dexterity of the Greek emperor, who stirred up against him a competitor for the throne, assuming the name and character of Mustafa, the eldest son of Bajazet. But the impostor was at length defeated and put to death. The conquests of Amurath received a considerable check from the skill and valor of Hunniades, the celebrated waiwode of Transylvania, and of the Albanian chief George Castriot, called also Iskenderbeg or Scanderbeg; but the fatal battle of Varna, in which Ladislaus king of Hungary and 10,000 Christians were slain, destroyed the hopes that were entertained of checking the progress of the Turkish arms. Amurath twice abdicated the throne, and twice was compelled by the exigencies of the empire to resume the sovereignty. He was succeeded in 1451 by Mohammed II., the conqueror

of Constantinople. On the 6th of April 1453, the Ottoman standard was planted before the gate of St. Romanus; and after a siege of fifty-three days, "that Constantinople which had defied the power of Chosroes, the Chagan, and the khalifs, was irretrievably subdued by the arms of Mohammed the Second. Her empire only had been subverted by the Latins; her religion was trampled in the dust by the Moslem conquerors." Constantinople was taken by the Turks on the 29th of May, 1453, two thousand and five years after the foundation of Rome, and eleven hundred and twenty-three after Constantine had removed the seat of the empire from Rome to Byzantium.

Three years after the taking of Constantinople, Mohammed laid siege to Belgrade, from which, after an obstinate resistance, he was at length repulsed with the loss of his large ordnance and 40,000 of his best troops. Abandoning his attempt upon Hungary, the sultan undertook an expedition into Greece, and about the year 1460 succeeded in subduing the whole of the Morea. In 1466 the famous Scanderberg, who for twenty-three years had resisted all the power of the Ottoman empire, was finally compelled to take refuge in Lyssa, in the Venetian states, where he died. Mohammed had now extended his sway over the whole of Asia on this side of Mount Taurus, and over all the provinces in Europe which had formerly belonged to the eastern division of the Roman empire. Not satisfied with these conquests, he had despatched his most able general, Acmet Pasha, to invade Italy; and the capture of the strong city of Otranto had laid open that country to him, and spread universal consternation, when the danger was averted by the death of the sultan in the fifty-first year of his age, A.D. 1481. Mohammed was succeeded by his son Bajazet II., whose claims to the vacant throne were, however, disputed by his brother Djem or Zisimes. But the claims of Bajazet were supported by the janissaries; and his competitor, after various unsuccessful struggles, was compelled to seek

shelter in Italy, where he was assassinated at the instigation of Bajazet. The infamy of the deed is ascribed to Pope Alexander VI., who is said to have received 200,000 ducats for his reward. Bajazet, after a reign of thirty years, intimated his intention to resign the crown to his son Achmet; but his youngest son Selim, having secured the assistance of the janissaries, compelled his father to abdicate, who, being exhausted by sickness, died before he reached Dometica, his intended place of retirement. Selim was a successful prince, and during his short reign of eight years conquered Egypt, Aleppo, Antioch, Tripoli, Damascus, and Gaza, and defeated the Persians. On the death of Selim, Solyman the Magnificent, surnamed by the Turks Canuni the Lawgiver, ascended the Ottoman throne. Having quelled some insurrections in Asia, he commenced hostilities against the European princes, and entering Hungary, made himself master of Belgrade, then reckoned the chief barrier of that kingdom against the Turkish power. He next turned his victorious arms against the island of Rhodes, then the seat of the knights of St. John of Jerusalem. After incredible efforts of valor and military skill, the knights obtained an honorable capitulation, and retired to the small island of Malta. Solyman next advanced into Hungary, and at the battle of Mohacz (A.D. 1526) defeated and slew the Hungarian monarch, with 20,000 of his men, and took possession of the capital and the chief fortresses. Three years later he formed the siege of Vienna, but was compelled to retreat with the loss of 80,000 of his soldiers. In 1541 he again invaded Hungary, and taking advantage of a civil contest between two rival claimants of the vacant throne, he annexed the disputed kingdom to the Ottoman empire. He entered into a destructive war against Persia, and eventually succeeded in obtaining a considerable increase of territory between the Araxes and the Tigris. During the reign of this prince, the political and military administration of the Ottoman empire reached its highest state

of perfection; and the arts and sciences, literature and commerce, flourished under his enlightened and munificent policy. His dominions extended from Algiers to the river Euphrates, and from the farther end of the Black Sea to the extremity of Greece and Epirus. The latter years of his reign were embittered by domestic dissensions and cruelties. During the siege of Sigeth, a city of Hungary, before which the Turks lost 30,000 men, Solyman expired, in the seventy-fourth year of his age and forty-sixth of his reign.

His son and successor, Selim II., besieged and took Cyprus; but in the famous sea-fight at Lepanto, in 1571, the Turkish fleet was utterly destroyed by Don John of Austria. Selim afterwards invested and took Tunis by storm, putting the garrison to the sword. On his death, Amurath III. ascended to the Ottoman throne, and extended his dominions on both sides by the addition of Tigris in Persia, and of Raab, one of the strongest fortresses in Lower Hungary. His son, Mohammed III., has no claim to notice, except on account of his barbarity. He began his reign by strangling nineteen of his brothers, and ordering twelve of his father's wives whom he suspected to be pregnant to be drowned. The war with Hungary was carried on throughout the whole of his reign, which lasted about nine years. During the inglorious sway of his son, Ahmet I., the affairs of Turkey underwent a material change for the worse. Peace was concluded with Hungary; but the sultan was involved in a disastrous war with Persia, in which the Turkish troops were entirely defeated. On his death, his brother Mustapha ascended the throne; but his actions having clearly proved his incapacity and imbecility, the janissaries and the divan compelled him to resign the government after a reign of five months, and threw him into prison. His nephew, Osman, the son of Ahmet, a boy of twelve years of age, was then proclaimed emperor. This prince having formed the design of curbing the power of the janissaries, these turbulent soldiers rose in insurrec-



tion, deposed and murdered the sultan, and recalled his uncle Mustapha from his prison to the imperial throne. These atrocious proceedings, however, excited general indignation throughout the Asiatic provinces; and Abasa, the powerful pasha of Erzeroum, took up arms to avenge the murder of Osman. After the lapse of a few months, the janissaries themselves abandoned the cause of Mustapha, who was again deposed, and was soon afterwards strangled. Under Amurath or Murad IV., surnamed Gasi the Intrepid, affairs assumed a new appearance, and the glory of the Ottoman empire was in some measure restored. He put to death great numbers of the janissaries, and by his energetic and ferocious measures reduced these mutinous and formidable troops to a state of subordination. He took Bagdad from the Persians, and massacred the greater part of the inhabitants, after an obstinate resistance, which cost him the flower of his army. A debauch of wine put an end to his life, in the thirty-first year of his age and the seventeenth of his reign. His brother Ibrahim, who succeeded him, was a weak and imbecile prince, deformed in body and destitute of courage. The administration of the government was wholly in the hands of the vizier Mustapha and the sultana Valideh, the widow of Ahmet I.; while Ibrahim gave himself up entirely to the prosecution of his pleasures, till at length his vices rendered him so odious that he was deposed and strangled. During his reign, a bloody war broke out between the Turks and the Venetians, which, after being carried on with great fury for the space of twenty-four years, ended in the extinction of the Venetian power in the Egean Sea. The alleged ground of quarrel was the reception into a Venetian port of six Maltese galleys which had captured an Ottoman ship of war. The divan used various pretences to allay the suspicions of the Venetians, and throw them off their guard, till, in May 1643, the Turkish fleet set sail for the important island of Candia, and disembarked an army of 70,000 men on the island. As

the Venetians had provided no means for its defence, the whole island, with the exception of the capital, was, after a sanguinary resistance, reduced in less than two years. Mohammed IV., the son of Ibrahim, was scarcely seven years of age at the deposition of his father. His minority was one continued scene of intestine discord and revolt. During this reign, war again broke out between the Austrians and Turks, and after having been carried on for some time with varied success, was concluded by a treaty for twenty years. On the termination of this war, the power of the Ottoman empire was directed against the city of Candia. The siege was actively carried on during the space of twenty-nine months, when the garrison was at length forced to capitulate; and thus ended one of the most memorable sieges of modern history, in which the Venetians lost above 30,000 men, and the Turks more than 120,000. About this period, the Zaporagian Cossacks threw off the Polish yoke, and placed themselves under the protection of Turkey. A war in consequence broke out between the Turks and the Poles; but the result was advantageous to the Porte, who obtained the sovereignty of the important districts of the Ukraine and Podolia. Shortly after, however, the Hetman of the Cossacks having been treated with contempt by the sultan, these proud and fickle barbarians abjured the Turkish service, and transferred their allegiance to the Russian czar.

In 1683 the distracted state of Hungary induced the divan to break the treaty with Austria; and the Turkish army, under the grand vizir Cara Mustapha, penetrated to Vienna, and formed the siege of that city on the 14th of July. The siege was protracted till the 12th of September, when the allied army, under the famous John Sobieski, attacked the besiegers, routed them with prodigious slaughter, and obtained possession of their camp, together with their artillery baggage, and magazines. A succession of battles followed, in all of which the Turks were overthrown. The number of their

enemies speedily augmented, and in the short space of four years all the vast conquests of the Turkish sultans, westward of the Danube, were wrested from them, with the solitary exception of the fortified city of Agram. These extraordinary reverses caused the army to revolt against their commanders, and excited a general insurrection, which cost the sultan his throne. His brother, Solyman II., who succeeded him in 1687, was distinguished for his austerity, sobriety, and devotion. He was happy in his domestic government, but unsuccessful in his wars. He was succeeded in 1690 by Ahmet II., the youngest son of Sultan Ibrahim. He, too, was a weak and credulous prince; and though the affairs of the empire were conducted with great prudence and vigor by the grand vizir Kiu-pruli, the Ottoman empire declined, and the Turks during this reign were driven out of Hungary and Transylvania. The accession of his nephew Mustapha II. to the Ottoman throne gave a new turn to the affairs of the Porte. Possessed of greater vigor and ability than his predecessor, he resolved to command his troops in person. He accordingly took the field, passed the Danube at the head of 50,000 men, carried Lippa by assault, and, falling suddenly on a body of Imperialists under Veterani, one of the bravest and best officers of the emperor, he defeated them, and closed the campaign with success. But two years afterwards he was defeated by Prince Eugene, in the bloody battle of Zenta, a small village on the western bank of the Theiss, in the kingdom of Hungary. About 20,000 Turks were left dead on the field, and 10,000 were drowned in their attempt to escape; and the magnificent pavilion of the sultan, and all his stores, fell into the hands of Prince Eugene. These terrible disasters compelled Mustapha to solicit a peace, and a treaty was shortly after signed at Carlowitz, which guaranteed Hungary, Transylvania, and Sclavonia to the Austrians; Azoph to the Russians; Podolia, the Ukraine, and Kaminiecz to the Poles; and the Morea, with a strong frontier in

Dalmatia, to the Venetians. Shortly after these misfortunes, an insurrection was excited among the soldiers by a sense of the national disgrace, and Mustapha was dethroned.

His brother and successor, Ahmet III., gave an asylum to Charles XII. king of Sweden, at Bender, a Turkish town in Moldavia, after his defeat at the battle of Pul-towa. A war broke out between the Russians and the Turks, in which the Czar Peter, having imprudently suffered himself to be cooped up in an angle formed by the River Pruth, was reduced to the greatest extremities, and compelled to make peace on terms dictated by the Turkish general. Being unsuccessful in his war against Tahmas Koulikhan and the Persians, Ahmet was deposed, and was succeeded by Mahmoud I.

From the deposition of Ahmet III. in 1730, to the accession of Mustapha III. in 1757, nothing of importance occurs in the history of the Turkish empire. During the reign of this latter sultan, was begun and carried on that destructive war with Russia which broke out in 1769, and lasted till 1774, when the successes of the Russians compelled the sultan, Abdul Hamid, to terminate the unequal contest by the dishonorable treaty of Kainargi. By this treaty Russia obtained possession of the tract between the Bog and the Dniester, known by the name of New Servia, the forts of Xenikaleh and Kertch in the Crimea, and the fortress of Kilburn, at the embouchure of the Dnieper, opposite to the town of Oekzakow. The Krim Tartars were declared independent, and Russian merchant-vessels were admitted to the free navigation of the Bosphorus. About this time a formidable rebellion broke out in Egypt, which was suppressed chiefly by the wise conduct and intrepid behaviour of Hassan, the capitan pasha, who, at the age of seventy, fought with all the ardour of youth and all the skill of the most consummate general. That veteran, however, was recalled before he was able to carry all his patriotic designs into execution, that he might



aid the divan with his counsel in the critical situation into which the empire was brought by the arrogant claims of the court of Russia. The result of the deliberations was a precipitate declaration of war against that power, contrary to the better judgment of the old pasha. The war commenced in the autumn of 1787, and the hordes of Tartars which were first brought into the field were everywhere defeated by the superior discipline of the Russian troops, commanded by Prince Potemkin. Some enterprises which were undertaken by the Turks against the island of Taman and the Crimea, were attended with as little success as the attempts of the Tartars, while the Emperor Joseph declared to the Porte that he would assist his ally the Empress of Russia with an army of 80,000 men. Four Austrian armies were accordingly assembled, one at Carlstadt in Croatia, under the command of General de Vins; another at Peterwaradin in Hungary, commanded by General Langlois; a third on the borders of Lithuania, under General Febris; and the fourth in the Buckowine, under the orders of the Prince of Saxe-Coburg. Other two generals, ten lieutenant-generals, and thirty major-generals, were all ordered to prepare for active service in the frontier armies.

The war between the Turks and the Austrians was carried on with varied success. At first the advantage was evidently on the side of the former, and the Austrians were repulsed with disgrace in their attempt to obtain possession of Belgrade. The Prince of Saxe-Coburg displayed indeed prodigies of valor; but, being opposed to a superior force, he was long obliged to act only on the defensive. He was at length joined by a body of Russians under General Soltikof, and preparations were made for commencing in form the siege of Choczim, which was surrendered to the allied armies on Michaelmas day, 1780, after a defence which would have done honor to the ablest general in Europe. Still, however, success seemed to lean to the side of the Turks. The grand vizir

made a sudden incursion into the Bannat, and spread consternation and dismay to the very gates of Vienna. The Austrian affairs seemed approaching to a very alarming crisis. Not only the splendid views of conquest, which were beheld in the imagined partition of a tottering empire, had totally disappeared, but had left in their place the sad and gloomy reverse of a discontented and impoverished people, an exhausted treasury, and an army thinned by pestilence and desertion. In this situation of affairs, Marshal Laudon was with some difficulty drawn from his retirement to take the command of the army in Croatia; and under his auspices fortune began to smile on the Austrian arms. He quickly reduced Dubicza and Nevi, though they were both defended with the most obstinate bravery. He then sat down before the Turkish Gradisca; but the autumn rains ensuing with such violence that the Save overflowed its banks, he was compelled to raise the siege. During this period the war in the Bannat raged with the utmost violence. Much desperate valor was displayed on the one side, and many brave actions were performed on the other; while a great part of that fine but unfortunate country suffered all the desolation and ruin that fire and sword, under the dominion of vengeance and animosity, could inflict.

In the midst of these military operations, Selim III., the only son of the Sultan Mustapha, mounted the imperial throne. The new emperor did not want either courage or prudence, and he continued the war with Russia and Austria with great spirit and resolution. Marshal Laudon renewed his attempts upon Gradisca as soon as the season would permit, and, after a brave defence, it fell into his hands. This, with some other successes, roused the emperor from his state of inactivity, and made him seriously determine on the attack which he had long meditated on Belgrade. The enterprise was entrusted to Laudon, who, with his usual good fortune, made himself master of the place in less than a month. The rest of the cam

paign was little else than a series of the most important successes. While one detachment of Laudon's forces took possession of Czernitz in Wallachia, another made itself master of Cladova in Servia. Bucharest, the capital of the former of these provinces, fell without opposition into the hands of Prince Coburg, while Akerman, on the Black Sea, was reduced by the Russians, and Bender surrendered to Prince Potemkin, not without suspicion of sinister practices.

Soon after this the Emperor Joseph died, and his successor, Leopold, showed a desire for peace. After the reduction of Orsova, therefore, which happened on the 16th of April, 1790, the war was carried on with languor on the part of Austria; and in the month of June a conference was agreed on at Reichenbach, at which the ministers of Prussia, Austria, Britain, and the united provinces assisted, and at which also an envoy from Poland was occasionally present. After a negotiation, which continued till the 17th of August, it was agreed that a peace should be concluded between the Austrians and the Ottomans; and that the basis of this treaty should be a general surrender of all the conquests made by the former, retaining only Choczim as a security till the Porte should accede to the terms of the agreement, when it also was to be restored.

In the meantime the Empress of Russia persevered in hostilities, and carried on the war with great vigor and success. In the campaign of 1790, the Russian general Suwaroff carried the strong fortress of Ismail by an assault, which for violence and bloodshed has no parallel in modern times. The Ottoman empire seemed on the verge of destruction, when the empress at length, induced by the darkening aspect of European affairs, concluded with the Porte a definite treaty of peace at Yassy on the 9th of January, 1792. The stipulations of the treaty of Kaiurgui were renewed. The River Dniester was recognised as the boundary of the two empires. Oczakow was ceded to Russia, with the territory between the Bog and the Dnies-

ter; and the cession of the Crimea, of the Isle of Taman, and part of the Kuban, was again formally confirmed.

It was evidently the desire and endeavour of the Ottoman government to keep aloof from the terrible wars and changes which accompanied the French Revolution; but the invasion of Egypt by the French compelled the sultan to abandon the system of neutrality which he was anxious to maintain. On the recommencement of hostilities with France, attempts were made to induce the Porte to take part in the war against that country. "Russia and England united their strength against France in the divan, and the sultan was the sad spectator of a contest of which he was himself the unwilling umpire, the ostensible object, and the proposed prey. The victory of either party alike menaced him with ruin; he had to choose between the armies of France and the fleets of England. Never was sovereign so situated between two negotiators, one armed with the power of the land, the other with that of the sea; both to all appearance able to destroy, but neither capable of protecting him against his antagonist. The precipitate flight of the British ambassador had scarcely relieved him from the embarrassment of making a selection between the menacing parties, when his capital was alarmed for the first time by the presence of a hostile force, and the last of calamities seemed reserved for the reign of Selim. The good fortune which interposed to save the seat of empire was not extended to the sovereign, and the evils which were inevitable from the triumph of either party gathered fast around him from the day that saw the city of the faithful delivered from the insults of a Christian flag."

The year 1807 witnessed one of those sanguinary insurrections which have so often convulsed the Ottoman empire. The cause of this revolt, which cost Selim his throne, was an attempt to introduce the improved system of European tactics into the military and naval establishments. The sultan had



evinced, at an early period of his reign, a determination to attempt some changes in the organization of the military force, and for this purpose new regulations were issued in 1796. The chief arrangement was the levy of 12,000 men, who were to be disciplined according to the principles of European tactics, and armed in every respect like British or French soldiers. The new troops were to wear a uniform, and were to be taught the manual exercise; and, in order to detach them as much as possible from the janissaries, it was resolved they should belong nominally to the corps of *bostangis*. For these *bostangi fusiliers*, as they were called, were erected handsome barracks three miles to the north-east of Pera, capable of containing 15,000 soldiers. For the same purpose, barracks were also constructed at Scutari, with exercising ground and all other conveniences. The inspector of the new troops was one of the principal men of the empire. A reform was introduced into all the military departments. The *topgis*, or cannoniers, were improved in every respect. Their old barracks were demolished, and new ones were built on a regular and better plan. The *arabdgis*, or troops of the wagon train, were also reformed. The gunpowder manufactories, which had been in a most inefficient state, were placed on an entirely new footing. The bombardiers, anciently furnished from the *ziameths* and *timars*, or military fiefs, underwent a total change by the new regulations. The miners, a corps much neglected, were increased, and attached by the new constitution to the bombardiers. The marine was put under the superintendence of a ministry formed on the plan of European admiralities; and the command of vessels, which had usually been set up to sale, was given only to those who were qualified for the office. Dry docks, caulking basins, a harbor for fifty new gun-boats, and all the necessary appurtenances of a great arsenal, were built at the edge of the water at Ters-Hanch, and designs for similar contrivances were to be applied to the other principal harbors of

the empire. In addition to these institutions for the formation of the new troops, and the improvement of the Ottoman navies, a general regulation provided that the janissaries should be regularly exercised in the use of the musket, with their *sakas* and other assistants. Magazines for victualing the armies were constructed on the Danube, and at other points near the seat of war. In order to provide for the increased disbursements of the public exchequer, a new revenue was created; and for this end a treasury was formed, under the control of a great state officer, chosen from among the chief men of the empire. Such is a brief outline of the new regulations issued by Selim; and skillful and enlightened though they were, they excited great dissatisfaction in most classes of the community. The janissaries, in particular, foresaw in the formation of the new troops the extinction of their own influence, and therefore determined upon revolt. Their discontent was privately fomented by Mousa Pasha, the *kaimacam*, a cruel and ambitious character, who entertained the most deadly hatred against the superior officers of the divan, and had long resolved to excite a revolution for the purpose of destroying them. The first symptoms of insurrection manifested itself among the troops belonging to the garrisons of the Dardanelles. A certain number of adventurers, under the name of *yamaks*, or assistants to the batteries, had shortly before been added to the *nizam-jedid*, for the service of the batteries of the Bosphorus. They carried the same arms as the *nizam-jedid*, and were trained to the same discipline. It was at length resolved to incorporate them with the other troops; and accordingly, on the 25th of May, 1807, an order was issued for clothing them in the new uniform. The *yamaks* immediately rose in open mutiny, and put to death the *reis-effendi*, who had brought the commands of the sultan. Hali Aga, the commandant of the batteries on the Asiatic shore, was murdered on the same day, and his corpse was also thrown into the Bosphorus. On the

next morning, the yamaks, to the number of three thousand, having assembled in the plains of Buyukdere, elected a chief, and marched directly to the capital. At this juncture, the kaimacam intimated to the several ortas of janissaries that the time was come for overturning the new institutions; and, accordingly, on the 27th they rose, and, as the signal of insurrection, carried their camp-kettles to the well-known place called Etmeidan, an open square near the aqueduct of Valens, which has been from time immemorial the camp of the insurgents. "The sultan," says Sir John Hobhouse, "was now awakened to a sense of his danger; he assembled his ministers at the seraglio, and the 28th of the month was passed in negotiation with the insurgents in the Etmeidan. During the day, the fate of Selim was on the balance; he transmitted to the Etmeidan an offer to abolish the new institutions, to which the janissaries returned no other answer than a demand for the immediate execution of all the ministers who had advised and presided over the nizam-jedid. Then it was that the kaimacam insidiously assured him that the sacrifice was necessary, and would appease the rebels. All was not yet lost. If, at that moment, the gates of the seraglio had been shut, a cannon had been fired, and the head of Mousa Pasha himself had been struck off and thrown over the walls, Selim would have triumphed and retained the throne of his ancestors. But the instant peril and the presence of his enemies bewildered the faculties and so absorbed the resolution of the sultan, that he seems to have despaired of resistance, and to have placed all hopes of safety in submission alone. It was not suggested to his mind, that with the new troops of Scutari and Tehiftlik, and other soldiers in the vicinity of the capital, he might speedily assemble 30,000 men, not less devoted to himself than inimical to the janissaries; and that until their arrival he could maintain the seraglio against the rebels, by arraying the forces of his numerous body-guard. Yet the testimo-

ny of all the reports prevalent at this day in Constantinople concurs in the persuasion that such an opposition, with the instant death of the kaimacam, would have dismayed the insurgents and crushed the rebellion. But the traitor prevailed, and with a cruel ingenuity contrived to include in the proscription the names of two old and innocent men, the kehayah-bey and the reis-effendi, who were called to a conference with Mousa, and, on leaving the room, unsuspecting of their danger, were carried away to the second gate and strangled. The number of heads presented to the janissaries early on the morning of the 29th was seven; but the ruffians, rising in their insolence, were not satisfied with the bloody offering, and, on recognizing the aged victims of the resentment of Mousa, declared that they had required another sacrifice. "The heads were not those of the enemies whose punishment they had demanded." The sultan hearing this last intelligence, sent for the mufti, and on learning that he withheld his advice, found that he had ceased to reign.

"The janissaries, headed by the traitor Mousa, had already found their way into the seraglio, when the sultan retired to the mosque of the palace, and wrapping himself in the robe of Mohammed, took his seat in the corner of the sanctuary. Here he was found by the mufti, who entreated him to submit to the wishes of the people, and to resign the crown. Another report says that, previously to this moment, he had told his attendants that he would reign no more, and ordered them to bring his successor before him. The circumstances of this actual deposition were not exactly known; but on the evening of the same day (the 29th) it was understood in all the quarters of the capital that the most injured, if not the best, of the Ottomans had stepped from a throne to a prison, and that the reigning monarch was his cousin, Mustapha the Fourth, eldest son of Sultan Abdulhamid." This prince was thirty years old when he was placed on the throne. Of a feeble character and limited attainments, he



became a mere instrument in the hands of others, and was the servant rather than the master of the armed multitude to whom he was indebted for his elevation. The supreme power was in the hands of the janissaries, the new institutions were abolished, the new troops dispersed, and their principal officers executed. Their triumph, however, was but of short duration, and the punishment which they so justly deserved was speedily inflicted. Mustapha Bairactar, the pasha of Ruschuk, owed his elevation to the personal regard of the dethroned sultan, and determined to avenge his fall. So early as October, 1807, he formally intimated to the sultan that he should advance to the capital to reform the abuses of the state, and to assist him in the administration of public affairs. Accordingly, having collected an army of forty thousand men, he marched to Constantinople, and encamped on the plains of Daout Pasha, four miles from the city. There his camp soon became the centre of the business and affairs of the Porte, whose chief officers directed their visits of ceremony to the tent of the triumphant general. But the pasha, conscious that his authority in such a state of affairs was unstable, resolved upon the restoration of the Sultan Selim. The 28th of July, 1808, was fixed upon for the enterprise; and as Mustapha had appointed that day for a hunting expedition, Bairactar determined to enter the palace during his absence, and, by preventing his return, exclude him from the throne. Unfortunately the secret transpired; and when, at the appointed time, Bairactar marched to the seraglio, he found the gates closed, and the body-guard under arms. Orders were given for an immediate assault; and after a brief contest, the insurgents forced their way into the seraglio. But the interval proved fatal to Selim. At the commencement of the contest, the emissaries of Mustapha were despatched to his apartments, and after a powerful resistance, that ill-fated prince was thrown down and strangled. After the murder of Selim, the strictest search was made for Mahmoud,

the youngest son of Abdulhamid, and the only remaining prince of the blood-royal. But a faithful slave had concealed him in the furnace of a bath, and before the place of his concealment could be discovered, the insurgents had forced their way into the interior of the palace. Advancing to the third gate, they called aloud for the instant appearance of Selim, when the eunuchs of Mustapha, casting the body of the murdered monarch before them, exclaimed, "Behold the sultan whom you seek!" Bairactar, overpowered by his feelings, threw himself on the disfigured corpse and wept aloud; till Seid Ali, the capitan pasha, exhorting him to seize the moment for revenge, he instantly aroused himself, and commanded that the Sultan Mahmoud should be proclaimed, and Mustapha arrested. The command was immediately obeyed; Mustapha was consigned to the prison of the seraglio, and Mahmoud was released from his painful concealment, and placed on the Ottoman throne. On the ascension of Mahmoud, Bairactar was of course made grand vizir; and he avenged with unsparing severity the death of his benefactor. The traitor Mousa Pasha lost his head, and all the officers of the yamaks and the most seditious of the janissaries were strangled and cast into the Bosphorus; and the females of the harem who had rejoiced at the death of Selim were sewed up in sacks and precipitated into the sea near the shores of Prince's Island.

The vizir openly avowed his intention of reforming the system of the janissaries, and retrenching their privileges; and it was resolved to revive the order of the Seimens, who might supply their place, and be regulated according to the discipline of the nizamid. The name of this corps was more odious to the janissaries than even that of Selim, as belonging to an institution more ancient than their own; and they were only the more resolved to ruin the author of the innovation. Bairactar, however, becoming elated by prosperity, began to despise their enmity; and, blinded to the danger by

which he was surrounded, came to the fatal resolution of dismissing the greater part of the provincial troops, and thus remained almost unprotected in the midst of an infuriated soldiery thirsting for his destruction.

On the night of the 14th of November, several thousands of janissaries, issuing from their quarters, surrounded the palace of Bairactar, and set fire to the building. The vizir and his friends escaped from the conflagration into a strong stone tower, used as a powder magazine, which the janissaries attacked in vain. But in the middle of the night the whole city was shaken by a tremendous explosion; and it was found that the magazine, with the grand vizir, had been blown into the air, whether by accident or design is to this day unknown. During the two following days the contest raged with unabated fury, till the forces of the arsenal and of Tophana united themselves to the janissaries; and the death of Bairactar becoming known, the Seimens withdrew from the combat. In the meantime, the officers of Mahmoud had strangled the imprisoned Mustapha; and the sultan having no longer anything to fear from the partiality of the janissaries for his predecessor, commanded the cannonading to cease, and at the same time announced to the janissaries that the Seimens were abolished for ever. The friends of the late vizir saved themselves by embarking on board a vessel at the Seraglio Point; but the victorious janissaries completed their vengeance by the destruction of the magnificent barracks of Sultan Selim at Scutari and Ramiz Tchifflik, at the latter of which five hundred Seimens defended themselves with desperate valor against a multitude of assailants, until their quarters were fired, and they all perished in the flames. Thus terminated the most tremendous revolution that Constantinople had experienced since it fell under the power of the Turks, and which, after dethroning two monarchs and spilling the best blood of the empire, ended in the destruction of the meditated

reforms, and the entire re-establishment of the ancient institutions.

During these events, the war with Russia had languished; but on the accession of Mahmoud, the armies on both sides were augmented, and the contest was carried on with great ferocity. The campaign of 1811 was short, but disastrous to the Porte, the main body of the Ottoman army having surrendered as prisoners of war. The result might have been fatal to the Turkish empire; but in 1812 the prospect of the arduous struggle with France induced Russia to make peace with the Porte, on the latter ceding Bessarabia and part of Moldavia. At the peace of Tilsit, Napoleon left the Turkish empire single-handed to fight or fall, though it had been induced to take up arms solely by French promises and intrigue. The neglect was deeply felt by the Ottomans, and it received its just punishment when the unexpected pacification of 1812 released the Russian army just in time to interrupt the distressed French troops in their attempt to pass the Beresina. The sultan being now happily freed from foreign enemies, resolutely entered on the difficult task of reducing to obedience the great officers of his empire, who during the distracted state of the country had virtually exercised independent power; and in the course of a few years, the famous Ali Pasha and the other powerful and rebellious satraps were all deprived of their governments, and most of them executed. In 1821 began the celebrated insurrection which, after a bloody war of eight years, terminated in the complete emancipation of the Greeks from the Turkish yoke. (See GREECE.) Meanwhile, the janissaries were dissatisfied with certain members of the divan, particularly Halet Effendi, keeper of the signet, then high in power, but who had begun to give umbrage also to the sultan, and he was put to death in November, 1822, and four of the other ministers exiled. The disorderly excesses of the janissaries, and their inefficiency in the field during the war in Greece, rendered more urgent the necessity of intro-



ducing a new system of discipline, which had long been apparent to every thinking man, and the government was anxious to do so; but every attempt had hitherto proved fatal to the innovator. The sultan resolved to make the effort, long meditated and preparing, and if the janissaries resisted, to extirpate them altogether. In conformity with these designs, 150 men were selected from each orta of the janissaries, who were instructed in European tactics by Egyptian officers. As it was declared that this was merely a revival of an exercise used by Solymán, matters proceeded quietly for some time, till, in June, 1826, when the troops were brought together for exercise, they discovered for the first time that they were practicing the very evolutions which they had all determined to resist. A furious insurrection immediately took place, the palace of the Porte was pillaged and stripped, and the insurgents, to the number of 10,000 to 15,000 men, assembled in the well-known Etmeidan. The sultan perceived that the crisis which he had both expected and feared had now arrived, and he determined at once to put an end to a domination which had been found so intolerable. He directed the sacred standard of the prophet to be raised, and the zealous Mussulmans rushed from all quarters to range themselves under it. He issued orders to the pasha aga, and to the topgi bashi or commander of artillery, to hold themselves in readiness with their troops. Before, however, proceeding to extremities, four officers of rank were despatched to the Etmeidan, with offers of pardon if the insurgents would immediately disperse; but the offers were scornfully rejected, and the officers were wantonly put to death. The aga pasha had by this time collected about 64,000 troops, besides vast numbers of the population; and surrounding the Etmeidan, where the janissaries were assembled in a dense crowd, totally unsuspecting of the sultan's intention, he opened upon them a general discharge of grape-shot, which killed vast numbers. The survivors retired to

the barracks, which were close by, and there shut themselves up. But orders were immediately given to set fire to the buildings. The artillery thundered upon the walls; and after a desperate resistance, with little loss to their assailants, the janissaries were utterly exterminated. For two days afterwards, the gates of the city continued closed, and strict search was made for such of the janissaries as might have escaped the slaughter in the Etmeidan, of whom many when found were immediately executed. By the official records preserved, but which may not reveal the full number of the victims, only about 2,000 of the most guilty, after being identified, were thus put to death in the capital, besides thousands who perished in the conflict and by the flames in their barracks, and many were sent into exile in the provinces. Thus, after four centuries and a half, this formidable and capricious corps, once the great bulwark of the empire, but eventually the pest and disturber of the community, and an insuperable barrier to all improvement, was totally destroyed, and the imperial throne freed from its intolerable yoke.

In 1828 war again broke out between Turkey and Russia. The first campaign was unfavorable to Turkey, but not completely decisive; it ended with the loss of Varna. In 1829, however, the Russian general Diebitsch succeeded in passing the formidable barrier of the Balkans; and the war being closed in September by the peace of Adrianople, Turkey consented to several articles both humiliating and injurious.

Shortly after occurred that rupture between the sultan and Mehemmed Ali, the pasha of Egypt, which shook the Ottoman empire to its foundations. In every conflict the Turkish troops were completely overthrown. The battle of Homs decided the fate of Syria, and the victory at Konieh placed the sceptre almost within the grasp of the ambitious pasha. In this extremity the sultan was reduced to the humiliating necessity of applying for aid to Russia; and, through the intervention of the representatives of

France and England chiefly, peace was concluded, and the whole of Syria, with its dependent territories, rewarded the successful rebellion of Mehemmed Ali.

In 1839, the sultan and his powerful subjects again came into collision; and the Turkish army, under the seraskier Hafiz Pasha, crossed the Euphrates, but was completely routed by Ibrahim Pasha at Nezib, near Aleppo, and the camp, artillery, and baggage, fell into the hands of the Egyptians. This disaster was followed by the loss of the Turkish fleet, which Ahmet Fevzi, the capitan pasha, carried to Alexandria, and delivered up to Mehemmed Ali. The sultan, who had long been diseased, survived this engagement only three days, and was succeeded by Abdul Medjid, a youth of nineteen years of age. The young sultan was taken under the protection of the five great European powers; and on the 15th of July, 1840, a treaty was concluded by Britain, Austria, Russia, and Prussia, for the settlement of the eastern question, France having refused to become a party to it. By the terms of this agreement, Mehemmed was offered the hereditary government of Egypt and of the pachalic of Acre. Having, however, refused to comply with the terms, he was excommunicated, and his forfeiture proclaimed by the sultan and the ulema; and the fleets of the allied powers proceeded to reduce the fortified places on the coast of Syria. They soon obtained possession of Beyrout, Saide, and St. Jean d'Acre; the last of which was evacuated by the Egyptian troops after a bombardment of only three hours' duration, on the 3d of November, 1840, though it had cost Ibrahim a siege of seven months to reduce it in 1832, and though he had subsequently made it one of the strongest fortresses in the world.

Soon after, Ibrahim's troops, unable to make further resistance, evacuated Syria. But, with the concurrence of the allied powers, Mehemmed Ali was confirmed in possession of the government of Egypt, which was also made hereditary in the line

of his descendants, on payment of an annual tribute to the Porte of 1,333,000 dollars. In other respects, and being entirely excluded from Syria, Palestine, and Arabia, he was placed on the footing of a vassal pacha, subject to the laws of the empire.

By the treaty, dated the 13th July, 1841, France joined with the other powers in confirming the rule for shutting the passage of the Dardanelles to foreign ships of war, and in guaranteeing the integrity of the Ottoman territory. Its division under two rival rulers had long been felt as a great source of weakness; and the policy of the British ambassador from 1833 had been to effect the restoration of its unity under the full sovereignty of the hereditary sultan. Arabia was next brought under the direct rule of the Porte, which drew from it a tribute of several millions of hard dollars conveyed to the capital. Kurdistan was also subject to a state of order and obedience; and commissioners, jointly with those of the great powers, were employed to adjust the long unsettled boundaries between Turkey and Persia. Troubles in Bosnia, arising from aversion to the new system of taxes and military conscription, were suppressed, and Turkey enjoyed a repose of some years, undisturbed by internal commotion or foreign pressure. Some contentions in the Lebanon, never yet healed up, between the Druses and the Maronite Christians, and predatory turbulence of the Arab tribes of the Syrian and Mesopotamian desert, were the only exception. The general shock throughout Europe caused by the French Revolution of 1848 did not affect Turkey, where the Mussulmans have little of the revolutionary elements. The tributary Principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia alone became agitated, and the liberals there, composed of the younger and more ardent of the educated classes, weary of their country being overruled by Russia, established provisional governments of their own, which were of a very democratic stamp. They were still desirous to preserve amity with the Porte, or



willing to remain under its suzerainty, and one grand vizir of the day was even favorable to their independence. Such was not then the policy of Russia, and the Divan was induced (why, is still unaccounted for) to solicit her joint military occupation of those countries, by which the previous order of things was restored. Meanwhile Hungary had engaged in war with the House of Austria, to regain her full constitutional rights. The Porte was favorable to the Hungarian cause, and seemed disposed to support it by arms had she received encouragement, with which view probably she was collecting the disbanded regulars from her nearest Asiatic province. But England would countenance no step tending to bring on general war, and Turkey remained passive. She was involuntarily placed in jeopardy when the surviving Hungarian leaders, after failing in their struggle, took refuge on her soil, and whom she refused to deliver up in compliance with the remonstrances of Austria, and the threats of Russia, that the alternative would be actual war. Kossuth and his associates were treated with hospitality, and finally lodged for some time at Kutachia, in the enjoyment of liberal pensions. The mission of a British fleet to the Dardanelles effectually protected Turkey from hostile invasion on the occasion, and changed the attitude of Russia. It cost much persevering trouble and efforts to remove the Russian troops, as at length effected, from the Danubian Principalities. The Emperor Nicholas was not the less intent on carrying out the long-cherished project of his house to extend their dominions to the Bosphorus, and occupy the throne of the Constantines; and secret overtures, coldly received, had several years before been made to the British Cabinet to share the spoils of "the sick man, whom they would soon have on their hands." Again, those overtures were renewed to the British minister at St. Petersburg, in course of the disputes relating to the rights of Russia and France to certain churches in the Holy Land. This led to the claim on the

part of Russia to a protectorate over the subjects of the Porte who were members of the Greek or Oriental Church; and Prince Menzikof was deputed to Constantinople to make the most imperious demands of that nature, as the ultimatum of the czar. Those pretensions, founded on an overstrained construction of the treaty of Kainargi, and which would virtually have handed over to the supremacy of Russia several millions of Ottoman subjects, were resisted. Russian troops marched in consequence into the Danubian Principalities, which England and France waived treating as a *casus belli*; and negotiations were opened at Vienna to effect an accommodation. The terms there agreed upon as a basis were rejected by the Porte, as bearing a construction to favor the views of Russia, as afterwards admitted. And in October, 1853, the Porte declared war against that power.

The Russian forces crossed the Danube, and took possession of some minor forts at its lower extremity, also of the Dobridgea. A contest took place higher up the river at Oltenitza, chiefly by a cannonade, in which Omer Pasha, the Turkish general-in-chief, gained the victory. Widin was secured and rendered impregnable, protected by the fortified position of Kalafat, on the opposite side of the Danube. The British and French fleets, long anchored outside the Dardanelles, at length passed up and took their stations in the Bosphorus. They only entered the Black Sea, when a Turkish squadron sent there and anchored at Sinope was attacked and destroyed, with the crews, by a large superior fleet from Sevastopol. The disaster and massacre attendant roused public feeling in England, which called for war against the aggressors. It was declared in the month of March, 1854, by Great Britain and France, whose joint armies, collected at Gallipoli and around Constantinople, proceeded by sea to Varna. Whilst encamped in that quarter, fever made fearful ravages in the British ranks on the swampy borders of the Lake of Derna. Cholera had already accompanied

the French army from home, and was super-added to the local fever. From their joint ravages a French division, sent on an expedition into the unwholesome Dobridgea, was almost annihilated without meeting an enemy. Omer Pasha having established his head-quarters at Schumla, there remained stationary with his army, as did the allies in their positions near the sea, whilst the Russians directed all their might against Silistria.

Alone the Turkish garrison of that fortress, animated by the example and counsels of two British officers who, as volunteers, shared their perils, made a most gallant and determined defence, one of the most distinguished on record. After sustaining immense losses in men, and having had all their generals engaged in the siege either wounded or killed, the Russians retired. They had never been able to take the Arab Tabia, so called, an outwork which formed the key of the defence, guarded by a handful of men, chiefly Egyptian troops. The Russian campaign on the Danube had totally failed. Their army next retired from the Principalities, which, in virtue of a treaty with the allied powers then lately made by Austria, was occupied by her troops, and the war was transported to another theatre.

It had been finally resolved in the allied counsels of France and England to attack Sevastopol, the great stronghold and arsenal of Russia in the Black Sea. Their joint armies, in September, 1854, were conveyed to the western shore of the Crimea, in a vast array of transports, escorted by their splendid fleets, exhibiting the most grand spectacle ever beheld on the ocean. Their wonted valor shone in the battle on the Alma, when they carried its heights in the face of a tremendous shower of grape from the Russian batteries. On the march inland which followed, their artillery, saved from the engagement, lay unknown a little to the right, exposed to the grasp of the allies. On their appearance before Sevastopol in the south, they might have marched into it, as now ad-

mitted, so dispirited were the Russians by their previous defeat, and unprepared for defence. An immediate assault had been proposed by Lord Raglan, the British commander, but declined by St. Arnaud, the French. The moral energies were now exhausted which had sustained the enfeebled and dying frame of that gallant spirit up to the fight on the Alma.

The army of Omer Pasha had been later transported to the Crimea, but no active nor glorious part was assigned to it in the operations before Sevastopol. Previous to its capture on the 8th September, 1855, the Turkish force, after much hesitation in coming to the decision, was sent to make a diversion in Mingrelia, for the relief of Kars, then hemmed in by the Russians, and reduced to extremity. But Omer Pasha landed at Soukoum Kalé, which lost him three weeks' march, instead of at Redout Kalé, only a few days' distance from Kutais, on which he was to move. After defeating the Russians, with the loss of 500 men, who opposed his passage of the Ingour, he stopped short, as the wet season had set in, and never proceeded to Kutais (the capital of Mingrelia), which lay close at hand, open to his occupation. He had, however, alarmed Mouravieff, who, to arrest his progress in that quarter, weakened his own army before Kars, but unnecessarily; and that important place was left unaided to its fate.

The war in Asia had commenced by the capture, on the 3d of November, 1855, of the Fort of Shefkélit, on the Gouriel, by a Turkish division from Batoun; and under the direction of Yordan, a gallant Polish officer, it resisted a subsequent attack by the Russian fleet, which afterwards destroyed the Turkish fleet at Sinope. The force at Batoun river exceeding 6000 to 7000 effective men, and wasted by sickness to a skeleton at the end of the war, did nothing further memorable, save advancing on Uzurgeli, under Selim Pasha. When following the Russians, who had evacuated the town, a little further, he was attacked in turn, routed,



and his troops narrowly escaped entire destruction. They formed the extreme left of the army of Erzeroum, originally composed of nearly 40,000 of the best Turkish troops, and stationed at Kars. In the end of 1853 it sent two detachments of 7000 men each both against Gumri and Akiska, which were repulsed. The rest of the time, though then weak, was wasted in skirmishes with the Russians until September, 1854, when General Guyon, distinguished for his energy in the Hungarian war, having been sent to reorganize the Kars army, recommended a well combined offensive movement; at the moment of execution he was, however, contemptuously set aside by the Turkish general-in-chief (Tarif Mustafa Pasha), who lost the battle of Ingéderé, which he ought to have won, and retired in utter disorder from the field. The Russians, who had suffered the most, might have got into Kars before him. They had meanwhile occupied Byared, from before which, on their advance, a Turkish division of 7000 men dispersed. In October, the British military commissioner, General Williams, arrived at Kars, and then returned to Erzeroum for the winter, to make arrangements there for the future. The season was spent at Kars in strengthening the defences; and in May following (1855) General Mouravieff debouched from Gumri with 45,000 men, scouring with his cavalry the country whence any supplies could reach Kars. It must finally have surrendered from famine. But Mouravieff, afraid of Omer Pasha's coming on from Mingrelia, and after having sent off 6000 men to oppose him, ordered an assault in September, though without cannon. His troops penetrated into the intrenchments, but were nobly repulsed, with terrible slaughter, leaving 6000 dead on the spot. They again resumed the siege, encamped before the place, which was forced to surrender in November. This was the last feat performed during the war, and was some counterpoise in favor of the arms of Russia to the greater triumph of the allies at Sevastopol.

The Circassians had been invited by an agent of the British government to take part in the hostilities against Russia, as favorable to their national independence, but this was counteracted by the representatives of the Porte, and Schamyl's deputy, the Naib, was preaching Socialism to the Caucasian mountaineers; so no combination could be formed with them, and the Russians themselves, after first blowing up their forts along the coast, retired from it. Anapa was re-occupied by them on the return of peace, in which terminated the armistice which followed the taking of Sevastopol. In the latter part of the war, Sardinia had sent an army to co-operate with those of the allies in the Crimean campaign, and which signalled itself in the action at the bridge of the Tchernaya.

By the Treaty of Paris, signed on the 30th March, 1856, between the belligerents, and with the participation of Austria and Prussia, Russia was interdicted from possessing any fortified port or naval arsenal on the Black Sea. Nicolaief, as an inland station, was not included in the restriction. But her fleet had already been sunk at Sevastopol, to block up the port against the entrance of the allies, the magnificent docks there were destroyed before their departure; and it was now stipulated by the treaty, that the ships-of-war which Russia and the Porte might have in the Black Sea should be limited to a small flotilla of specified force, for police and revenue purposes. All right of foreign intervention in the internal concerns of Turkey was expressly debarred. Previous territorial limits between Russia and Turkey were re-established, save that the former ceded to the Porte such portion of the Bessarabia as gave access to the Danube. Other stipulations provided for the freedom of its navigation, and the future form of government of the two Principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia, the immunities of which, as also of Servia, were placed under the protection of the five powers. Turkey now took a place also as a member of the European confederation of states.

There ensued, in consequence of some equivocal geographical designation, a serious question as to the right of Russia to retain Belgrade, a place which left communications open to her with the waters of the Danube. But this point, as also the occupation of the Isle of Serpents, opposite the mouth of that river in the Black Sea, was settled in conformity with the firm and sustained representations of the British government. It also opposed the union of the two Danubian Principalities into one state as voted by the population, supported by France and Russia; and the double election of the same prince for Moldavia and Wallachia led to a compromise, the Porte confirming the election on the express condition, that in future a different prince should be chosen for each.

The main object of the war may be said to have been attained. The formidable bulwark of Sevastopol, which gave to Russia the command of the Black Sea, and formed a standing menace to Turkey, was dismantled, with the obligation imposed that it should not be restored. The dangerous predominance of Russia in relation to Turkey was effectually checked, and its security greatly strengthened, since it is not easy to overrun the country by an invasion overland, and Russia will have no equipped navy at hand, whilst the Porte has her fleet at command in the Bosphorus for immediate dispatch into the Black Sea on any threatened peril, and to repel any expedition which might attempt a *coup de main* on Constantinople, or a landing elsewhere on her coast.

It is only the small population of Montenegro that has since given trouble to the Porte on its frontiers. Claiming complete independence, and discontented with their confined territory, those wild mountaineers, after sanguinary conflicts with their Mussulman neighbors, were on the point of being overwhelmed by Omer Pasha some years before but for the intervention of Austria. A fresh outbreak of those boundary contentions led to the appointment, in 1859, of commissioners from each of the Great Pow-

ers to adjust the limits. But their labors, interrupted by the war in Italy, have not yet been brought to a close. When being renewed, a Turkish force of 3,000 men, imprudently led by the superior in command into an exposed position, was totally destroyed by the Montenegrins, and during the alleged subsistence of a truce.

In June, 1858, occurred at Jedda, to shock the civilized world, the massacre of the British and French consuls, and a number of other Christians, by a fanatic population. This was on account of the re-hoisting of the British flag on a ship from India of disputed ownership, from which it had been hauled down by the authorities on shore. The Porte undertook to afford full satisfaction for the atrocity; but before advice of this being accepted reached the Red Sea from home, it was too late to countermand previous orders for the bombardment of the town, and carried into effect by a British ship of war. The chastisement thus inflicted on the port of transit for pilgrims to the holy cities caused much sensation among the Mussulmans for a time, particularly in Syria, but which subsided without any ill consequences. Two of the greatest criminals concerned in the massacre were, after the bombardment, executed on the spot, but unhappily also eleven persons who were innocent, having been denounced by influential parties really guilty, were sacrificed in their stead.

In January, 1856, Turkey lost, by the death of Reschid Pasha, the most distinguished of her statesmen of modern times, and the most accomplished she had yet produced. He was the author of the liberal edict of Ghulhane in 1839, and guided the counsels of the Porte in most of the leading events of his day, but was not in power when war was declared against Russia in 1853. His successor in the post of grand vizir was Aali Pasha, also an acute diplomatist, who represented Turkey at the Congress of Paris when peace was concluded. He has been displaced since the discovery of a conspiracy



against the government, when on the point of breaking out, on the 17th of September, 1859. Its object was to seize the sultan on the street on his way to the mosque, and depose or put him to death, placing his brother on the throne, in case he should refuse to accede to the scheme to be presented to him for measures of retrenchment, and the re-establishment of the ancient religious system in full vigor; the obnoxious ministers, with the actual serasker Riza Pasha as the chief, were to be got rid of, and doubtless by sacrificing their lives, with all others in office about the palace who were considered of the same party. The originator of the plot was a sheikh from Suleymanie, in the Kurdistan, and his chief accomplices, two Ferik pashas in the army—the one Hussein, a Circassian, the other Djafer, an Albanian—who, on his way up the Bosphorus to the place of trial, jumped overboard and was drowned. His moral reputation was such as throws some discredit on the professed patriotism of those connected with such an associate. Only thirty-nine persons were brought to trial as implicated, of whom the two surviving leaders, after capital sentence passed against them, were, in commutation of punishment, condemned to perpetual imprisonment in a fortress; others were sentenced to confinement for a limited term, and some to exile; a number were set at liberty. No leading members of the ulema, nor other personages of much note, appear to have taken part in the plot, but the full ramifications of it are involved in uncertainty. Part of the army had been gained, and two regiments fixed upon to act as guard for the safety of the Christians at the capital. The timely detection of the conspiracy in its last stage for execution saved the empire from a perilous reactionary shock, and is calculated to be a serious warning for doing away with the same causes of grievance.

In 1860 the attention of the European powers was called to the Turkish administration in the East, by the massacres of Maronite Christians by the Druses. The

dissensions to which the animosities of these two religious parties had given rise, had agitated the Lebanon for many years before, and it was charged upon the Turkish Government that it had stimulated them for its own objects. Early in May of this year, a monk was found murdered in a convent half way between Beyrout and Deir-el-Kammar and suspicion fell upon the Druses, and one of them was afterwards killed by the Maronites in retaliation. This led to reprisals, and several assassinations took place on both sides, until the 28th of May, when a general attack was made by the Druses upon the Maronite villages in the neighborhood of Beyrout and Lebanon, which they burnt to the ground. Next day Hasbeya, a large town under Mount Hermon, was attacked by the Druses. The Christians of the place were told by Othman Bek, the Turkish commander, that they must lay down their arms, and he would protect them from their enemies. They complied, and delivered up their arms, which were sent off under a scanty escort towards Damascus, and on the way they were intercepted and seized by the Druses. It seems that the conduct of Othman Bek was nothing but the deepest treachery, for having disarmed the Christians, he prepared to abandon the place, when on the 5th of June, the Druses rushed in, and an indiscriminate massacre ensued. The Turkish soldiers offered no defence, and in some instances themselves assisted in the work of murder, under the most revolting circumstances. Similar attacks were made on the Christians at Rasheya and Sidon, and Deir-el-Kammar, and other places; nor did the Turkish authorities make any attempt to protect the unfortunate sufferers. Zableh, which is described as having been "the most rising town in all Lebanon, the chief station of the French Lazarists, and containing public buildings, a very handsome cathedral and schools, and very good houses," was next threatened. The European Consuls at Beyrout then went in a body to Kur-schid Pasha, the Turkish Governor, and

urgently entreated him to send troops to protect the town, which he promised to do. On the 19th the troops appeared, and the Druses with them. The Christians made an attempt to climb the hills and fall upon the Druses in the valley, but they were too slow, and the movement failed. Before they reached the summit of the mountain they saw that the Druses had already begun to burn the town, and resistance being useless, for the Turks also had turned against them, they fled. The women and children which they left behind were slaughtered. The Druses then hurried to Deir-el-Kammar, where the people hearing of their approach, applied to the governor for aid, and received answer that they had nothing to fear, if they were willing to give up their arms and trusted to him for protection. A great part of the population he ordered to the Serai. On the 21st of June the Druses collected around the town, and one of their leaders had an interview with the governor. The result of this parley was that the gates were thrown open, and the defenceless people surrendered to an indiscriminate massacre. It is estimated that upwards of a thousand fell in the day's slaughter. The town was fired and the heavy column of smoke floating over Beyrout, warned the inhabitants of that place of the calamity. Beyrout, however, escaped, but Damascus suffered from a mob of Moslem fanatics, who were allowed to murder, burn, and pillage, at their pleasure, and, as elsewhere, aided by the Turkish soldiers. The Consulates of France, Russia, Austria, Holland, Belgium, and Greece were destroyed, and their inmates took refuge in the house of Abd-el-Kader, who behaved most nobly on this occasion, sheltering about fifteen hundred Christians from the fury of the assailants. The news of these events created the profoundest impression in Western Europe, and the Emperor of France, determined to send troops to Syria to protect the interests of the Christians. As the object of such an expedition was liable to be misrepresented as an attempt

to secure a foothold for France in the East, it was necessary to obtain the consent of the other powers, and this was given by a protocol signed at Paris, on August 3d. In the meantime Fuad Pasha was sent to Syria, with a strong force by the Sultan, and by his severity to all those accused of being implicated in the massacre, he endeavored to atone for the previous indifference and apparent connivance of the Porte. The coming of the French troops was looked upon with the utmost aversion by the Mohammedans, but proved a great source of security to the Christians. A Commission of the five great powers was subsequently appointed to inquire into the administration of the Lebanon.

The Sultan Abdul Medjid died in 1864, and was succeeded by his brother Abdul Aziz Khan, on the 25th of June.

The Island of Crete, or Candia, as it is now called, had rebelled many times against the Turkish power. The most important insurrection which had taken place for many years, began in 1866, and was not finally put down till the beginning of 1869. In April of the above mentioned year, the Cretan people met at Koutzonnaria, and under the guidance of the Bishops of Sidonia and Kissamos, prepared a petition to the Sultan, asking that the privileges which had been guaranteed to them by the other powers might be granted. At the end of three months the Turkish government answered that they could not entertain these complaints, and that any further presentations of them would occasion prompt and severe action against the agitators. In the meantime all the important points of the island had been garrisoned by Turkish troops. As soon as their reply was put forward in the form of a proclamation, the Cretan General Assembly determined to take up arms, and put forward a manifesto to the European powers, justifying themselves on the ground of their common origin with the Hellenic race, and the violation of the rights which had been guaranteed to them by the protocols and treaties of the



foreign powers. This was the signal for the immediate declaration of martial law by the Governor, and the whole island was soon in a state of war. Religious animosity now had full play; the Turkish population took advantage of the disorder to gratify their hatred of the Christians by acts of barbarity; in some places even the foreign consulates were attacked. In September the assembly passed a declaration of independence, and announced their intention to annex themselves to Greece.

The encounters between the insurgents and the soldiers of the government began immediately after this. The Turks adopted a course of indiscriminate pillage and barbarity, laying waste the country, burning the villages and slaughtering the inhabitants. In less than a month it was calculated that more than a thousand of the Cretans had been massacred. One of the most heroic episodes of the war was the defence of the monastery of Arkadi. This monastery was built in the reign of the emperor Heraclius, and was among the wealthiest in the East. It had survived the ravages of every conqueror, even the Turks having respected this sanctuary. In this rebellion it had been used as a store-house for supplies and ammunition. At the time of the attack of Mustapha Pasha, there were in the building about seven hundred persons of whom rather more than a third were combatants. The Turkish force amounted to about four thousand. A surrender was refused, and for two days an incessant fire from a full siege-train of heavy guns and mortars rained upon the monastery. By the third day a breach was effected and the assault began. The attack lasted all day; three mines were sprung upon the advancing column, one of which proved more hurtful to the garrison than to the enemy. The Turks claimed to have killed six hundred of the Cretans, and they report that the prisoners which they captured were entrusted to the Greek Bishop. The Greeks, whose reputation for veracity is by no means unimpeachable,

represent the insurgents as driven back from one court and tower to another, contesting every inch of ground; and that finally, when all hope was gone, gathering themselves together in the large hall, they applied the match to the powder with which the cellar beneath was filled, heroically preferring death to submission.

The Turkish government afterwards yielded so far as to allow as many of the islanders as desired to leave, to retire to Greece. The sympathy of the Greek Government toward the Cretans was openly manifested at every opportunity, and the false hopes thus raised of a final annexation to the Hellenic monarchy sustained the revolutionists in their resistance, and impelled them to reject the favorable terms and promised reforms held out by the Turks. The war was thus prolonged until the beginning of the year 1869, when it was virtually stopped by the action of the European powers. The whole course of the struggle in the East, and the movements of Greece and Turkey had been watched with great interest by the governments of England and France, and in conjunction with the other European courts they had addressed several notes to the Porte asking for an adjustment of the Cretan difficulties by a commission. All these remonstrances having failed, and the prospect of a war between Turkey and Greece, with the possibility of the interference of Russia, and the disturbance of the peace of Europe, becoming imminent, a conference of the five great powers was called in February, 1869. The result was a protocol to the Greek Government requiring a cessation of all intervention in the affairs of Crete. The Greeks at first declined to agree to the action of the Conference, but as they were alone against the whole of Europe, they had no alternative but to submit. The chief support of the revolutionary movement in Crete being thus withdrawn, it rapidly declined, and soon after the Turkish government declared the insurrection at an end.

## IONIAN ISLES.

UNDER the Roman empire the Ionian Islands were sunk into parts of the province of Achaia. We find no historical events of importance relative to the islands under the earlier emperors, except that Titus is said to have landed at Corcyra on his way from the conquest of Judea, and Hadrian to have gifted Cephallenia to the Athenians. In the decline of the empire, the Huns under Alaric (A.D. 398), and Attila (A.D. 441), with the Vandals under Genseric, ravaged the Ionian islands, as well as most of Greece. Belisarius and Narses recovered those provinces for Justinian; but Slavonic invaders of various tribes repeated their devastations at very brief intervals.

By the emperor Heraclius I, the Ionian islands were attached to the prefecture of Lombardy; and to it, or to Sicily, they continued united for about 250 years, till Leo the Philosopher (about A.D. 890) formed them all, or most of their number, into a distinct province, under the title of the *Tema* of Cephallenia; and, in this condition, they were to be accounted as belonging to the Eastern empire, after Italy had been divided into various states. Towards the close of the eleventh century, the Norman conquerors of Naples, warring against the western portion of the Byzantine empire, turned towards the islands of the Ionian group; and in A.D. 1081, Robert Guiscard captured Corfu; and not long after, Cephallonia. On the revolt of the latter island in 1085, he was proceeding to bring it again into subjection, when he died

at Cassopo in Corfu. A second conquest of Corfu was made in 1146, by Roger king of Sicily, nephew of Guiscard, but it was recovered by the Emperor Manuel Comnenus, with the co-operation of the Venetians, in 1132. In 1192, Richard Cœur-de-Lion landed at Corfu, on his ill-starred voyage from Palestine, after the fourth crusade. On their way to the fifth crusade, the combined forces from the taking of Zara (1203) halted to refresh at Corfu, where they seem to have been gladly welcomed, and to have found the country very fertile and abounding in forage. Here, however, the news of Walter of Brienne's marvelous successes in Apulia and Naples caused a sort of mutiny, and many of the warriors prepared to give up the expedition against Constantinople, intended in favor of the young Alexis, who had joined the Western army at Zara. With some difficulty, the dissension was healed, and the crusade proceeded. Alexis appears to have been recognized as their emperor by the Corfiots. When the Greek empire was exchanged for the Latin; at Constantinople, the Venetians obtained various possessions, and among these Corfu. A famous Genoese corsair, Leon Vetrano, took it from them, but on his defeat and execution the senate of Venice (in 1206) sent thither ten noble families, granting them fiefs in order that they might colonize it. The republic soon afterwards took Cephallonia and Zante, the former of which was held under them by a succession of five counts of the family of Tocco, who appear to have al



so held Santa Maura, and probably Zante, at the same time. Through the rest of the thirteenth century, and most of the fourteenth, the Ionian Islands were a prey, by turns, to corsairs, and to Greek and Neapolitan claimants. At last, while the civil wars of Naples gave a good opportunity, the Corfiots voluntarily placed themselves under Venice, the first maritime power of the age (9th June 1386). Acting with mercantile caution, the senate did not think its title sufficient until ratified (16th August, 1401) by Ladislaus king of Naples, on payment of 30,000 ducats, thus extinguishing the right which had been maintained to Corfu through the Duchy of Taranto. In 1485 Zante was obtained by purchase from the Turks in a very depopulated condition; and in 1499 Cephalonia was captured from the same masters. The dreaded Barbarossa, on the part of Soliman II., ravaged Corfu in 1537, and the great fleet of Selim II. did nearly the same in 1570, not touching the citadel, however. In 1571 Corfu was the station at which Don John of Austria reviewed the grand Christian armament of which he was generalissimo, before sailing to fight and win the battle of Lepanto—one of the most glorious but unavailing victories which history records. Even after Lepanto, the Turks continued for a year to hold Santa Maura, which the Venetians had abandoned in 1570. Venice paid an increased tribute for the island of Zante. Corfu had been fortified in 1559; and to what was then built the republic added, by degrees, the extensive works which afterwards protected it. The last and greatest struggle for its possession was in 1716 by the forces of Achmet III., which were defeated by the Venetian troops under the gallant Count Schulenburg, who had before earned fame by his retreat across the Oder, in face of Charles XII. of Sweden, and by his conduct at the battle of Malplaquet, under the orders of Prince Eugene. Under the sway of Venice, her government was represented in the Ionian Islands by a *provveditore*, against whose misrule a check was established, in

permission to the city of Corfu to send to Venice a deputy styled "Nuncio," through whom complaints might be addressed to the senate. As the republic decayed at home she could not remain healthy abroad; and in her last years there was, no doubt, much corruption and abuse of all kinds in her dependencies. In her better days, however, she has probably been unjustly censured. Terrible as antagonistic factions were to each other in the struggle for political power, the lower classes were not unheeded by the state. The statute-book was disfigured by the retention of threatened demembration and other marks of barbarous times, but practically they had fallen into disuse; and in civil matters, although the courts were left a degree of arbitrary authority which must have been very embarrassing to judges, still, the administration of justice in Venice was regarded as pure, and the commonalty could enjoy what they prized—"Pane in Piazza e giustizia in Palazzo." The decisions of the famous Council of Forty were highly esteemed.

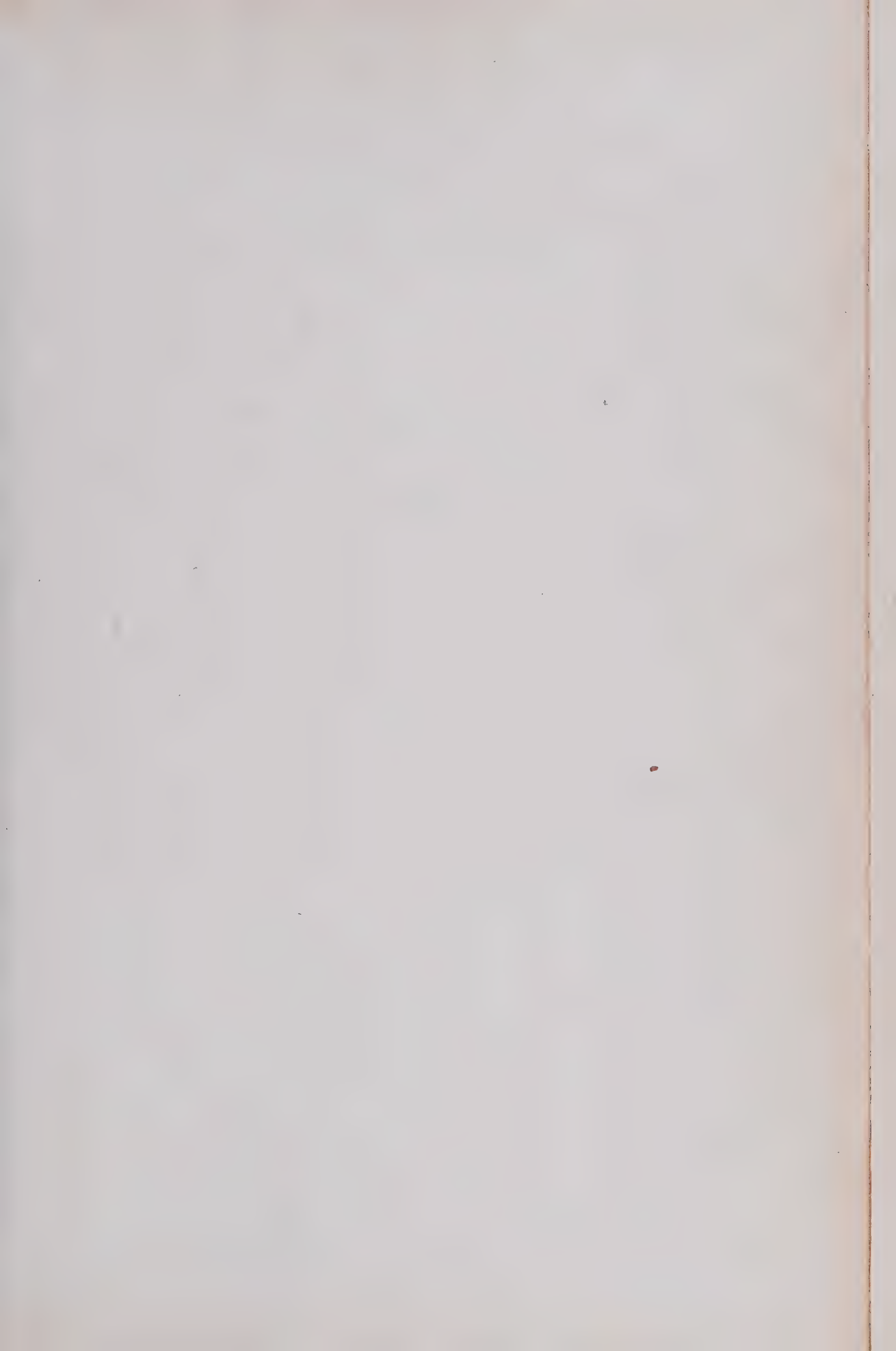
On the fall of the Venetian republic in 1797, the treaty of Campo Formio which gave Venice to Austria, annexed the Ionian Islands to France; and in 1798 the French government ratified the arrangement, and their division into three departments. But a Russo-Turkish force came to drive out the French in the close of that year; and in the spring of 1799 Corfu capitulated. The Allies in 1800 erected the Septinsular republic, which, with various modifications, was but another name for anarchy and confusion, till a secret article in the treaty of Tilsit, in 1807, declared the Ionian Islands an integral part of the French empire. In this condition they remained till the British forces, under General Oswald, took Zante, Cephalonia, and Cerigo in 1809, and Santa Maura in 1810. Colonel Church reduced Paxo in 1814; and after the abdication of Napoleon, Corfu was, by order of Louis XVIII., ceded to Sir James Campbell. At the congress of Vienna, no settlement had been made of Ionian

affairs, which were definitely arranged by the treaty of Paris (signed 9th November, 1815); the contracting powers being Great Britain, Russia, Austria, and Prussia. By this it was agreed to revive the Ionian republic (which had ceased to exist in 1807), and place it under the exclusive protection of Great Britain, Austria enjoying the right of equal commercial advantage with the protecting country. In fulfillment of the treaty, a charter was passed by the Legislative Assembly, called for that purpose, and ratified by the Prince Regent in 1819, which formed the Ionian constitution till some change was introduced of late years. In 1819 an asylum was opened in them, with Ionian citizenship to the unfortunate refugees from Parga, on the cession of their country to Turkey, a measure which we ought not to do more than regret as a cruel necessity at the time of its being carried out; but which might have been obviated by greater vigilance on the part of British diplomacy at Vienna or Paris. In 1819 some disturbances connected with taxa-

tion occurred at Santa Maura; and in 1821 a more serious tumult arose there, having some relation to the war of independence, then being waged in Greece. The French revolutionary movement of 1848 was used as an example in Cephalonia, and an insurrection, with the less immediate aim of annexation to Greece, and the more immediate object of pillage, begun in Cephalonia, required to be suppressed by the military. No acts of timely rigor having been employed to check the unruly, a more extended and violent outbreak there in 1849 needed to be put down by martial law, and several executions of wretches who had been guilty of brutal murders and other crimes of fearful atrocity, together with high treason.

In consequence of the repeated expression of the wishes of the people to be united with the kingdom of Greece, the British protectorate was removed by a conference of the five great powers at London in 1863. The neutrality of the islands was guaranteed, and they are now annexed to Greece.











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